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HISTORICAL
CAUSES AND EFFECTS

FROM THE
FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

476,

TO THE REFORMATION,

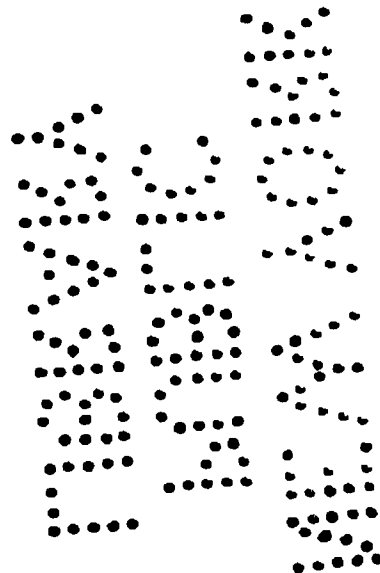
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"In History, a great volume is unrolled for our instruction, drawing the materials of future wisdom from the past errors and infirmities of mankind."—BUNN.

BY
WILLIAM SULLIVAN,

Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and Honorary Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Author of 'Political,' 'Moral,' and 'Historical Class Books.'

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PREFACE.

THE genius of History is represented as in the act of recording PASSING EVENTS. It should rather be regarded as seated among ruins and relics, and tasking imagination to rebuild and repeople the temples and abodes, which scattered fragments prove to have existed. An outline of physical being, and of actions, may be formed; but motives, passions, perceptions of good and evil, LIVING LIFE, are presented according to the historian's deduction or inference. He, unconsciously, portrays his own views, when he intends to delineate historical truth. Those who treat of the same persons and events, are often found to be inconsistent with each other; and on causes and motives they are frequently irreconcilable. That history should be overshadowed with doubts and uncertainties is inevitable, but history is not, therefore, as is sometimes said, *mere fable*.

There are certain causes and effects which may be discerned among all the varieties of conflicting accounts. These are the sources of historical instruction. They disclose the course of events by which the world has been brought to its present condition. They are the *facts*, however variously stated, from which its future condition is to be inferred.

From the review of these ten centuries it appears, that it is man's destiny to be ever the cruel enemy of himself—the slave of his own bad passions—the destroyer of his fellow—and qualified only to repeat, from age to age, the same course of follies, crimes, and miseries. No respite is found but in the exhaustion of the power to do evil, or when a brief tranquillity is secured by the terror of superior force. With all the light which the three last centuries have given, bloody conflicts are still seen among the people of the same nation. In several Christian countries, an adroit priesthood still darkens and subdues the mind, and armed despots hold millions in sullen bondage. Where civil liberty is known, there is dread of commotions, revolution, and anarchy; or there is serious apprehension that despotism will gradually enthrone itself by the forms of legislation, or by ruling the will of a majority who are too degraded and ignorant to perceive their own subjection.

Reason penetrates this discouraging gloom. It discerns that the beneficent gift of the DEITY is, *the capacity to improve*. It finds, in the neglect of this capacity, the true cause of human errors, and the deepest reproach to man's free agency.

Hitherto, improvement has been left to individual efforts, as though it were too insignificant an object to merit the attention of rulers. If the condition, of which human society is capable,

should ever arise, it will be when governments have performed their duties. Governments have something more to do than to provide for the trial and punishment of criminals—for taxation—for regulating the rights and uses of property—for keeping arms to preserve peace, or wage wars of aggression and defence. It is their duty, also, to guard against the commission of misdemeanors and crimes, and to prepare approaching manhood to understand and respect a *sound morality*, as the best means of security and welfare. No one will say, that society is more safe from violence and confusion when only a few are instructed in social rights and duties. It is then the least safe, as some of these few will yield to the temptation of acting on the general ignorance, to secure benefits inconsistent with the general good. Society will be safe only when all its members are instructed, and when all are competent to judge of the just and beneficent exercise of power, and of its perversion and abuse. It is not by *prohibitory statutes* that society can be made safe and prosperous, but by the prevalence of *enlightened public opinion*. Such opinion will prevail when Governments use their trust, in unison with individuals, to teach, universally, the rights and duties of human life.*

To know what can be done, it must be known, first, how this capacity has been used, neglected, or perverted. This volume is intended as a contribution to that object.

First. The state of society is examined at the close of the fifth century, when a new condition arose among nations on the fall of the Roman Empire of the West.

Second. Events which had permanent effects on moral, social, and political condition, are treated of separately and continuously, as to each nation.

Third. International events are treated of in the territories in which they principally occurred.

Fourth. The order of treatment is to begin with the most westwardly of European nations, and proceed thence through each nation to the eastern end of Asia.

Fifth. To preserve the connexion of events, it has been necessary, sometimes, to transcend the limits of these ten centuries.

There remain, as the subjects of another volume, causes and effects among European nations, and their colonies, during the last three centuries.

Boston, November, 1837.

* "A BOARD OF EDUCATION" has been established (in 1837) by *legislative authority*, for the instruction of the young in *common schools*. This system is going into full effect under a wise and faithful administration, and is every where gratefully and respectfully received. There is better hope, from these measures, that rational civil liberty may be preserved, than from any thing done since Massachusetts became a sovereign State.

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HISTORICAL CAUSES AND EFFECTS FROM A. D. 500 TO A. D. 1500.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

IN the first part of these Historical Sketches, nations and events were examined from the earliest times to the fall of the Roman empire of the West, A. D. 476. It is intended to comprise in this volume, nations and events from that period to the *Reformation*, in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

At the end of the fifth century, the West of Europe had undergone an entire revolution. The Roman empire of the East continued nearly one thousand years after that time, and was then subdued by the Turks. Distinct nations, whom the Greeks and Romans comprised under the general name of *barbarians*, had possessed themselves of the West. This revolution involved not only the tenure of the land; a new order of things arose in government and religion—in the objects of desire and aversion—in the orders of society, and, necessarily, in customs and habits. German barbarism intermingled with Roman civilization. As the former had a commanding influence, the latter entirely disappeared. From this revolution are derived the several nations which now hold all the West of Europe. From this epoch are to be traced the corruptions and abuses of Christianity; the new character and consequences of war; new languages; new divisions in the orders of society; the rise of the various employments in which the members of society are now seen to be engaged; the rank and influence of woman in the social and domestic relations of life. Over these various subjects is to be noticed the effect of *political* power; that is, the command over physical strength, by which one, few, or many have been able to prescribe rules and enforce obedience as to all others.

Before the Romans had passed the Alps into the country now called France, it was inhabited by a people known under the general name of Celtæ, or Celts, and who called themselves Gael, or Gales, and whence the Roman name for them, *Gauls*, was derived, and their territory known by the general name of Gaul. Tribes are supposed, at some unknown time, to have emigrated from Asia, and to have occupied a large portion of the West of Europe. They are thought to have been a distinct, and, in many respects, a different people from those who formed the German tribes, and to have come, before these tribes, into Europe. From the Celts, the population of England, France, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland was undoubtedly derived; though the names among this population were different, and the languages spoken by them so variant from each other as to have lost the proof of common origin.

The Celts were distinguishable from other barbarous people by their religion and their bards. In their religion, we find the same causes producing the same effects, as we have noticed in the religion of Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans; that is, awful and terrifying mysteries, conducted by an initiated and sacred fraternity, corresponding to the common name of priests. They were called Druids. Like the Bramins of India, and the priests of Egypt, they formed a distinct class or caste; and like these, and like the magi of Persia, they were not only the ministers in all holy things, but also the *learned* in the superstitions, mysteries, and worship which they had invented. They possessed the highest authority in all affairs of government and in the administration of justice; they appointed officers, and governed absolutely in all things but in warfare, in which they were not held to engage. They denounced the punishments of their religion against those who were sinful or disobedient. Thus we see among the Druids, only one more form of the same propensities which have appeared in most nations and ages where there was only the religion of human creation. In such religions some animal or plant has usually been held sacred. The Druids considered the mistletoe (which is called a parasitical plant, because it does not grow from the ground, but from another plant, especially the oak,) as the holiest object in nature; as the lotus was in India and Egypt. The principal seat of this Druidical power was in England. Some of the wonderful stone structures seen in the British isles, were Druid temples.

The Celtic bards were singing poets, who, as such, were historians, common to most barbarous and warlike nations.

There were such persons among the Greeks, in the early periods of their history. The Scotch, Welsh, and Irish pipers, are relics of the Celtic bards. The poems of Ossian, purporting to be translations of ancient Celtic productions, give some impression of the character and effect of this exciting melody.* The Celts were a numerous and powerful race at an early period, and sufficiently so to have invaded, and to have conquered, a part of Spain, and portions of country along the Danube, and to have extended themselves even into Greece. As these nations had no records of themselves, their territories, conquests, and condition are not to be ascertained. Their migrations, changes and revolutions were, doubtless, like those which occurred among the Indians of America, for centuries before they were known to Europeans. The Celts were subjected to the action of the Romans for nearly four centuries, and then to the German barbarians; so that towards the end of the fifth century, their distinctive name, their Druids, and their bards, had been lost by mingling with other people. They were like great rivers which come, in their course, to a still greater volume of waters, in which their origin, and their name, and their peculiarities, are no longer distinguishable.

CHAPTER II.

THE POPULATION OF EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

BEFORE the year 500, the Roman empire had extended itself beyond the Alps to the north and west. It ruled in what is now called Switzerland, and still further north, from the foot of the Alps, a small distance into Germany, as it now is. The line of Roman possession was different at different times. The forty-seventh degree of north latitude is near their most northern boundary. These regions, which Rome had acquired by conquest, were distinguished by various names, not necessary to be mentioned, as few of them are now so called. West of the river Rhine, and thence to the Atlantic, was *Gaul*, as the Romans called it, and the same which is now called France. Over the whole of this country the Romans had

* Thomas Moore, in his History of Ireland, has investigated the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and has shown their true origin, as will be noticed in sketches of Ireland.

acquired dominion by long-continued and bloody wars. They had also passed over to England. Cæsar was the first Roman general who appeared on the island, 53 B. C. England was held as a Roman province till the beginning of the fifth century, and between that time and the year A. D. 446, it was abandoned, and all Roman authority withdrawn. (McIntosh, chap. I.)

If we begin at the forty-seventh degree of north latitude, where it crosses the river Rhine, and follow that line thence eastwardly, towards the Caspian sea in Asia, we shall mark the line, on the earth's surface, which was (in Europe) the boundary, alternately of Romans and barbarians, as the one or the other prevailed in their conflicts. From this line of latitude northwardly to the Northern Ocean, both in Asia and Europe, is found that vast territory in which millions of human beings dwelt in a state of barbarism. Their origin is unknown. The little that is known of them is obtained through the Greeks and Romans, in describing wars to conquer or repel them, on the frontiers of the empire. The historians who are followed in the accounts given of these nations, are the Grecian Herodotus, and Cæsar and Tacitus among the Romans. By the two latter writers, especially, these tribes are distinguished by national names. They knew how to use iron in their warfare, and they had horses, cattle, and sheep.

It is said by Hallam, in his learned and elaborate history of the Middle Ages, that before the end of the fifth century, barbarous nations had thus possessed themselves of the west of Europe. The Suevi held part of Spain; the Visigoths possessed the remainder, and a part of Gaul, or France, next to Spain; the Burgundians had established themselves in France, between the rivers Rhone and Saone, on the south-eastern part of France. The Ostrogoths possessed nearly the whole of Italy. The Vandals, who came first of these nations, had traversed Europe into Spain, passed thence into Africa, and penetrated to Carthage, which was their seat of empire. This account by Hallam agrees with those of other writers, through whom it is known, that the northern part of France was held by a people who were called *Franks*, and who held also the Netherlands, now called Belgium. The Franks were a confederacy of tribes, who dwelt in Westphalia, and the surrounding country east of the Rhine. They confederated to resist the Romans, and took the name of Franks, or Freemen. From this nation, and from the Burgundians, with some other intermixture of the Celtic race, and including that population

which the Romans had brought into Gaul, the French nation of the present day are descended.

The present population of Spain are the descendants of Grecian colonists, who had settled on the eastern side of the peninsula before the Romans had risen into power, and also of persons introduced while Spain was a Roman province. To these are to be added the Suevi and Visigoths, and the Saracens or Moors. The latter conquered and held the south of Spain for some ages. The people of Italy, of the present day, are the descendants of the mixed race whom the tribes of barbarians found there, as Roman subjects, and of themselves. In the last ages of the Roman empire of the west, great numbers resorted to Italy from the Greek, Asiatic, and African provinces. In the decline of the empire, barbarians were enlisted in the Roman legions. Besides these, there were many thousands who were held in servitude, and who were gathered from all the countries which the Romans had conquered. Thus, the population of Italy, at the end of the fifth century, was the most mixed of any in Europe.

In the territory before mentioned, having the Rhine for its western boundary, and the forty-seventh degree of north latitude for its southern boundary, many different nations dwelt, to whom Tacitus assigns names and countries. These nations are said, by the German historian John Von Muller, to have had the general name of *Teutonic*, because they worshipped a God whom they called Tuist, or Tuet. The Teutonic, or ancient parent German language, comprised the Scandinavian, that of a people so called, who dwelt where the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden now are. It appears, (Wheaton's History of the Northmen,) that the Scandinavians had a literature of their own, and an alphabet of sixteen letters, believed to be derived from the Phœnicians. It was called *Runic*, a term supposed to imply mystery; and was, undoubtedly, the peculiar property of the priesthood. It must be admitted, that no small part of the narratives concerning these ancient German people, is founded more in conjecture than in positive facts.

Most of the languages of the north of Europe are of this Teutonic class. The name of the Saxons occurs in this northern region. They are supposed to have dwelt on the shores near Jutland, and near the mouth of the Elbe, and west of that river towards Westphalia. They were afterwards known as the Saxon race in England, and the same race who gave their name to a part of Germany now known as Saxony.

Gibbon, in his history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman

Empire says, that the Goths and Vandals were similar, if not the same people originally, and that the Goths divided into the Ostrogoths, (western,) and Visigoths, (eastern,) and the Gepidæ. The Vandals he considers to have been divided into the Heruli, Burgundians, and Lombards, (long beards.) About the beginning of the Christian era, (according to this historian,) the Goths were established near the mouth of the river Vistula, in the country where the cities of Thorn, Elbing, Königsburg and Dantzic now are; and the Vandals in the countries where Mecklenburgh and Pomerania now are. From these abodes the Goths and the Vandals migrated to the country which lies north of the Black Sea, within the two first centuries of the Christian era, which country was called Scythia. The supposition is, that all these nations were originally of Asia, and this is more certainly assumed of the Slavonians, (so called from slava, fame,) who are first referred to Sarmatia, northwardly of the Caspian Sea. It is, however, of as little importance as of certainty, whether these conjectural localities of the barbarians are well founded or not. Like the natives of America, it is probable that they had wars, vicissitudes, and changes, throughout centuries, of which they had neither record nor tradition.

There was one other and distinct people, called the Huns, of whom no doubt seems to be entertained of origin or progress. All writers who mention this people's origin, concur, that they were masters of the extreme east of Asia, and occupied a country of vast extent north of the Chinese wall, (said to be fifteen hundred miles in length,) and that their empire extended to the North Sea. In the third century they moved westward by the north of the Caspian Sea, and subdued all nations with whom they came in contact; or forced them toward the west. In person, habits, and manners, the Huns were a very different people from the barbarians of Europe. They were short, swarthy, and ill-formed; but some of the nations who have been mentioned, are described as tall, well-formed, of light complexion, blue eyes, and of pleasing expression. The approach of the Huns was the cause of the final overthrow of the Romans. The nations who have been mentioned as having been established in the country northwardly of the Caspian, were driven on to the Roman territories. The Huns occupied the country which was thus deserted, until their increasing numbers, or other motives, urged them to the west. Hungary, so called from them, was their European establishment. But, as has been before (in the first volume) remarked,

they appeared in Italy, and even beyond the Rhine in France, under their great chief, Atilla.

We have further to notice the barbarians, in regard to their characteristic qualities, because these have a direct relation to the present occupants of Europe. It is believed that all these qualities are described by historians from the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus; the former, in a great degree, from his own observation; the latter was a highly accomplished civilian, who wrote at Rome towards the close of the first century, and whose authority, for what he says of the Germans, may have been works now unknown. However this may have been, his writings on this people are regarded, by all subsequent historians, as worthy of confidence. There is another writer who is quoted by Gibbon, Hallam, and others, by the name of Jornandes, who left a work "on the origin and affairs of the Goths." He died towards the close of the sixth century, his work coming down to the year 552. From such sources, and with the aid of the late work of Von Muller, we shall condense an account of these founders of European nations.

Men, civilized or savage, have the same natural wants and passions, and the same necessity to fill up with *action*, the successive hours of life, not given to repose. The difference is found in the different modes of gratification. A savage may have some notion of exchanging one thing for another, and some pleasure in sounds, and in objects which please the eye. He has also some idea of command and obedience, and, perhaps, of some rule by which the one should be given, and the other rendered. He has some sentiment of right and wrong, and consequently of justice. But it belongs to a refined age to have carried out these original perceptions into extensive commerce, music, painting, literature, records of the past, comprehension of the future, complex civil government, and solemn courts of justice. The barbarians will be remarked upon in those prominent qualities which will show, that civilized and refined society had its original elements among them; and thence afford the inference, that what is now seen in society arises from the capacity to improve. This capacity is far from having exhausted its powers. It will be further used in extending man's knowledge over the material objects, and in the utility and duty of sound moral action.

Food. The barbarians depended on their herds, and on the game which their forests yielded. They made an intoxicating drink from wheat or barley, and must have known something of the cultivation of the earth. Their herds afforded them

not only milk, but they knew how to convert this into cheese. There were some native fruits.

Clothing. For this they depended on the skins of the animals which they took, and on their flocks and herds. Articles were wrought into garments, in a rude manner, by females.

Dwelling-places. They had not cities, nor towns, nor compact villages; their abodes were placed wherever a stream or some other inducement invited.

Domestic condition. The Germans are highly extolled by Tacitus, for some conjugal virtues; so much so, that he was thought to have intended to satirize Roman matrons, in his praise of these virtues. Certain violations of these rights, of rare occurrence, were punished with death. Chiefs were allowed to have more than one wife.

Religion. In this respect, the barbarians were a rude people. They adored whatsoever objects appeared to them to have power or influence over their good or ill fortune. Hence arose imaginary deities, as common among all savage nations. They supposed these objects of their worship to reside in the recesses of their thick, dark forests, into which no one dared to penetrate. Certain of these places were held to be sacred. They had a class of persons who resembled a similar class among the American Indians, and who ministered in their sacrifices and ceremonies. Some of these nations sacrificed human beings. Their ministers of religion held a superior rank, since they were supposed to be able to foretell the will of their gods, to invoke their favor, or appease their wrath. This was the office of the priest among the pagan Greeks and Romans.

Bards. All these nations (like the Celts) had a class of persons who said, or sung *history*. They were listened to at festivals; and they roused the courage of warriors at the coming on of battle. In this is seen the natural desire of our race to extend existence beyond the short term allowed to individual life, by cherishing and transmitting the memory of the past. It shows, also, the force of example, and the propensity to imitate, and that they must be truly a rude people, who do not feel that they have a property in the deeds of their ancestors.

Employment of time. These savages, like civilized people, had a life to dispose of, time to fill up, and the necessity of doing something. Having neither commerce, literature, the arts, nor agriculture,—and the supply of bodily wants being had from their herds or the chase,—their time was mostly given to preparations for war, and to carrying it on,—to noisy feasting

and to gaming. They staked all their possessions, and even personal freedom, on the chances of fortune. A warrior, who would have thought it the highest glory to be where the hottest battle gave the certain alternative of victory or death, would submit to be bound and led away as a slave, if so the result of the game determined his lot. This desire of excitement is equally shown in what is called civilized life. It is to be regretted that gamblers cannot dispose of their persons as the barbarians did. The chief occupation in barbarian life was war, waged for plunder and for glory. This serious measure was preceded by councils, in which the civil or religious chiefs stated the case, and the multitude expressed their negative by hisses and groans, and their assent by striking their lances on their shields. They were brave and powerful warriors, as the Romans had frequent occasion to know. Their conflicts were not at the long distance which the use of gunpowder permits, but with hand weapons, as, some sort of pointed lance, or short sword. The women were often spectators of the battle, and have been known to urge their flying husbands and sons back upon the foe, and sometimes to kill their children, and then themselves, rather than to be taken and made slaves.

These are some of the traits of the rude nations who were destined to extinguish the learning, philosophy, the arts and sciences of Greeks and Romans—to cast their proud monuments to the earth—and to give, in the long course of ages, a new and worthier character to the world.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST.

THE part of continental Europe which remains to be noticed, as it was at the close of the fifth century, is that which the Romans still held. It will be remembered, that Constantine, in the year 328, removed the seat of empire from Rome to ancient Byzantium, and gave to that city his own name, which it still retains. Here the Roman name continued until the early part of the seventh century, when the eastern empire began to be called by the name of the Greek empire, and so continued to be, (with the exception of 57 years, from 1204 to

1261,) until the Turks, in the year 1453, possessed themselves of Constantinople, and have held it to the present day. The limits of the eastern empire in Europe, varied in this long lapse of years. They sometimes extended to, and beyond the Danube, northwardly; and to a line drawn from the north end of the Adriatic Sea, nearly north to the Danube, and included all the territory in Europe between the Danube, the Adriatic, and the waters which flow between Europe and Asia, and, consequently, including Greece and its isles. This is very nearly the same territory over which the Turkish empire extended in Europe, before Greece was severed and erected into a separate kingdom, in our own time.

Before the end of the fifth century, Constantine and his successors had enlarged and embellished Constantinople, and had made it one of the most beautiful cities of the world. Its site is on the extreme point of Europe, near the forty-second degree of north latitude, opposite to the western shore of Asia Minor, and separated from that shore by the waters which flow from the Black Sea into the sea of Marmora. This current of water is called the Bosphorus, and is said to be so called (from the Greek) because oxen could swim across it. It is sixteen miles long, and of an average breadth of one mile and a half; but, in one place only, thirty-three hundred feet; at which point, Darius, of Persia, in the year 513 B. C., constructed his bridge of boats, in pursuit of the Scythians. This place is capable of resisting almost any assault, being of triangular form, and having two sides bounding on deep waters, and the third protected by a wall. In eleven centuries, (330 to 1453,) it had been taken but six times.

Whether Constantine foresaw the necessity of defence against the barbarians, and that Rome could not, and that Constantinople could be defended, is questionable. It is more probable that vanity, and a view to his dominions in Asia, may rather have been among his motives. He still ruled over Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, having the ancient foes of the empire, the Persians and Parthians for his eastern borderers, in the valley of the Euphrates.

The population of the European part of the Roman empire in Europe, had become a very mixed one before the end of the fifth century, and was especially so in Constantinople. There were the descendants of Romans, who had removed from Italy, in Constantine's time; there were descendants of Greeks, Asiatics, barbarians, and a multitude of slaves. There were also ecclesiastics of all descriptions. There were patricians,

and plebeians, great riches, and great poverty; the military class, comprising many grades, and of motley compound, insolent and rapacious. The forms of the Christian religion were well known to this collection of human beings, who were, nevertheless, strangers to its morality. One cannot easily decide which that city of the earth is, wherein there has been the greatest amount of splendor, crime, wickedness, and misery. It is probable that this city would stand high, if not highest, in the claim to this distinction. In the notices of "the Church," which are hereafter to be made, there will be occasion to return to Constantinople. At present we have only to inquire how the people of this city disposed of their time, and what were the objects of desire, and means of gratification.

This numerous collection of persons were to be fed, clothed, and sheltered. Food must have been had by agricultural labor, which was applied mostly by the slaves of great landed proprietors, who held estates in Asia Minor, and in ancient Greece, and in the country around Constantinople. Supplies of grain were had from Egypt and from Sicily, and perhaps grain, and certainly fish, from the Black Sea. There must have been some means of paying for these necessaries, which were found, in the expenditures of the Emperor, to sustain the numerous officers and agents necessary to his magnificence; and his treasury was supplied by various forms of taxation. Within the city there must have been artificers of many sorts, who derived their subsistence from the affluent. The means of knowing by whom, and to what extent, commerce was carried on, are few; but there is no doubt that there was a valuable commerce between Constantinople and Asia Minor, Egypt, and the east end of the Mediterranean Sea; and probably from the east, by the way of the Caspian and the Euxine.

Whatsoever may have been the employments in serious labor, to supply continually returning wants, there must have been no small portion of time which was given to pleasures and amusements, and perhaps to the performance of some sorts of duty. The church ceremonies may have furnished some occupation. The movements of the Emperor, and of his retinue, may have furnished objects of attention, because it appears that the people retained some sense of the ultimate sovereignty which had been formerly exercised in Rome. The wars in which the Emperors were engaged, either on the eastern frontier, or with the barbarians nearer home, were subjects of excitement. As there were no printed bulletins in

those days, curiosity must have depended on verbal communications. There were, probably, popular orators, who had numerous auditors. The succession to the throne was an object of general interest. This was frequently effected by violence and crime, and every new Emperor or Empress, had numerous favorites to reward, and enemies to punish. There were besides, pageantry and shows, which were connected with the court, and some amusements intended more especially for the populace. There is, in Gibbon, some illustration of the manner in which time was passed in this city.

The entertainment of the chariot races was conducted at the public expense in the hippodrome, a word composed of two Greek words, signifying horse and race-course. This place was a splendid edifice, surrounded by columns and adorned by statuary; it still exists. It was nearly two thousand feet in length, and five hundred in breadth. It was capable of containing a great multitude, and leave space for the exhibition. There were charioteers by profession, and the races were conducted by them, and not as at the Olympic games, where the contest for skill was among the most eminent of the Greeks. The contending parties were distinguished by four different colors in their dress, blue, green, white, or red. This distinction had prevailed in Rome. Out of these colors, parties were engendered of hostile character, which involved all the inhabitants of the city, and even the Emperor. In the time of Justinian, about the year 532, these factions perpetrated the most horrid crimes, filled the whole city with terror, and came near to forcing the Emperor to seek safety by flight into Asia.

There were splendid theatrical exhibitions and dancing women. These entertainments were also conducted at the public expense. The reputation of those who were performers was of the lowest order. Yet Justinian (whose name is associated with the code of laws, which is *the law*, with various modifications, in most of the present nations of Europe,) raised Theodora, a theatrical performer, to the throne. If Gibbon's account of this female be credited, she was, in some respects, much the superior of her husband. The wife of the renowned Belisarius, whom there will be occasion to mention in Justinian's reign, was a person of the same order, and even more infamous than Theodora, with whom she was, at different times, the subservient friend and implacable foe. From such facts, some conclusion may be drawn as to the manners and morals of this splendid seat of empire, about the close of the fifth century; and in what manner its inhabitants

supplied the demand for occupation. These remarks are not limited to the city of Constantinople. They are equally applicable to most of the 935 cities within the sixty-four provinces, over which Justinian was monarch, near the middle of the sixth century. The utility of stating these facts may be found in this: They furnish the means of making a comparison on the condition of the Roman empire of the east, and that of communities in modern days, especially in the United States.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATE OF RELIGION AT THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

THE history of nations and events would be greatly defective, if it did not notice the religious belief which has prevailed from time to time, and the effect which it has had in producing temporal good or evil. This subject, on such an occasion as this, can only be treated of with regard to mere historical facts.

At the time of the revelation of Christianity, there existed the Jewish faith, debased and perplexed with sects, each of which had its own forms and ceremonies. Among nearly all other people, who professed any religion, *polytheism* (two Greek words, which signify many gods,) prevailed. This portion of mankind were called heathen by the Christians. They are spoken of by historians under the name of pagans, which word, as well as heathen, like many others, indicate nothing of original use. The word pagan was not in use until about the year 333, when Constantine, in support of Christianity, prohibited, under severe penalties, all sacrifices to imaginary gods. Those who still adhered to polytheism, withdrew to the villages, the Latin name for which is *pagus*, whence the name of pagans was given to the polytheists, or idolators. The word *heathen* is of like origin. It is derived from a Greek word which means *heath*, and grew into common use to distinguish the rest of mankind from the Jews, and after revelation, to distinguish them also from Christians, as well as from the Jews.* It is supposed, that the world was

* Such is the commonly received origin of the terms pagan and heathen. But Gibbon, (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*), in a note to chapter xxi. says: *Παγῆ*, in the (Doric) Greek signifies fountain; the rural neighborhood which frequented the same fountain, had the appellation of *pagus* or pagans. This word was corrupted into peasants, in

never more depraved and profligate, at any time, than at the beginning of the Christian era. The oracles had lost their influence; fear and reverence for the gods, so conspicuous in Grecian and Roman ceremonies, had declined, and had become forms which habit only consecrated. If there were ever a time when the accountableness of man for acts done in this life, required a new revelation, it was at the time when it came.

During the first century, there appears to have been churches established at Antioch, and in several cities in Asia Minor, and especially the "seven churches," in one of which, that of Ephesus, St. John ministered towards the close of his long life. Other churches arose in the Grecian territory, and afterwards at Rome, and in the west of Europe. The Christians were, at first, merely brotherly associations, governed by their own rules, and so continued to be, throughout the three first centuries, and the beginning of the fourth. During this time the ten persecutions occurred, and the martyrs suffered. Some of these persecutions were carried on by order of the Emperors, especially Diocletian, and some of them are said to have been popular tumults excited by polytheists. In this space of time arose numerous heresies, which were supported and resisted with party zeal, among the Christians themselves. The original meaning of the word *heresy*, was *choice*; but it soon acquired, and has retained, a very different meaning.

When it is considered that the subtle, metaphysical learning of the Greeks, was almost the only learning which then prevailed, it is easy to suppose that it would find its way into the societies of Christians. It certainly did so; and, from the natural propensities of human nature, as well known at this day as then, opinions were maintained with very honest and unyielding pertinacity. Already there were bishops, which word, originally, meant overseers. There were, also, *presbyters*, the original meaning of which (from the Greek,) was elder; a word since used to designate a denomination of Christians. The bishop and the presbyters formed the council for the government of the church, and they held their offices in virtue of election by the members. In the differences which arose on matters of faith, there was no mode of expressing dissatisfaction but by excommunication; that is, by denying to

the modern languages of Europe. He says, also, that all who were not of the military classes among the Romans were called, contemptuously, pagans. As Christianity prevailed, the ancient religion retired, and languished in the villages.

the person who thought differently from those of his society, the rights and benefits of fellowship. It amounted to no more than turning a member out of a society, a power which cannot be denied to any voluntary association. We shall hereafter see what a tremendous and terrifying authority this act of excommunication came to be, throughout the whole of Christendom. It will not be attempted to define the numerous heresies, as they were called, which arose in the three first centuries, nor any of them; nor to notice, by name, the writers, who are commonly called the Fathers, and who took part on the one side or the other. This properly belongs to church history.

Some of the Christians were driven, by cruel persecutions, out of the Roman territories. They had no resort but to the barbarians, who were already every where on the Roman frontiers, in Europe. The knowledge of the Christian faith was communicated to the barbarians by these fugitives. In the middle of the fourth century, Christians had become divided into two parties, the one of which were called Arians, after a presbyter of the church of Alexandria, in Egypt, and the other were the followers of the Nicene creed, solemnly adopted by a numerous convention of bishops and prelates at the city of Nice, about seventy miles south-east of Constantinople, in Asia Minor. This council was held in the year 325. Constantine was present. These two divisions seem to have included, on the one side and the other, all other divisions. Towards the close of the fourth century, a person by the name of Ulphilas, employed himself in teaching the Arian tenets to the Goths, who were then established southwardly of the Danube. He translated the Gospels into the Gothic language. The opinions which he taught were transmitted to other tribes, and circulated extensively into Germany. Other barbarians afterwards adopted the Nicene tenets, and those of Arian ceased among them all, in the course of the sixth century. It will be seen, hereafter, that the conversion of the barbarians forms an important circumstance in the great train of events.

But a much more important event is the real or supposed conversion of Constantine, about the year 320, and the establishment of the Christian religion as the only one to be known in the empire. Christians were now honored and employed by the political authority; and the Emperor was the supreme potentate in the church. This we take to be the first step in what has since been called the union of the church and state;

a union which has produced no small portion of the miseries of the civilized world. It was placing Christianity in the same relation to political authority, which religion had sustained with Asiatics, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. Among idolators, who had no vindictive sects, that relation had its benefits. There are many (at least in Europe) who think the like relation, as to Christianity, should be sacredly preserved. Such opinions are probably rare in the United States, if they exist at all. As early as the middle of the second century, there were conventions of the leading men in the churches. These conventions afterwards had the name of councils, and also of synods, from a Greek word of the same signification. When difficulties in matters of faith arose among the Christians, conventions of bishops, presbyters, and sometimes of other prelates or persons, were held for the purpose of settling them. When Christianity became the established religion, these councils became authoritative, and their decisions conclusive in matters of faith and practice. They were of frequent occurrence until the supreme authority was assumed by the bishop of Rome, under the name of Pope; (papa, father.)

In all assemblies there is one, or there are a few, to whom the first rank is, from some cause, assigned. This rank fell in consequence of causes, which it will come in course hereafter to state, to the bishop of Rome. At the close of the fifth century the bishop had, by consent, or gradual assumption, an authority in the affairs of the church, which belonged to no other one. It will be seen how this authority was extended and enforced in future ages, and what a commanding power arose and was exercised throughout Europe, in the name of the representative of St. Peter.

It thus appears, that the Christian religion had become the only religion professed throughout the whole extent of the vast empire of the Romans, Judaism only excepted. It had penetrated beyond Roman limits, among barbarians. It had, however, already become corrupted and debased, from many natural causes. The church had acquired riches and influence, and some of its prelates sought and exercised very important powers. Before this time, (the end of the fifth century,) the opinion was entertained, by some Christians, that revelation enjoined privations and austerities to the full extent which human nature can endure without destroying life. It was also believed, by some, that the true faith demanded a separation from the world, celibacy, (from the Latin *calibatus*, a single life,) and a whole life of penance. Hence arose

monastic (sole, or separate) establishments, first in Egypt and western Asia, and afterwards throughout Europe. St. Benedict may be considered the principal promoter, if not the founder, of monastic establishments. He was born at Norcia, in the duchy of Spoleto, near Rome, in 480. When he was only fourteen years old, he retired to a cavern, in the desert of Subiaco, forty miles from Rome, and dwelt there for three years in solitude. He came forth, and founded several monasteries. About the year 515, he drew up the rules of monkish life, which were observed by all the monks in the west of Europe. By these rules, he required instruction in reading, writing, cyphering, and in the doctrines of Christianity, and also in the mechanic arts. There were rules for dress and food. He established libraries, and employed those who could write, but who were unable to labor in any other way, to copy manuscripts. The Benedictine orders bear his name; and some of this order contributed to preserve ancient manuscripts, some of which proved to be literary treasures. The memory of St. Benedict is cherished among Catholics. His rules furnished the models for subsequent orders.

In Egypt, and the country east of the Mediterranean, quite to the end of the empire in that direction, the most secluded spots were chosen for these devout abodes. Some individuals dwelt in perfect solitude, subsisting on such products of the wilderness as could be had without labor; while others formed societies and erected places of abode. The most remarkable of all the modes of devotion to a holy life, is found among the *Stylites*, or pillar-saints; and the most remarkable among these was *Symeon*. Of this person, several writers relate, that, about the year 427, he retired to a mountain in the neighborhood of Antioch, where he erected a pillar, which was gradually increased to the height of sixty feet. On the top of this pillar he established his residence, and endured there the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters, without descending from it, and there ended his life. If the wonderful narrations concerning this person are credited, he supplied the wants of nature by one frugal meal in a week, and the need of clothing by a wrapper of skin, and the demand for occupation by bodily action, in homage, worship, and prayer. Sometimes he bent forward his slender frame till his forehead touched his feet; and Gibbon says, that one spectator counted 1244 repetitions of this act, and "then desisted from the endless account." Symeon was visited by thousands, and by one, if not by two Emperors, and was regarded as a person

worthy to be counselled with in serious affairs. It does not appear whether he was the first of this class of devotees, but his eminence gave names to the class; and a modern writer of high respectability says, "that the Stylites, under the names of 'Holy Birds' and 'Aërial Martyrs,' peopled the *columns* of the east." (Waddington's Church History.)

One who considers the condition of mankind in all the long course of time over which history extends, may imagine that the Creator has some great purpose to effect with our race, however incompetent mortals may be to discern it. One purpose has been solemnly revealed as to this life and future destiny, first by inspiration, and then through secondary causes, or human action. Displeasing as the corruptions, absurdities, abuses, persecutions, and fanaticism of the early ages may appear to this comparatively enlightened one, these may have been means of advancing the Christian faith. This, like pure gold, however alloyed, changed in form, or renewedly stamped, is still the same in its original nature, and may be made to reassume that by human skill. Counterfeited it may be, suspected and doubted, but this tends only to show its real worth, when that can be discerned. Nothing has hitherto occurred concerning the Christian revelation, which its Divine author did not foretell. Be it remembered, also, as coming from the same high authority, that Christianity shall be the religion of all the earth.

CHAPTER V.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

In the work entitled Universal History, "by the Hon. Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee," the pages 63 to 69 of the second volume, are devoted to the origin of the Feudal System. The author first discusses the relation of patron and client, which he considers to have been known to the ancient Gauls, as well as to the Romans; and to have been distinct from the feudal tenure of land. His next position is, that the distribution of lands was of *Roman* origin, and made as a reward to the soldiery; and the *beneficiarii*, so frequently mentioned in Roman authors, was the Roman name for these rewards. His third position is, that when the Franks invaded Gaul, they found that country so partitioned; and that

they (the Franks) did nothing more than to confirm the tenants, on certain conditions, mutually acceptable. Mr. Tytler's fourth position is, that "*the chiefs, or kings, had no land to bestow.*" (page 66.) He cites a passage from Eginhart's Life of Charlemagne, (which relates to the state of affairs in the early part of the *ninth* century,) to show the poverty of the Frankish kings. The views of this learned author are open to many objections; and no one who has studied the feudal system, can admit that Mr. Tytler has successfully controverted the opinions of Pasquier, Mably, Condillac, and Robertson, whom he mentions as being in error.

The opinions of this gentleman are entirely his own; and differ from those of every author on the feudal system, with whose writings we are acquainted. Among those who may be mentioned as opposed to him, are, Cæsar, Tacitus, Jornandes; the celebrated lawyer, Thomas Littleton; his learned commentator, Lord Coke; Sir Matthew Hale, Sir W. Blackstone; Francis S. Sullivan, Royal Professor of Common Law in the University of Dublin; (Treatise on Feudal Tenures;) Baron Montesquieu, Dr. Robertson, Hume, Gibbon, Hallam, McIntosh. Lastly, M. Koch, a German, whose work appears in a French version under the name of *Tableau des Révolutions de L'Europe*, and which received the highest commendation from many learned men and literary institutions.

The substance of all the opinions of these writers, and of many others who might be mentioned, are summed up by Koch, vol. i. p. 22: "It was usual among the chiefs of the ancient Germans, both in peace and in war, to have a numerous train of young brave warriors attached to their persons. Besides food, these chiefs furnished them with arms and horses, and divided with them the spoils of war. This usage existed after the Germans established themselves in the empire of the west. The kings, and, after their example, the chiefs, continued to entertain a great number of companions and followers, and, for the purpose of having them subjected to command, gave them, in place of arms and horses, the enjoyment of certain portions of land, which they (the chiefs) separated from their own dominions."

If Tytler is right, and Koch and all others wrong, he is not consistent with himself in his account of the conquest and partition of England, by William I., commonly called the Conqueror. He agrees with other historians on this subject, vol. ii. p. 131 and seq. That partition may be considered as an exact representation, in principle, of the manner in which

the invaders of the empire of the west disposed of the newly-acquired lands. The history of western Europe depends on the admission of this feudal theory, and is irreconcilable with any other.

The chain of cause and effect, from 500 to 1500, cannot be traced in western Europe, without the feudal system (as commonly received) for a guide. The social, the political, the military, and even the ecclesiastical condition of society, were only modifications of that system. So much of the present state of nations in western Europe, and even of our own nation, is derived from that system, that no apology is necessary for sketching its origin and progress. The subject is uninviting, dry, tedious, but is essential. Whoever will take the labor of understanding it, will find in it the solution of all historical difficulties.

By the "Feudal System" is meant, the rights of property in lands, the manner in which they were held, used, surrendered, conveyed, or forfeited; the various and reciprocal obligations of the land proprietor, and of his tenants; having, for their principal end, a military organization for wars of defence and aggression.

The term *feudal* is derived from *feodum*, and this from *od*, which meant, in the language of the ancient Germans, possession, or estate in lands; and from *feo*, meaning wages or pay; and both together signified that it was a right to possession and use, granted as a recompense for services to be performed. From this root come the words fee, feud, feif, feudal, all of which had reference to the tenure of lands on some conditions of service. The feudal tenures, although they became, finally, almost the only ones throughout Europe, were essentially distinguished from the tenure called *allodial*. Allodial lands were those held by lot, among the original conquerors of the country. The word allodial is derived from two words, *an*, signifying land, and *lot*, meaning land obtained by lot, on the original partition. The owner of allodial lands held of no superior, but was absolute owner. He was, nevertheless, obliged to perform duties in warfare, not in virtue of the tenure of land, but in his character of citizen or subject. Although the feudal system, properly so called, was not established in Europe till the tenth century, yet the elements out of which it arose, are found as early as the barbarian conquests which occurred five hundred years earlier. It is, therefore, necessary to consider the barbarian practices on the acquisition of any new territory.

The feudal system is supposed to have originated with the ancient inhabitants of Germany, who were known under various names. From Tacitus, (the writer commonly cited by historians on the usages of these tribes,) it appears, that their principal occupation was war. Some highly distinguished chief gathered around him a band of volunteers, who devoted themselves to follow him; and it was the object of his ambition to have the greatest number of the most skilful and valiant. They were his companions in peace, his faithful supporters in battle. They were sustained by the chief, and his means were derived from the plunder of enemies. These chiefs, with such followers, became terrible as enemies, and were courted and compensated as allies. Tacitus says of them,—“In the day of battle it is infamous for the prince to be surpassed in feats of bravery; infamous for the followers to fail in matching the valor of the prince; an indelible reproach to return alive from battle wherein the prince was slain.” The barbarians, who possessed themselves, as has been before shown, of France, Italy, and Spain, had similar usages. They made slaves of all conquered persons, and divided new territories among themselves. The chief, it is supposed, had a much larger allotment than his followers, and these, probably, shared according to some scale of rank and merit. It is probable, also, that this partition of lands was not originally attended by any obligation to serve in the wars of the prince, as this obligation existed at all times. But it may be presumed, that those inferiors who became tenants of the lands reserved to the chief, and those who were tenants of the chief's companions, were held to some service from the earliest times. It is no otherwise important to know how this original tenure and possession was managed, than to find in them the elements of that policy, which, at a future time, settled all the political and social relations of society. So much seems to be certain, that the prince and his friends or companions shared the conquered territory, and that both he and they had tenants and dependants, who held under them; and that there were slaves who were employed in the labors of agriculture. The prince, or chief, was the lord over all, from the original form of barbarian association; but his followers and companions were lords over those among whom they parcelled out their lands. It often happened that the same person held lands of two or more lords, at the same time. Those who were enfeoffed, or constituted tenants, were called *vassals*, a word taken from the German, *gesellen*, meaning companions, and converted into the

barbarous Latin word *vassallus*, whence *vassal* ; and this word, in time, acquired the meaning of servitude, as the feudal system changed from its original structure.

There may be discerned, in these usages, the origin of the orders of society which afterwards arose in Europe, and which, with some inevitable changes, still continue. The great landholders assumed dignity correspondent to territorial possessions. They were soon regarded as the *lords* of the soil. Thus nobility sprang from the right of property in the land. Besides this claim to distinction, the chief bestowed upon his favorites portions of the territory allotted to him ; and in virtue of this *benefice*, as it was called, they also became lords. Wealth or talents, or the having that which others have not, and cannot have ; or the being that which others would, but cannot be, naturally inspires the sentiment of superiority. Hence, one can readily account for that lordly grandeur which the great landholders assumed in the middle ages.

However contemptible this assumption may, in some instances, appear to be at the present day, it was founded then on the distinction of military glory, which has had a powerful influence in every age. The only renown then desired or known, was skill and success in arms. The only riches then known, were lands, which yielded the right to service in war, and to the products of labor. Hence, the warrior, who was also a great landholder, enjoyed a substantial superiority, which he could not but feel and manifest. Though grants, or permissions to possess and use were, originally, for a short time, the immediate grantees of the prince, by gifts or purchases, extended their rights to a tenure for life ; and then motives became very strong to secure an inheritance to preserve family dignity and power. This object was gradually accomplished ; and, before the tenth century, a large proportion of Europe was held by great lords, with power to transmit possession to their children, under various conditions. The same right of inheritance was gradually acquired by the inferior feudal lords.

These landed proprietors were the class from whom the chiefs (or kings, as they soon were in fact) selected officers, who were usually employed to exercise civil as well as military power, in the districts of country committed to their charge ; and, in their own territories, they had the right to hold courts and administer justice. These officers were known under various names descriptive of their employments, and these names settled into *titles* of nobility, though the original as-

sumption of nobility was undoubtedly founded in territorial property.

In the end of the eleventh century, society was divided into separate orders, in all the countries now known under the name of Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, England, the northern part of Spain and Italy: 1. The King or Emperor; 2. The high church dignitaries or bishops; 3. *Dukes*, from the Latin *duces*, (leaders,) who exercised civil and military power over several districts or counties; 4. *Counts*, from the Latin *Comes*, (companions or followers of the prince,) who exercised like authority under the Dukes, in their respective counties; 5. *Marquis*, from the Latin *Marcha*, signifying boundary; marquises were entrusted with the defence of the frontiers; 6. *Earls*, said to be derived from a Danish word, meaning elder, who were, in virtue of the wisdom which age is supposed to impart, counsellors, but whose employments were similar to that of counts; 7. *Barons*; it is supposed that all the great landholders, and especially those who were such from the king's bounty, and who had not employments which authorized them to take either of the before-mentioned titles, were called Barons. The root of this word is found in many languages, and originally signified *man*, or *strength*. In this view of the origin of nobility, all the military and civil officers before mentioned may have been barons.

Though the ownership of great territories was the natural cause of the assumption of nobility, the distinction became *personal* in the course of time, and remained to individuals and their families. It is supposed the nobility began to assume surnames in the thirteenth century, and to designate themselves by the names of their manors and castles.

Manors were so called, because these were the estates on which the feudal lords dwelt, or remained, when at home. Manor is from the Latin word *manere*, to remain. These Latin derivations, in feudal names, arose, because the Latin was the only written language when these feudal relations were settled.

When chivalry (of which the origin is stated in another chapter) flourished, then armorial bearings were assumed as the indications of nobility. In the year 1271, Philip the Hardy assumed to confer the rank of nobility, to balance those who had become noble from their lands. Since that time, all kings have exercised the privilege of creating nobles; and have usually given a title which refers to some landed estate, in sound, though the new noble may not own an acre.

Next to these noble orders were a class of inferior landholders, inferior orders of clergy, and, probably, civil and military officers, who, collectively, may have been considered as inferior nobility, but more properly as *gentry*, as that word is now understood in England. Next were *free men*, who were proprietors of small allodial estates, and who cultivated these, and sometimes adjoining lands, which they held of some proprietor, rendering some kind of rent. Then followed the *villains*, who were bondmen or slaves, annexed to the soil, and who were sold with it, as mere property. The word *villain* is a striking example of the changes which time produces in language. This word was from the Latin *villa*, meaning village, and was intended to designate the inhabitants of villages, who were tenants of the land-owner. Lastly, the slaves, who were the lowest form in which human life can appear. They were subject to the absolute will of their masters, not allowed any civil rights, incapable of holding any property, and liable to any suffering which caprice or malice could inflict, even to the loss of life—and all this without the imputation of crime or fault to their owners.

Such were the orders of society from 800 to the middle of the eleventh century, in which space of time the great landholders gradually encroached on the royal authority, and many of them became petty kings in their own territories. They assumed the right of making war on each other, of administering justice according to their own will, of coining money, and even of resisting their own sovereign by military force. This state of things was suspended, in some degree, by the masterly genius and commanding authority of Charlemagne, (from the year 768 to the year 814,) after which, all his efforts to improve and enlighten society were lost, in the bloody conflicts among his descendants, and among the nobility, who took sides in these conflicts. When no civil authority, whereby to ascertain right and administer justice peaceably, exists in a community, all that is claimed, demanded, or denied, must be yielded or retained by violence. This was the state of things throughout the vast extent over which Charlemagne had established his dominion, and was the true cause of *perfecting* the feudal system. In this age of ignorance, violence, and barbarity, every member of society was compelled to place himself under the protection of some superior, and to pay for that protection by submitting himself to some kind of military or other service, and to give the most solemn assurance of fidelity, by oath.

A principle arose out of this system, which still is recognized in England, and on the Continent, that the king is the paramount lord of all, and that all lands are held directly, or through subordinate lords, of him. This is now, practically, a mere fiction, but is the foundation of the sovereignty, in virtue of which, all lands which never had, or had ceased to have, any other owner, belong to the king. This is the principle on which the several States in the American Republic own all that individuals do not own; and whereby the State is in the place of heir to those who leave no other heir. In legal language, it is called *escheat*, or return to the sovereign. A consequence of this eminent sovereignty was the right to enter on the lands, on failure to perform the duties of a vassal, especially for the cause of treason or rebellion. This is the original principle of the forfeitures so frequently occurring, especially in the civil wars of England.*

As the tenure of property, by means of written instruments, (now called *deeds*, from the Latin *factum*, a deed or act done,) was wholly unknown, the lord of the soil gave the possession and the right to hold and use, by going on the land with his intended tenant, and calling the neighboring tenants to witness the ceremony. By this act, the relation between lord and tenant was made public, and easily proved; and the tenants were thus informed who they were who might be called on for the performance of similar and joint services. These were graduated by the extent of territory held, and generally regulated the number of men, horses, and days of service which might be required in wars. Service or compensation was not always of this nature, but sometimes was limited to labor on lands, or payment in the products of the soil. Of this kind are compensations, to the present day, in several parts of Europe derived, no doubt, from these ancient usages. Besides these services, the vassals were required to attend the courts held by the great lords for the trial of suits which arose within

* One of the most distressing consequences of the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, was the *attainder* of the opponents of the successful pretender. This penalty was the stain or corruption of blood of the condemned criminal. It involved not only the loss of life, but the forfeiture of title and estate to the king; and, consequently, no one could claim any thing by descent or heirship, from or through, the condemned. This grievous affliction fell on almost all the noble families of England in these wars. The success of any claimant of the crown was followed by the restoration, to his partisans, of the losses incurred, of title and estate, by their condemned predecessors; and was followed, also, by new attainders; and hence these wars were carried on with singular and vindictive bitterness.

their territories. They attended to aid in the administration of justice, either in the character of jurors or witnesses. The office of juror was mingled with that of judge, and the vassals sat in the baronial courts with the lords as his *pares* or equals in the trial. The invaluable right of trial by jury, as now known in England, and from thence in the United States, is derived from this usage; but it is not a usage on the continent of Europe.*

The nature of the relation between the lord and the tenant, may best be understood by the oath which the latter was required to take. It was, on the continent, in substance, thus: "I, A. B., vassal, swear on the holy evangelists of God, that from this hour to the last day of my life, I will be faithful to you, C. D., my lord, against all men, except the supreme bishop, the emperor, the king, or any lord whom I have heretofore acknowledged as such." In this ceremony, the vassal was on his knees before the lord, having the palms of his hands joined, as though in the act of prayer, the lord enclosing them in his hands; and in this attitude the oath was taken. But when the vassal was ignorant of the comprehensive meaning of *fidelity*, this was explained in a more extended oath, of this tenor: "I swear that I will never be of any council, nor do any act, whereby your life or members may be endangered, or whereby you may receive injury or reproach, or lose any honor which you have, or may have; and if I shall know or hear of such design against you, I will do my utmost that it be not carried into effect. If I cannot prevent it, I will give you notice thereof as soon as possible, and will afford my best counsel to prevent it. If you lose any thing, I will do all I can to recover and restore it. If any wrong be done to you, I will give you my best counsel and aid to avenge it. I will faithfully keep your counsels, and never divulge any thing but under your orders; and never will I do any act which may occasion injury or reproach to you or yours." This oath, carried into practice, was still more comprehensive. The tenant, or vassal, accompanied his lord to the battle, and fought side by side; if the lord lost his horse, the tenant dismounted and gave him his own; if his lord was taken prisoner, the tenant went into captivity as his hostage, and was bound to contribute to the sum necessary to his lord's ransom.

The process of transferring the right of possession from the landlord to the tenant, was not only the going on the land and

* Lately, there is a jury in France, in some cases.

declaring their relation, and taking the oath, but by a delivery from the landlord to the tenant of some symbol of the transfer, as, a piece of the soil and a twig of a tree, whence came delivery and possession, (anciently and still called livery and seizen, by lawyers,) by the giving of "turf and twig." Afterwards, when writing came into use, the contract was expressed in "*deeds*," but was still accompanied by symbolic livery and seizen. It is uncertain at what time the conveyance of lands by deed came into use. Deeds were not unknown to the Saxons, but are supposed not to have been in common use after the Norman invasion, until the time of Edward IV. (1480.) Then, and before that time, they were not signed by the parties nor witnesses, but the seal of the party was thereunto affixed. Feudal ceremonies were relied on as evidence of the transfer of estates, when that system was carried to England by William, in 1066. The landlord clothed the tenant with a vest or garment, in the presence of witnesses, whence was derived the term "investiture" of an estate. Customs arising from livery and seizen were long preserved in Europe, and were transferred to the United States by our ancestors. There are persons still alive, who can remember that lawful possession of an estate was acquired by the ceremony of delivering turf and twig. Lawyers still speak of possession of real estate, or of a right to possess, as a seizen. At present, now that the utility of written and recorded conveyances has been experienced, the ceremony of livery and seizen has disappeared. It is the practice to transfer landed estate by written instruments, under seal, acknowledged to be voluntary acts, and so certified by some competent authority, and recorded. In some of the States there are statutes declaring that such alienations by persons lawfully authorized to make them, shall be good and valid without any other ceremony. It is the practice here, to consider the proper execution of a lawful deed as a legal transfer, though neither of the contracting parties ever saw the property transferred.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the engrossing employment of all the free people of Europe was war. It was carried on for the gratification of the most malignant passions, as well as to obtain whatsoever the conqueror desired. The purpose, on both sides, was the absolute destruction of the enemy's place of abode; laying waste his cultivated lands; carrying away all personal property, and destroying such as could not be carried away; taking the lord and his family and his armed vassals and putting them to death, or carrying them into cap-

tivity to serve as slaves, or detaining them as prisoners in the hope that they would be ransomed.

The baronial wars are supposed to have given to the English language the word *feud*, in common use, as in some degree expressive of the spirit in which these wars were conducted. It was this barbarous warfare which caused the building of castles. These were habitations as well as fortresses, and were placed where access was most difficult. They were spacious enough to contain a large armed force, and provisions enough to sustain all who were within, during a siege. The ruins of these castles yet remain as monuments of the barbarism which made them necessary. In these times, the free allodial proprietors were subjected to the rapacity of those who were engaged in war, without having any protection from feudal lords. They had no resource but to surrender their lands to such as could protect them, and to take back the same lands under feudal tenure. In general, the surrender was made to the sovereign of the country, but in many instances to other lords, or to monasteries, or to superior bishops, who were lords themselves, and proprietors of extensive territories. The feudal duties of the bishops and abbots, (the latter were chiefs in the monasteries, and so called from a Hebrew word, meaning father,) were sometimes performed even in battle by the prelates themselves. Their tenure was more commonly of a clerical character, as the offering of prayers and bestowing benedictions. The motive in surrendering to monasteries, was the belief that the lands surrendered and received again from the monastic chiefs in feudal tenure, and also the vassals themselves would be taken into the immediate protection of the saints, to whom the monasteries were respectively dedicated. Meanwhile, the number of slaves was much increased. Besides the slavery which arose from conquests, delinquences and offences under feudal tenure were punished with the loss of freedom; other causes of this loss were common, but the strongest proof of the misery of these days is found in the fact, that great numbers of freemen voluntarily relinquished that condition and gave up their property, and submitted to the ignominy of irrevocable slavery for themselves and descendants, rather than bear the violations and afflictions to which the defenceless and unprotected were liable. Thus it arose that the major part of all the population of Europe became slaves.

As nothing of human institution can be stationary, but must grow better or worse, the feudal system became an insupport-

able evil. It threw a power, most tyrannically used, into the hands of dukes, counts, barons, and inferior lords. As each superior oppressed his immediate vassals, so these indemnified themselves by oppressing their inferiors, until, at length, the actual cultivators of the soil were arrived at, by whom all above them were, in some respects, to be sustained. Originally, the burthens of the vassal were not burthensome. They were bound to serve in war, and had a personal interest in rendering that service. But the wants of superiors led to a settled system of claims, which are found, at an early age, to have been thus classed :

Aids to the lord ; 1. To ransom the lord's person. 2. To contribute to the expense of making the lord's eldest son a knight. 3. To contribute to the portion of the lord's eldest daughter on her marriage. *Reliefs*. This was a payment made by the succeeding heir to a feud or estate when the tenant deceased. *Premier seizen* was the right to one year's possession and profits of the estate after the tenant's death, and before the heir could take possession. Originally this was a privilege of the king only, as to his tenants. *Wardship*. If the heir was not of age, the lord took him into guardianship, and took all the profits to his own use. *Marriage*. The lord had the right of deciding on the marriage of his ward, and his consent was obtained for a compensation. 6. A *fine* (or compensation) was paid to the lord when a vassal alienated his possessory estate to another. Neither the lord nor the vassal could terminate their relation but by mutual consent ; and the lord had the right to take the estate himself and pay the price at which the vassal desired to sell.*

Out of these original provisions (which could be shown to be sufficiently reasonable on the principle of feudal tenure, which was military strength,) the most intolerable abuses gradually arose. The tendency of power to increase and strengthen itself, and to encroach upon and oppress the weak, is no where more strikingly proved than in the abuses of the feudal lords.

The feudal system was carried to England by William the Conqueror, 1066. Blackstone thus mentions the complaint of Sir Thomas Smith :—" When he came to his own after he was out of wardship, his woods decayed, houses fallen down and gone, lands let forth to be ploughed and barren, to

* In Lower Canada, this is the law to the present day ; most of the old cultivated lands there are now held under feudal tenures.

reduce him still farther, he was yet to pay half a year's profits as a fine for suing out his livery, (that is, for the delivery of possession to him;) and also the price or value of his marriage, if he refused such wife as his lord and guardian had bartered for and imposed on him; or twice that value if he married another woman. Add to this the expense and untimely honor of knighthood. And when, by these deductions, his fortune was so shattered, that a sale of his patrimony was necessary, even that poor privilege was not obtained without an exorbitant fine for a license of alienation." But these grievances went only to *property*. There were others concerning the vassals and the members of their families, which were far greater; some of which are too odious to be mentioned. It was not until the 12th of Charles II. that all these feudal abuses were abolished, by act of Parliament. They continued much longer on the continent.*

This military and slavish policy reigned in Europe in full vigor from about 800 to the sixteenth century, and in some parts of it still longer. Its gradual dissolution arose from the increase of power which kings obtained over their nobles. Many large feuds (or territories) came to the possession of kings as feudal lords. Their wars obliged them to keep a military force in the field longer than the rules of feudal law permitted the exaction of service from vassals. They began by paying their vassals for longer service. In process of time, kings were enabled to keep small bodies of armed men in constant service. Thus arose standing armies, or a class of men separated from all others, and whose only vocation was war. Dependence on vassals was thus superseded. But other

* Time has not yet relieved the vassal or bondman from servitude, every where. They are still such in northeastern Europe. There, feudal obligations (as in Russia and Hungary) still continue. In other parts of northeastern Europe, the vassalage was mitigated by a certain agreed periodical service, and sometimes by giving up part of the land to the lord, or an annual payment of money. In this way, vassalage gradually disappeared in Prussia about the year 1809. Sismondi says, (*Hist. of Ital. Rep.*) that, in the fourteenth century, vassalage was given up by the land proprietors in northern Italy from the conviction that it would be for their *interest* to do it, and that they could profit more by having their lands cultivated by free tenants than by bondmen. In France, vassalage was not entirely extirpated till the close of the last century, one of the effects of the revolution. In Russia, the serfs are, strictly, *adscripti glebæ*, (bound to the soil,) and cannot be severed from the soil and sold, but are sold with it. The late Emperor Alexander is said to have freed his serfs, and to have thereby given great offence to his nobles. In the Austrian dominions, servitude still continues, as in Russia. Large villages are peopled with serfs, especially in Hungary.

feudal burthens continued. The first king who had his own troops or standing army, was, it is said, Charles VII. of France, in 1444; though the practice of having soldiers to serve during a war, is of much older date.

As military strength gradually ceased to be dependent on the feudal tenure, that system fell into disuse as to its original purpose. But it had continued through so many centuries, and had so incorporated itself with all landed estates, and with all social rights and duties, and with all distinctions in the order of society, that in the present day, nearly all that is seen in Europe in all these respects, can be traced to that system. Out of it arose a body of laws, customs, and usages, and forms of proceeding in courts of justice, so that no one now is considered to be learned in the law who is not master of feudal law. Fortunately, the progress of improvement has done much to free the states of Europe from forms and ceremonies inapplicable to the present age. It is seen in England that attempts are made by wise men to free the forms of conveyance of real estate from that complexity which grew out of feudal usages; and to reduce the administration of justice as to landed property, to simple and plain processes, alike to be desired by all parties who are under the necessity of appearing in courts of justice. This was never otherwise in some of the States of the Union. Yet the feudal system is far from deserving unqualified reproach. It was suitable and indispensable to the age in which it arose. The design of those who framed it and gave it efficacy, is to be distinguished from the grievous perversions and abuses to which it gave rise. The opinion of the discriminating Hallam, at the close of his second chapter in his history of the Middle Ages, deserves great respect. He considers the system to have extinguished the vices of falsehood, treachery, and ingratitude which disgraced the decline of the Roman empire. The faithful and honorable performance of duty to superiors arose, while superiors were equally bound to like performance of duty to their dependants. He regards the participation in administering justice as having had a salutary influence on the character of freemen; and maintains that the ample field which was opened for the cultivation of the sentiments which might be felt between an obedient vassal and a beneficent superior, was availed of to the great benefit of both parties. It is his opinion that the sentiment of loyalty which is yet felt in monarchical governments in Europe, is one of the benefits which arose from this system. Whatever may be thought of these opinions in

our republican country, all must agree with him that the feudal system, from its preventive power, and from its unfitness to be used as an instrument of conquest in the hands of an ambitious monarch, saved Europe from a universal monarchy.

This brief summary of feudal law will be found to have been indispensable to the intelligent perusal of causes and effects among nations in the ages which we are to examine. The design is now to pass from the west of Europe to the eastern extremity of Asia, taking each country by itself. Actions, or events and consequences, will be noticed in the countries in which they occurred. If, for example, Frenchmen, Germans, or Spaniards act in Italy, their acts are to be noticed in Italy, and not in their own countries respectively. As another example, the crusades, though beginning in several of the western states, are to be noticed in sketches of the Roman Church, because all of them, but the last, were put in motion by the popes; or they are to be noticed at the scenes of action, as Constantinople or Palestine. It will be convenient, perhaps necessary, sometimes, to deviate from this rule. Pursuant to this general design, we are to begin with *Ireland*.

CHAPTER VI.

IRELAND.

Original Population—Poems of Ossian—St. Patrick—Pelagian Heresy—Learning—Conquest of Ireland by Henry II.—Causes of Affliction—Prince John—Government by English Kings—State of Ireland in 1500.

THIS island, lying between the fifty-first and fifty-sixth degrees of north latitude, is two degrees further west than any part of Spain or Portugal. Its length, from Malin Head in the north to Cape Clear in the south, is 280 miles; its breadth from the east side of the island, near Dublin, to the extreme west at Ireconnaught, is about 125 miles. The surface of the island is diversified with ranges of hills, valleys, and bogs; the latter formed by the filling up of shallow lakes. The ranges of hills, if they have any general course, are from east to west. Some of them approach to the character of mountains. The highest point is in Kerry, in the south-west, near Killarney, Gurrane Tual, 3410 feet above the sea. Ireland has no forests, neither has it any venomous insect or reptile.

The river Shannon is without a rival in the three kingdoms. Its course through the middle of the island, from north-east to south-west, is 170 miles. There are many other rivers, many lakes, and hundreds of bays and harbors. Of the thirty thousand square miles far less is cultivated than might be. Its climate, though moist, is exceedingly genial to vegetation. Its name is derived from its verdure. It is called the Green Isle, the Emerald Isle, Erin, Ierne, Ireland. The Romans gave their own termination to this name, and called it Hibernia. This beautiful isle is full of natural riches, and capable of sustaining a very numerous population, and of imparting every benefit which human life is adapted to enjoy; but no part of the earth, within the range of civilization, has been so invariably miserable. The causes of this misery will become apparent as we proceed in these sketches.

Leland and Thomas Moore are the two latest historians who have written of Ireland. The latter has suggested some corrections in the work of the former. The origin of the peopling of Ireland and its ancient condition are treated of by Moore with much research and learning. There is no doubt that the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians were acquainted with this island, and not improbable that they had settlements there. The relics of antiquity are discussed by Moore in reference to its earliest inhabitants, some of which he refers to eastern origin; but he does not assume to account for the round, slim, high towers which are here found, and which have survived even conjectural origin. There is one fact equally difficult to be accounted for. From the second century of the Christian era, the Irish had written historical annals. Sir James McIntosh (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 82) considers them to be authentic. He says,—“In one respect, Irish history has been eminently fortunate. The Chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, have been recently published with the fullest evidence of their genuineness and exactness. The Irish possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other possess, in its present spoken language. No other nation possesses any monument of its literature, in its present spoken language, which goes back within several centuries of the beginning of these Chronicles.” This writer offers no conjecture on the singularity of this fact, in relation to the universal ignorance of all other nations of that time, but Greeks and Romans. The translator of these Chronicles, Dr. Charles O'Connor, lineal descendant from a

king paramount of Ireland, claims a high degree of civilization for his ancient countrymen. Moore thinks (vol. i. p. 146) that McIntosh assigned a higher antiquity to these Chronicles than is consistent with truth; and if Moore is right in his account of the Irish, little can be inferred from it in favor of civilization at that early period.

Whatever may be conjectured as to the ancient state and relics of Ireland, it is considered as settled, that the original population were like those of France, England, and Spain, Celtic. It is improbable that there was permanent intermixture of Phœnicians or Carthaginians with the original race. If they had attained to any higher degree of civilization than their Celtic neighbors on the continent, it seems to have been lost before they became the subjects of history. When first so known, the island was divided into four kingdoms: 1. Ulster, comprising the north end. 2. Munster, comprising the south end. 3. Leinster, midway between the two, on the east side. 4. Connaught, midway between the two, on the west side. These four kingdoms were divided into numerous small ones. Over the whole was a paramount king, whose place of abode was in Connaught. They had several cities at an early period, as Waterford and Cork on the south side of the island; Dublin on the east; Limerick on the Shannon in the west. Perhaps the early commerce in tin may account for these cities. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians are supposed to have gone to Ireland for that article, and perhaps for some others.

The presumption is irresistible, that for more than a thousand years before Henry II. conquered Ireland, (in 1172,) that country was subjected to incessant wars and convulsions from the nature of its political condition. In all the Irish kingdoms, great or small, succession to the royal authority depended on choice, though limited to royal blood. Property was subject to partition anew among a whole tribe, when any one of its members deceased. Here were two elements (to say nothing of many others incident to that rude state of society) sufficient to have kept up incessant, vindictive, bloody warfare throughout the island. Such was undoubtedly its condition. No historical records are necessary to prove this. The people of Ireland had no other occupation. Such a state of society may be considered as admitted by Moore, who has every disposition to give the best account, consistent with truth, of his native land.*

* The celebrated poems of Ossian, by Macpherson, arose out of Irish

Whatever melioration arose in this state of things, Ireland is indebted for it to the presence and ministry of St. Patrick. Moore assigns Boulogne, fourteen miles south of Calais, France, for his birth place, A. D. 387. Gibbon thinks his name is derived from the custom among certain classes, in Roman colonies, to take the name of patrician. While a youth, St. Patrick was carried to Ireland as a slave. After seven years he escaped and returned to France, and devoted himself to the church. In 422 he returned to Ireland, considering himself commissioned, in a vision, to preach Christianity. His piety, eloquence, and personal influence accomplished his object. He established the bishopric of Armagh, about sixty miles nearly north of Dublin. His pious and useful life was prolonged to the *seventeenth* day of March, 448, and was closed in the land of his adoption. That day is commemorated by the Irish in honor of their Saint. All notices of the life of this person are concurrent, as to the fact that he is entitled to an eminent rank among the wise and the worthy, who have arisen from time to time, to instruct and benefit their fellow-men.

Near the close of the fourth century arose the *Pelagian* heresy. Moore (vol. i. p. 178) maintains that Pelagius and his disciple Celestinus, were both natives of Ireland. Gibbon mentions Pelagius as a Briton. They were both eminent men, and, if born in Ireland, went early to the continent, and were distinguished at Rome and Alexandria. They were sufficiently known to call forth St. Augustine and Jerome as opponents. In Cunningham's translation of Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 218, there is an account of this controversy. The subject was the freedom of the will, the

conflicts. James Macpherson was born in Scotland in 1738, and died in 1796, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He professed to have translated from the original Gaelic of Ossian, scenes which occurred in Scotland in the third century. According to Moore, (vol. i. p. 120,) the scenes described in Ossian's poems, so far as they have any historical foundation, occurred in Ireland, in civil wars, about the close of the third century. This historian has devoted several pages to prove Macpherson's imposition upon the literary community. "Had the aim," says Moore, "of the forgery been confined to the ordinary objects of romance, viz. to delight and interest, any such grave notice of its anachronisms and inconsistencies, would have been here misplaced. But the imposture of Macpherson was, at the least, as much historical as poetical." The foundation of Macpherson's poetical ingenuity was the songs of Irish bards. The fatal battle of Gabhra was one of the principal scenes therein described. On this, Macpherson is accused of founding his poem of Temora, (p. 121.) Admit them to be fictions or forgeries, they are eminent poetical effusions.

evil consequences of the fall, and the necessity of divine grace. Pelagius and Celestinus denied this fundamental doctrine of the church, and insisted that there is no original sin; that man can, by his own free will, choose good as well as evil, and every one, therefore, *can* secure future happiness. This heresy, though at one time widely spread, was crushed by the power of the church. Pelagius died at Jerusalem in 420, at the age of ninety years.

In the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, Ireland was much celebrated for its scholarship. "The venerable Bede," as he is called, mentions the learning of Ireland. Bede was a native of England, born near Durham in 672, and died at the age of sixty-three. He is often referred to with respect and confidence. Many persons, distinguished for their learning, were educated at the monastic establishments at Armagh, near the middle of the northern kingdom of Ulster. The original impulse was probably from St. Patrick. They were, however, learned only in the church doctrines of the day, and to be so, must have been instructed in Latin. It cannot be assumed that the commendation bestowed on several clerical men who appeared on the continent from this island, in the court of Charlemagne, 800, and of Alfred in 890, was founded in any thing higher than the teaching and studies of monasteries. They excelled the students of other countries in theological mysteries, and perhaps in the art of disputation.

The work of Thomas Moore (towards the close of vol. i.) notices the customs and the manners of the Irish, which do not disclose a better condition than then existed on the continent. It might be expected of him to notice the Irish harp, and he is full in its praise. He quotes Bacon as saying,— "The harp hath the concave not along the strings, but across the strings, and no harp hath the sound so prolonged and melting as the Irish harp." And the following from Evelyn's journal:—"Came to see my old acquaintance, and the most incomparable player on the Irish harp, Mr. Clarke, after his travels. Such music, before or since, did I never hear, that instrument being neglected by its extraordinary difficulty; but, in my judgment, far superior to the lute itself, or whatever speaks with strings." *

In the year 1152, Ireland had attracted the notice of Pope Adrian, who considered, in common with most all others who filled the papal chair, that his empire extended to every hab-

* Evelyn died in 1705.

itable portion of the earth. Accordingly, he commissioned Cardinal Paparon to appear in Ireland, and to establish there the papal authority. It was not difficult to persuade the Christian priests that they would increase their power by admitting the acknowledged sovereign of the Holy Church as their sovereign, in all spiritual concerns and in all their consequences. With the usual forms the priesthood was recognized, and Ireland was received into the church dominion, which then pervaded all the civilized parts of Europe. Bishops and priests and all the ceremonies of the Roman Church were duly established, and there they have remained, from age to age, to perplex the generations which have successively arisen.

About this time Henry the Second (in 1154) had ascended the English throne. He was the grandson of Henry the First, by Matilda, and was the first of the Plantagenet race. His mother was the widow of Henry Fifth, emperor of Germany, when she married the French count of Anjou, Henry's father. Being the son of one who had been an empress, Henry used to add to his name Fitz-Empress, Fitz being an old French word, meaning son. Henry aspired to add Ireland to his dominions; but, having no justifiable cause to invade and conquer the island, he applied to Pope Adrian, the fourth of that name, and the only Englishman that ever filled the papal throne. Adrian, it may be presumed, was pleased to have such an application from so distinguished a monarch, as it implied the right, assumed by the popes, to dispose, at their pleasure, of the whole earth. On Henry's application, Adrian issued his bull, in the year 1156, and therein declares that all countries "which have received the Christian faith, do belong to the jurisdiction of Saint Peter and of the Holy Roman Church." Wherefore he authorizes Henry to enter upon Ireland and take possession of it, and "to reduce the people to obedience;" provided Henry "reserved and paid, from each house in Ireland, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and preserved the rights of the churches of this land whole and inviolate." Thus, the chief priest of the Christian religion, (as he called it,) at the distance of more than twelve hundred miles from Ireland, authorizes a neighboring king to subdue, by force of arms, a whole nation, and to possess their land, on condition of paying to himself and his successors an annual compensation for this favor. This is but one of a thousand similar examples of the meaning of the Gospel of peace and righteousness.

It so happened that Henry was too much engaged in his English and French dominions to avail himself, forthwith, of this munificent grant. But the benefit was not then entirely lost, as a state of things had occurred in Ireland which favored his interference in its affairs. There had long been an inveterate hostility between two of the kings there, named O'Ruarc and Dermot. Dermot had carried away the beautiful and not unwilling wife of O'Ruarc. This, and other aggressions, combined a powerful force against Dermot, and he was defeated and compelled to abandon his kingdom of Leinster. He had no hope of reinstating himself unless he could obtain assistance from abroad. He repaired to Henry, then in France, who was already in possession of the Pope's bull. Henry was so engrossed with his own affairs and troubles, that he could not avail himself of this application, but he gave to Dermot a letter of credence addressed to all his subjects, notifying them of his grace and protection of king Dermot, and declaring that "whosoever, within his dominions, should be disposed to aid him in the recovery of his territory, might be assured of free license and royal favor."

In the south of Wales, on the northern side of the Severn, dwelt, at this time, Richard, earl of Chepstow and Pembroke, of the illustrious house of Clare, surnamed Strongbow, from his superior strength and skill in archery. To him Dermot applied and made great promises, and among others to bestow in marriage his daughter Ava, with assurances of inheriting the kingdom of Leinster. Having secured Strongbow's assistance, Dermot returned secretly to Ireland to prepare for his reception. In 1170, the first division of Strongbow's forces arrived near Wexford, in the south-east corner of Ireland, and in May of the following year, Strongbow arrived with the rest of his forces. In the few following months, Strongbow subdued the south-east parts of the island, extending his conquests to Cork, (midway of the southern shore,) and thence northwardly to Limerick on the Shannon, and thence still further north to the south boundary of Ulster, and thence eastwardly to the sea. By these conquests, Dermot was restored to his kingdom of Leinster, and had added thereto on the south, the eastern half of Munster. But there were, within these limits, many Irish chieftains and their adherents, who had submitted to a force which they could not resist, and who retained the determination to free themselves from this new subjection, and take ample vengeance whenever the opportunity should arise.

When Henry heard of Strongbow's conquests, he feared

that he might be deprived of the sovereignty of Ireland, and that Strongbow might feel potent enough to assume independence. He, therefore, commanded Strongbow to appear before him, and to acknowledge his vassalage. He did so, and assured Henry that whatsoever conquests he had made, were made in Henry's right. The way was now clear for Henry to appear in Ireland, and having made a proper provision of force for this expedition, he arrived at Waterford, on the south coast, in the month of October, 1172. He brought with him a formidable army, and passed unmolested to Dublin by slow marches, and with great pomp and parade. Many Irish chiefs who had not submitted to Strongbow, voluntarily appeared and took the oath of allegiance to Henry. During the half year that Henry spent in Ireland, three months were passed at Dublin in forming the acquired territory into counties, in settling the affairs of the church, in arranging for the future government of these counties, and in making grants of land to his followers; and, lastly, in establishing a vice-royalty, to represent the English sovereign. Thus, the Roman church was fastened on Ireland, and a tenure of English subjects was established. But the old Irish character remained among the natives of the island, unchanged and unchangeable. From these causes have sprung the miseries which have afflicted Ireland in all future times; and the reasons why the improvements and civilization which appear in England have never found their way to this beautiful region.

The troubles in which Henry had involved himself in England, hastened his departure, and in the month of April, 1173, he landed in Pembrokeshire in Wales, not leaving (as Sir John Davis says) one true subject in Ireland more than he found there; but leaving an exasperated and vindictive enemy, however disguised by apparent loyalty and submission.

The seeds of discord, violence, and misery had been profusely sown in Ireland. They seem to have partaken of the natural productiveness of the soil, and to have borne abundant harvests. From the time that Henry departed, in 1173, to the year 1509, (a term of 336 years,) when Henry the Eighth ascended the English throne, the history of this island comprises only a long train of afflictions from the operation of natural causes. If any twenty of these 336 years were selected, and the events therein occurring were detailed, they would be the events of any other twenty years, with no other variation than in particular places and agents. The events in all this term, and in subsequent years, have been described

with extraordinary patience and perseverance by several historians. But this minuteness is inadmissible on this occasion. It is only necessary to show in what manner Ireland has been treated by the government of England—in what manner Englishmen have conducted themselves in Ireland—in what manner the Irish people have conducted themselves, and herein to find the causes of the present miseries of this country. It will make the subject more easily understood if the relation of all the several parties who appeared in these scenes are distinctly stated.

1. All the kings of England, from Henry the Second to Henry the Eighth, were involved either in rebellions, civil or foreign wars, or in controversies with the pope, besides many minor difficulties, and had no time to devote to Ireland.

2. The administration of Irish affairs was necessarily delegated to agents, some of whom were violent and belligerent, and disposed to force obedience; others, timid or weak; and very few of the whole number competent and equal to the task.

3. The English subjects were ever encroaching on the Irish, despoiling them of their lands, and treating them as a conquered people.

4. Grants were frequently made of lands in possession of the Irish, which were to become the property of the grantees as soon as they could expel the Irish, and get possession for themselves.

5. English subjects, taking advantage of the embarrassments of their kings, sometimes renounced their allegiance, joined the Irish, and assumed their manners, dress, and habits.

6. The more recent English settlers in Ireland, and the ancient settlers, came into collision, and engaged in warfare with each other.

7. The Irish considered all the English as intruders and usurpers, and either held all treaties to be forced, and of no validity, or else they considered treaties to be valid no longer than they could find themselves sufficiently powerful to disregard them.

8. In those parts of the island which were not subdued, the Irish continued their vindictive wars, which were frequently fomented by the English, and often the English joined in those wars, on one side or the other.

9. The Roman church was, in the mean time, extending its power over the minds of the ignorant and superstitious people of the country, and enriching itself with the acquisition of lands, donations, and exactions.

10. The necessities of the English kings compelled them to exact supplies from the church and the laity, which it was difficult at any time, and sometimes impossible to comply with.

11. The laws of England and the customs of the native Irish were in continual conflict, and, consequently, the administration of justice was generally nothing else than the power of the strongest.

One cannot imagine a state of society less adapted to peace or to the promotion of security and welfare, nor any more adapted to promote contentions, violence, and crime.

Among the events of these 336 years, there are very few which are worth selecting; and none need be selected but for the purpose of showing how these discordant elements operated to effect the general wretchedness of the country.

One of the misfortunes of Ireland was the appointment of Henry the Second's son John to be lord of Ireland. John was only nineteen years old when his father sent him, with a numerous train of associates, most of them nearly of his own age, to administer the government. Henry supposed he had sufficiently guarded against youthful indiscretion by sending over with his son an eminent lawyer, Glanville, as his monitor and minister. The expectation of the king's son in Ireland had a favorable effect, both with the English and Irish. The former hoped to have John's aid in advancing their objects; the latter hoped that restraints would be put on English usurpations. Both parties were greatly disappointed. John landed at Wexford with his train of young French nobility, gaily adorned; and thither came the rude rough Irish chiefs, in their national cloaks and bushy beards, to render homage to the young prince. They approached the glittering throng, and, according to their custom of reverence, meant to kiss the prince. This the young lordlings interposed to prevent, and turned these visitors into ridicule, and even went so far as to pluck the beards of the Irish, and otherwise insult them. This was an unfortunate beginning for the prince. The proud chiefs retired indignant and revengeful, and soon united their countrymen in the design of making an effort to expel the insolent English. Meanwhile, John bestowed on his followers the lands of the Irish who still remained within the English part of the island, enriched the church, and spent the money intended to sustain the soldiery. In the midst of his gay career he was astonished to find that the Irish were embodied, in formidable numbers, to take ven-

geance. At the end of eight months, Henry, perceiving that John's administration was adding to the evils which he was sent to remedy, and creating others which might be irremediable, ordered him to return to England, and a new viceroy was sent to Ireland.

Henry died in 1189, and was succeeded by his son, Richard the First, who died in 1199. During his reign, John, lord of Ireland, ordered its affairs without any interference on Richard's part. On the death of Richard, John succeeded to the English crown, and the lordship of Ireland was merged in the royal right. John's eventful and troublesome reign ended in 1216. Affairs, during his reign, present only the renewal of combinations, sometimes of Irish chiefs against Irish chiefs, assisted on the one side and the other by English subjects, and sometimes combinations of English and Irish against the authority of John. The whole presenting scenes of perfidy, treachery, cruelty, superstition, sudden reverses, and poignant misery, not surpassed in any history. These troubles induced John to go to Ireland in 1210. His presence was attended with a better state of things. He found that the Irish had been much enfeebled by their mutual contentions, and that the English, reinforced by new adventurers, had penetrated to almost every part of the island. Having made some new counties, and having declared some new laws, and taken measures for future security, he returned to England.

Henry III. was only nine years old when he became king, on the death of his father, John. His long reign of fifty-six years, was full of troubles, and Ireland had little of his attention. Had his reign been ever so tranquil—had he been the wisest and the ablest of men—had he done all that wisdom and ability could permit, Ireland had now too many discordant and irreconcilable interests, among its inhabitants, to be brought to a state of order and peace. Nothing but an overawing military power could have kept the rapacious and turbulent English, and the exasperated and belligerent Irish, in subjection. There is nothing, therefore, in this long reign which varied the fortunes of Ireland. Viceroys appeared in Ireland in rapid succession, seldom well selected, and never successful in their efforts to govern. Meanwhile, the church, which never slumbers over its interests, was inserting, slowly and surely, its roots on Irish soil; and the consequences of this indefatigable industry are felt at the present day, both by English and Irish, in both islands. Parliaments had often been held in Ireland before the reign of Henry III.; and complaints

had been before that time made, that the miseries experienced there were partly occasioned by the absence of English land owners from Ireland. This, as is well known, is still a cause of complaint. Many proprietors of large estates pass their lives without ever seeing them, trusting only to agents, who have no interest to better the condition of tenants.

During the reign of the three Edwards, in regular succession from 1272, to 1377, including 105 years, the history of Ireland is a repetition of the scenes of former years, from the same causes. The English were incessantly at variance with the Irish, who were ever in arms in one part of the island or another. Within this time they sought the aid of the Scotch. In the year 1315, Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, who had ascended the throne of Scotland, appeared in Ireland with an army, and caused himself to be crowned at Dundalk, which is on the East coast, North of Dublin. He penetrated to Dublin, and still further South; but after three years of severe conflicts he fell in battle, having been found dead with the dead body of his conqueror stretched over his own. They are supposed to have destroyed each other in the conflict.

From 1377 to 1509, a period of 131 years, ending with the accession of Henry Eighth, there were eight English kings who regarded Ireland as part of their dominions. There will be occasion to mention these kings in the sketches of England, and they are not, therefore, further noticed here, in the order of succession. These 132 years were a portion of time in which England was involved in great difficulties. No effective measures were taken to remedy the troubles which existed in Ireland, from the causes to which we have so often adverted.

It is apparent, from this rapid sketch, that whatever might have been the destiny of this unfortuate and beautiful island, it could not have been more miserable than it was, from the invasion of Henry to the end of the fifteenth century. Its miseries were not diminished in the next three centuries, and this could not have been otherwise. The sovereign, always an alien to Ireland, governed that country by delegates, who were ignorant of the language spoken by those who were to be governed, and who did not, and could not understand the laws prescribed to them. The English possessed nearly the whole territory by conquest, or by grants, made by an authority towards which the natives maintained an implacable enmity, and for very justifiable reasons. An exasperated and vindictive people were intermingled with their invaders, and those who were not wholly subdued, as well as those who were, awaited only

opportunities to revolt, and attempt to regain their independence, however desperate the effort. The English proprietors of Irish estates, rarely saw, and more rarely dwelt on the island, and the immediate tenants and cultivators were subjected to the rapacity and insolence of stewards and agents. The English sovereigns enforced taxation to maintain themselves in wars in which the Irish had no interest. The Roman Catholic priesthood enforced their exactions while they cultivated a superstitious obedience among ignorant communities. These are among the elements of the wretchedness which was the lot of Ireland, from the year 1500 to the present day. There have been abundant facts to prove, that when native Irishmen have had the advantages of education, and have been placed in competition with those of other parts of the neighboring island, they have not been found inferior. Among those who have contributed to British renown, whether in the cabinet, in parliament, at the bar, on the ocean, or in the field, not a few of them were born in the Emerald Isle.

CHAPTER. VII.

SCOTLAND.

Original Population—Divisions of Society—Macbeth—Stuart Origin—Maid of Norway—Succession of Baliol and Bruce to the Crown—Wallace—Succession of Kings—English and Scotch Wars—Marriage of Henry VII. daughter with James IV..

THE history of Scotland, like the country itself, is peculiar and interesting. Very remarkable persons, and very extraordinary events have been known in Scotland. This country is almost an island by itself; and is part of the island of Great Britain. On the West, North and East, the boundary is the ocean; on the South, it bounds on England. Its position on the globe is far to the North; the Southern extremity being in $54^{\circ} 45'$ N. lat., and its Northern one in $58^{\circ} 40'$. Its greatest length from North to South is about 280 miles; its breadth very various, between 50 and 130 miles. Its square miles are about 30,000. Geographers divide the surface into two nearly equal parts; the Northwestern part they call the highlands, the Southeastern the lowlands. The highlands are truly such,

having many ranges of mountains between 3 and 4000 feet high, and some still higher. Between these ranges, in deep and narrow vallies, are extensive fresh water lakes. Most of these highlands are barren and desolate, and form a dreary country; a very fit habitation for the imaginary agents, which make a striking figure in the old Scottish legends. The lowlands of Scotland are Southeast of a line running about midway from Southwest to Northeast. Parts of these lowlands are described as fertile and beautiful, and would be so considered anywhere, if the poetical descriptions of natives were fully credited. The historical events of Scotland have occurred, with few exceptions, on the Southeastern side, or in the lowlands, and often very near the separating line between the high and lowlands, and along the South border, adjoining England. On this border an almost incessant warfare was carried on, from a time when historical records begun, to 1603, when Scotland and England were united.

Scotland was, probably, peopled, as all the West of Europe must have been, by some portion of the Celtic race. It is from the Romans that the first knowledge is derived. When Cæsar possessed himself of the South parts of Great Britain, Scotland is spoken of as being held by tribes of different names, but who had the general name of Caledonians. The most known of these tribes were those whom the Romans called the *Picts*, who often met the Romans as formidable enemies, having their bodies *painted*,—whence the name. These ancient Caledonians on the extreme West of the Roman Empire, have the proud distinction which belongs only to them, and to the borderers on the extreme East of the Empire, the Parthians, that they had never been numbered among the conquered. In the four centuries and an half that the Romans held England, there were very able generals, and numerous armies employed against the Caledonians; and within those years no less than six Roman Emperors were personally present, and engaged in this warfare. Down to the present day, there are remnants along the borders of Scotland and England, of fortresses and walls, erected, not by the Caledonians to keep the Romans out, but by the Romans to prevent the coming of the Caledonians. This unquestionable fact is conclusive evidence that the northern part of the island was originally held by a powerful and warlike race, whoever they may have been.

In the middle of the fifth century, the Roman Empire was falling into ruins, and the island of Great Britain was abandoned by the Romans about the year 446. About half a cen-

tury afterwards (in 503) an invasion of the Southwest part of Scotland is said to have been made from Ireland. The invaders were called Scots, from an Irish term, which means wanderers; and thence, probably, came the name of this people. After a struggle of 350 years, the Scots became masters, and gave their name to the country, and united the whole under one monarch. From this time, about the middle of the ninth century, the country is called Scotland, and its inhabitants Scots. Thence to the year 1000, that is, 150 years, if there were any historical records which could be relied on, they could disclose no other facts than such as are known to have occurred in other parts of Europe about the same time. From the condition of society, there must have been wars between clans, rebellions against the sovereign, and crimes, punishment and vengeance; in short, the usual action of men in like circumstances: there are some peculiarities, however, to be noticed: 1. The nature of the country favored the independence which the Scottish Lords assumed. Their strongholds were easily defended in the mountains. 2. There was a practice among these Lords to enter into covenants or mutual alliance to carry on wars offensive and defensive. 3. The number of Lords were remarkably few, and as they held nearly the whole country in Lordships, the dependants on each Lord were numerous. The chief, his subordinates and followers, constituted the Scottish clans, each one having its own family name. These are peculiarities which enter into the historical details of Scotland. It may be supposed that in the year 1000, the inhabitants of this territory were a rude, hardy people, familiar with war, and subjected to the command of nobles; and over the whole a king, who was little more than the first among his equals. Flocks, herds, horses, they had; some knowledge of agriculture, also; perhaps some commerce with the North of the European continent. Scotland is distant from Norway about 350 miles.

Malcom II. was king in Scotland in the year 1003. At this time the Danes, and other northern nations, infested the coasts of Europe, and Scotland had its full share of invasion. The successor of Malcom was Duncan, his grandson, who is indebted to Shakspeare for a lasting fame. This is the person whom Macbeth slew, and then usurped the throne. How near the immortal poet pursued the truth of history, in his unequalled drama, is very uncertain, and equally unimportant. His merit is found in showing how human nature might have conducted itself, if there had been such persons and such scenes as he im-

agines. It is easy to believe, from the character of the age, that the ambitious Thane, or Lord Macbeth, aspired to the Crown, and removed the man who wore it out of the way, and from the world, if that were necessary to his purpose. For the details of Macbeth's agency, and of those who conspired with him, the reading community are indebted to the poet's imagination. Macduff, and a son of Malcom, who met in England as fugitives from Scotland, with the aid of an army furnished by the English King, Edward the confessor, overcame and slew Macbeth, and this Malcom became King in 1057—the third of that name.

The royal name of Stuart, so familiar in Scottish and English history, was first known in the reign of this King. Walter, the grandson of Bancho, having rendered essential service in suppressing a rebellion, was made Lord Steward of Scotland, a great and hereditary dignity. This was about the year 1060. It was not until 1371 that a descendant from this person came to the throne, at which time this name of dignity had become a family name, Stuart. A person called Gautier Stuart had married Margerie, the daughter of king Robert I. The son of this Margerie was king under the name of Robert II. From this person the Royal race of Stuart, first in Scotland, and then in England, is descended.

Malcom III. had become acquainted with the Saxon prince Edgar Etheling, while in England, and when William the Conqueror made it perilous for any Saxon prince to remain in his dominions, Edgar and his sister sought an asylum in Scotland, and his sister became the Queen of Malcom. This king died in 1093. During the next two hundred years, that is, to the death of Alexander the third, in 1286, there is very little worth mentioning in Scottish history. All that is important might be arranged under these heads:—1. The wars between the Scotch and English. 2. The internal commotions or civil wars between kings and nobles. 3. The unsuccessful attempts of the Roman Church to subject Scotland, as it had done most of the Christian world, to its own absolute dominion.

Alexander III. and Edward I. of England, were contemporaries about 1280. They had frequent trials of strength in arms with various success. The day of peace and friendship at length came in an agreement to unite the prince of Wales, son of Edward I., with Margaret, the grand daughter of Alexander, who was to be heiress of the Scottish throne, in right of her mother, Alexander's daughter, who had married Eric,

king of Norway. The young heiress was called the Maid of Norway. She became entitled to the crown on the death of her grandfather, in 1286, but did not leave Norway till 1294. The princess (from sickness) died on her passage, at or near the Orkney Isles. However insignificant this event may seem, it is probable that it had a most enduring and unfortunate effect on the peace and welfare of Scotland and England. If the two kingdoms had been united at the end of the thirteenth century, or in 1307, as they would have been if the Maid of Norway had lived, the history of England and of Scotland would have run in very different channels from that time to this. It is very probable that no such person as Elizabeth would have worn the English crown; and that the Scottish crown would not have been torn from the head of Mary, and that head consigned to the block, by the relentless Elizabeth.

The afflictive consequences of this young Queen's death were immediately felt. The Scottish crown appears to have been inheritable, though not limited, clearly, to the first-born. The young Queen was the last of the descendants from her ancestor king William, who died just 80 years before her, in 1214. To find an heir to the throne it was necessary to go back to the brother of William, who was David, Earl of Huntingdon, and to trace the descent from him. This Earl had three daughters. 1. Margaret, who married Allen, Lord of Galloway, and had a daughter Dervigilda, who married John Baliol. Of this marriage there was living, in 1294, a son, John Baliol, who claimed the crown. 2. Isabella, (second daughter of the Earl,) who married Robert Bruce. Of this marriage there was living, in 1294, a son, Robert Bruce, who claimed the crown. 3. Adama, who married Lord Hastings. Of this marriage there was living, in 1294, a son, John Hastings, who considered the kingdom to belong equally to himself and his two cousins. These competitors agreed to abide by the decision of Edward I., of England, who awarded the crown to John Baliol. Historians say that his motive was entirely selfish, and that the selection of Baliol was made, because he would be most easily managed by Edward, for his own purposes. From the time that Baliol assumed the crown, until 1371, (75 years,) Scotland was harassed by civil wars of the most vindictive character, carried on by the parties of Baliol and Bruce, assisted, on the one side or the other, by the English. In 1306 Robert Bruce became king, and held the throne till 1329. His successor, David, the second of the Bruces, had to yield the crown to Edward Baliol, the son of

John, in 1332. At the end of ten years David had expelled Edward, and was again king, and so continued till his death, in 1371. Thus the Bruces became the royal race.

These 75 years are an exceedingly interesting portion of Scottish history. It was in the conflicts of these years that the noble William Wallace appeared. This "greatest hero, and noblest patriot of any age," as he is sometimes called, was betrayed into the power of the English, and beheaded on Tower Hill, London, the 23d of August, 1305. There is a well written novel, called the Scottish Chiefs, of which William Wallace is the hero. In the year 1298, July 22d, was fought the mournful battle of Falkirk, where Wallace would have triumphed if his associates had conducted like himself. There is a poem on this battle by Anna Seward. On the 25th of June, 1314, the Scotch well avenged upon the English the death of Wallace, at the battle of Bannockburn, where 30,000 Scots, under Bruce, completely vanquished the English army of 100,000.

Our limits do not permit even the mention of the several battles which were fought in this contest between the Bruces and the Baliols. The whole territory, on both sides the border, and thence northwardly to the river Forth; and up the valley, northwestwardly, to the highlands, has been again and again saturated with the best blood of the Scotch and English. The river Forth rises near the lake Ben Lomond, and runs eastwardly into the frith of Forth, which empties into the North sea. Edinburgh is on the south side of the Frith, and about two miles from it. Within 50 miles, northwestwardly from that city, and in the valley through which the river Forth runs, are some memorable places; Linlithgow, the ancient castle of Sterling, the battle-ground of Falkirk and Bannockburn. The river Tweed, which divides Scotland and England, is about 50 miles south of the Frith of Forth.

The first king of the name of Bruce, Robert I., had a daughter Margerie, who married, as before mentioned, Gautier Stuart; and of this marriage the son Robert II. became king in 1371, and died in 1390. This Robert the second united the families of Bruce and Stuart as the reigning Royal House. From the death of Robert II. (1390) till Scotland and England came under the dominion of James VI. of Scotland, (who was James I. of England) is a space of 213 years, ending in 1603. It will be most convenient to state the succession of the Scottish Stuarts, and then to notice such events as should be noticed in these 213 years.

Robert III., son of Robert II., crowned 1390, died 1406.
James I., son of Robert III., crowned 1406, assassinated 1437.

James II., son of James I., crowned 1437, killed 1460.

James III., son of James II., crowned 1460, killed 1488.

James IV., son of James III., crowned 1488, killed 1513.

This person married Margeret, the daughter of Henry VII, of England, in right of whom the Stuart family of Scotland ascended the English throne.

James V., son of James IV., crowned 1513, died 1542. This person married a French princess, who was the mother of Mary Stuart, who succeeded to the Scotch throne on her father's death. Mary abdicated the throne in 1567, and her son, James VI., (by Henry Stuart, called Lord Darnley,) became king while an infant. On the death of Elizabeth of England, in 1603, James became king of England, by the name of James I.

It is repugnant to common sense, that a particular family should have an exclusive and hereditary right to govern a whole nation. Yet this is the mode of government to which most nations, in all ages, have submitted. Hence the immediate successor of an able and virtuous king may be the feeblest and most unworthy among millions, and may be even an infant, and that infant a female. The evils incident to this kind of succession are among the most sorrowful pages of history. If there should be a sovereign, in his own right, by the mere accident of birth, it must be on the principle that the sovereign has the power and the will so to govern his subjects, as to secure to them peace and happiness, and thereby entitle himself to obedience and support. But this ground-work of power on the one side, and submission on the other, disappears when the sovereign is too young, or too feeble to have any will of his own.

The historian, Robertson, (speaking of his own country,) says,—“Never was any race of monarchs so unfortunate as the Scottish. Of six successive princes, from Robert III. to James VI., not one died a natural death; and the minorities, during that time, were longer and more frequent than ever happened in any other kingdom. From Robert Bruce (1306) to James VI., (1567) we reckon ten princes; seven of these were called to the throne while they were minors, and almost infants.”

The object of all rulers, whether elected or hereditary, certainly should be to secure the country and people from invasion by foreign enemies: to cause justice to be administered; and to enable every individual, under the protection of righteous

laws and just magistrates, to enjoy the blessings of life. Whether these rational purposes of civil government can be obtained or not, depends on the ability of rulers and the disposition of a people to be ruled. No people ever had worse rulers, and no people were ever worse fitted to be ruled, than those of Scotland from 1306 to 1567. It will be sufficient for the present purpose to show how such a state of things was peculiar to Scotland.

The manner in which the princes of Scotland came to their deaths, (as Robertson says,) shows a rebellious and turbulent state of society. While the chief person (by whatever name called) of many warlike tribes or clans, could lead them against a common enemy, he was likely to be confided in and respected. When there was no such object of employment, these tribes or clans must have employed themselves against each other and against their sovereign: against each other, from motives of rivalry and jealousy; against the sovereign, in resisting his attempts to control and govern. The history of Scotland is nothing else than a series of internal conflicts and external wars. During the whole lapse of years from Robert III. to James VI., the successive kings of England were jealous of the power of Scotland, and always ready to take advantage of its internal commotions to subdue the country, or aid its inhabitants to weaken and destroy each other. The cessation of war on the borders occurred only when the English kings were too much engrossed by wars on the continent, or by civil wars or rebellions, to let Scotland alone. From such causes, the Scottish nation had made less advances from the ignorance and barbarity of the dark ages than the French or English.

The great lords of Scotland were absolute sovereigns in their own territories. They made laws and caused them to be executed, without regard to the king or national government; and were ever ready to maintain what they considered to be their rights, by the sword. It was one great object with the Scottish kings to extend the laws of parliament over the nobles, and to establish courts of justice to which the nobles might be compelled to submit. Though James I. took the first measures towards establishing such courts, it was not until the reign of James V. that the courts were fully organized and in action, about 1540.

Henry VII. of England succeeded in establishing a friendly relation between himself and James IV. of Scotland, by bestowing his oldest daughter, Margaret, in marriage. Henry

conducted his daughter, with great pomp and ceremony, through Northamptonshire, on her way to Scotland. James came to the borders of his kingdom to receive his intended bride, accompanied by a numerous train of Scottish nobles. James conducted the English princess into Edinburgh, seated behind himself on the same horse, and the marriage was solemnized at the chapel of Holyrood house, in the year 1504.

This family alliance was not sufficient to preserve peace between the two countries. Scotland had long been in a state of very friendly relation with France. When Henry VIII. of England was drawn into a war with Louis XII. of France, and actually invaded that country, Louis called on James to aid his cause by invading England. This call was enforced by Anne of Brittany, the Queen of Louis, whose champion, in the courts of chivalry, James had assumed to be. A cause of war and invasion was easily found in these days. A Scotchman, who had conducted a vessel to Portugal, had been so treated there, and dispossessed of his property, as to obtain an authority from his sovereign, James, to go to sea armed, and make reprisal on any Portuguese subjects, and satisfy himself. This Scotchman so conducted himself in the English channel as to be considered a pirate, and was carried into England and hanged. James affected to regard this act as a sufficient justification for invading England, Henry VIII. being then engaged in carrying on the war in France. James IV. appears to have considered the invasion more as an excursion for military exercise than as an affair of serious war. Having had the good fortune to be more generally esteemed and respected by his nobles than any of his predecessors, he was attended, on this occasion, by many and the highest in his kingdom. An English force, hastily gathered, with about five thousand men sent from France by Henry, met James at *Flodden field*, just on the borders, and not far from Berwick on the Tweed. Here was fought, in the year 1513, a battle of mournful and disastrous result to the Scotch, and with little loss to the English. By some unaccountable negligence on the one side, and mere good fortune on the other, James, and all the chief nobles of Scotland perished, while hardly one person of any distinction fell on the side of the English. By this event, James V., then less than two years of age, became king of Scotland. The marriage of James IV. of Scotland, with Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. of England, was the cause of that serious and complicated misfortune, the placing the Stuart family on the English throne.

We have come down to a period in Scottish history within three centuries of the present time. It is remarkable that historical records, so far, afford very little information of the interior state of Scotland. Whatever the just claims of the Scotch nation may be, at this day, to literary and scientific distinction, (and these are not now second to the claims of any other nation,) they had few such claims three hundred years ago. The Scotch, though surrounded by ocean, had not made much figure as a commercial or naval people. They do not appear to have been extensively a manufacturing people. In Macpherson's first volume on Commerce, there are several notices of the Scots as engaged in the herring fishery, and in commerce, but not a valuable one on their part. Their country is not adapted to profitable agriculture, generally. More than one half of it is unfit for any cultivation, and large portions of it are barren and desolate. These facts lead to the conclusion, that the great lords of Scotland lived in their spacious and fortified enclosures, in a rude grandeur, with numerous dependants, and as separate and independent families. It is probable that harmony and subordination were preserved in these families by the supreme authority of the laird or chief, sole proprietor of the whole territory over which he ruled; and also by the fear which each family entertained of the enmity and power of other families. This was a state of society well adapted to bring out and to invigorate certain heroic virtues, and to give illustrious names to some individuals. Hardihood, courage, magnanimity, are well known to have been qualities of Scottish chiefs, from the ballads and popular songs of the country.* But, side by side with these qualities, must be placed the thirst for dominion, revenge, and unrelenting hold on ancient enmities, from sire to son. These are indications of qualities, out of which fine national traits may be wrought. Probably the modern Scots may not fear comparison with any people.

We must leave these sketches of the Scots here, at the time when James V. came to the throne, in the year 1513, he being then only eighteen months old. This person was the father of Mary Stuart, known in history as Mary, Queen of Scots.

* Out of these ballads, or what he assumed to be such, Macpherson made up his celebrated work, called "Ossian's Poems." Thomas Moore, in his History of Ireland, (as has been noticed in sketches of that country,) has demonstrated that Macpherson is indebted to Irish bards for his renown, and that he is chargeable with a designed imposition on the literary world.

Notices of her father, of herself, and of her son James, come within the next intended division. The personal and historical facts of these three individuals are so interwoven with English history, and especially with English events while Elizabeth was the English sovereign, that it will be more intelligible as well as convenient, to treat of them in notices of England. From the death of Elizabeth, in 1603, the sovereign of Scotland and of England has always been the same person.

CHAPTER VIII

SAXONS—ENGLAND.

Cæsar's Conquest of England—Roman Dominion—the Saxons.

ENGLAND is bounded on the south by the English channel, which is between it and France; on the east by the German ocean; on the north by Scotland, from which it is separated by the Tweed, the Cheviot hills, and the Frith of Solway; on the west by the Irish sea and St. George's channel. The greatest length of England is about 400 miles from north to south, between $49^{\circ} 58'$ and $55^{\circ} 45'$ north latitude. The greatest breadth is in the south part, 280 miles, while in the north, the narrowest part is less than 100. The eastern parts are generally level: along the western side of England are hills, some of which are called mountains, and between these high lands and the salt water on the east, are territories of varied surface. The principal rivers, with two exceptions, the Severn and the Mersey, flow from west to east. England is most favorably situated for commerce and maritime power, and has, within itself, abundant riches in minerals; but far more important riches in the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, and in its social and political relations. As this is emphatically the land of American ancestry, a more comprehensive notice is required in these sketches than of any other country—beginning with the Saxons, the common ancestors of the English and Americans.

The following compilation on the Saxons is made from the elaborate, accurate, and extensive research of Sharon Turner, a gentleman bred to the profession of the law, and who has bestowed on his countrymen other valuable works on England. He is still living. Americans, as well as the English,

may be justly proud of their Saxon progenitors. Their social and political principles are alike respected in both nations, and both of them speak a language which is undoubtedly of Saxon origin. Notwithstanding the intermixture, first of Danish, and then of Norman laws, custom, and language, happily, the Saxon has finally prevailed over them, and they are now hardly discernible. The best informed historians, and Sir James McIntosh among others, consider the Saxons to have been the founders of English liberty, and as such entitled to respect and gratitude. They are equally entitled to like sentiments from all who claim to be of English descent; nor from these only, but from all American citizens, as all enjoy the benefit of Saxon freedom, modified and improved under republican institutions.

The name of Britain was given to the island by the Romans. *Brit* was said to mean parti-colored, from the custom of painting the body. Other derivations are also given. The Romans called it *Britannia major*, and a part of the opposite French coast (*Brittany*) *Britannia minor*. Pliny, in his natural history, says, (l. iv. c. 16,) that the island was formerly called *Albion*. The name *Albion* (perhaps from the *white* cliffs) was of Latin origin. England is derived from one of the Saxon races, the *Angles*, who came from the north.

Cæsar undertook the conquest of Britain in the year 52 B. C. It was then possessed by a people of Kimmerian origin, (Turner says,) but called *Celts*. They had *Druids* for their religious teachers, and *bards* for poetical historians. The Romans finally conquered what is now England, and held it as a Roman province about five hundred years. The emperor *Vespasian* was in England and appointed *Agricola* to the command there, who, about the year 79, defended the northern frontier by a chain of posts from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde. In 120, the emperor *Adrian* repaired and strengthened the fortifications of *Agricola*, and erected a second wall from *Solway Frith* to the north of the *Tyne*, of which there are some remains. In 138 another wall was erected, in the time of *Antoninus*, along the northern frontier. The Romans were unable to subdue the mountainous regions of *Wales*. Thither many Britons retired from Roman dominion, and there preserved, from generation to generation, their implacable enmity to the Romans. They preserved, too, their national language and customs, which still appear among them, changed as they may have been in the lapse of ages.

About the beginning of the sixth century, a person appeared

in the Welsh mountains by the name of King Arthur. The bards made him a subject of song and fable, which nothing ever said or done by him or any other man, could warrant. His imaginary achievements have descended to the present day. It is said that the round table of King Arthur's twenty-four knights is still shown at or near Winchester, in England, though no well-informed person believes that Arthur ever saw his knights (if he had any) around this table, or ever saw this table itself. The whole truth about this personage probably is, (as Turner says,) that he was a bold and powerful warrior, partaking eminently in the rude qualities which gave celebrity from the successful use of arms. He is supposed to have been born in South Wales, about the year 501, and to have died in 542. His remains were discovered at Glastenbury, twenty miles south-west of the city of Bath, in 1189. Monkish traditions pointed out the place of burial. At the abbey there, between two stone pillars, seven feet below the surface, a leaden cross was found, under a stone; nine feet below the stone an oaken coffin was found, containing the remains of Arthur. A Latin inscription showed this to be Arthur's grave.

The falling fortunes of the Roman empire, at the beginning of the fifth century, caused Britain to be abandoned between the years 410 and 446. In the five centuries which elapsed under Roman dominion, laws, customs, arts, sciences had been introduced, and there was such refinement and such debasement as would arise from Roman examples. The power of the conquerors was maintained by the presence of Roman legions, and these the Britons were compelled to support. Burthensome as they held this imposition to be, the legions were hardly gone before their utility was discerned, as the only defence and security against the ancient enemies of the Britons in the north. Their humiliation is found in the prayer transmitted to the Roman general, Ætius, in Gaul, to come to their relief:—"The barbarians chase us into the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians: we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." (Hume, chap. i.) The Romans were too much engaged in defending themselves from the Franks, who were coming upon them from beyond the Rhine, to attend to any people's safety but their own. It is well ascertained that the dominion of the Romans in Britain had become corrupt and oppressive to an extent, which would have made their presence hardly less tolerable than either of the evils of which the Britons complained.

The Britons were thus driven to the necessity of asking aid from the Saxons, and this event introduced a long train of consequences in which every one, who speaks the English language, as his native tongue, is directly interested. It is as difficult as unnecessary to settle whether the people who dwelt around the banks of the Elbe, and thence northwardly and eastwardly, to the shores of the Baltic, were of the ancient Kemmerian stock, or whether they were of the supposed Gothic stock, that, at some unknown time, had followed the Kemmerians from Asia; or whether they were of that intermixture (through numerous wars and conquests) which must have occurred in the lapse of ages. When the Saxons were thus invited to come to Britain, it was not the act of all the people but of some few of the many tribes or kingdoms, which had divided the territory after the Romans withdrew; and who were as hostile towards each other, as they were united against their northern foes.

The settlement of the Saxons in England, and its consequences, will be better understood if a brief description of them be first given. Like the early Greeks, most of the northern tribes were sea-rovers, or pirates. They were driven to such employments by the want of food in proportion to numbers, and by a spirit of adventure and restlessness, which had no means of satisfying itself at home. They had no employment for the mind, none for the hands, on the shore, while the hope of plunder, and the exciting action of seafaring incidents, gave employment to both. They formed themselves into companies, and embarked, in greater or smaller numbers, in vessels under the command of *sea kings*, as they were called, and suddenly threw themselves upon coasts, near or distant, where they hoped a reward for their daring enterprise. Their vessels are thus described by Gibbon, chap. XXV.: "The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber; but the sides and upper works consisted only of a wicker, with a covering of strong hides. The Saxon boats drew so little water that they could easily proceed fourscore or 100 miles up the great rivers: their weight was so inconsiderable, that they were transported on wagons, from one river to another."

Their religion was the worst form of pagan worship, but not much worse, nor much unlike, that of early Greeks and Romans. Here, as elsewhere among barbarians, religious ceremonies consisted, not in adoration and gratitude for blessings, but in sacrifices and offerings to propitiate malevolent deities. Hostile tribes sacrificed their prisoners; parents some-

times offered up their children, and kings their subjects, to avert individual suffering, pestilence, famine or disastrous war. (Wheaton's History of Northmen, 125.) Among all barbarous people, wherever there is religion, there are ministers of religion; and where these are, there are ever mysteries, ceremonies, and superstitions, adapted to keep the uninformed in subjection and awe. It is not surprising that the kings and military chiefs should add to their own authority that of the priesthood, because such was often the case among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. It is seen, in every age, that civil authority has leaned on that assumed by the priesthood until very recent times. An earthly potentate who assumes to act under the will of Heaven, and who can enforce his own will by the terrors of a future world, has little need of swords and bayonets to make his subjects obedient.

The love of glory, the renown of heroes and of ancestry, are dear to men, civilized or savage. History, as now known through the press, was preceded by narrations, by traditionary songs and recitals. Thus, the Celts had their bards, the Saxons had their scalds. This historical poetry demanded a distinct profession of men, alike indispensable at the rude carousal, in popular assemblies, and at the eve of battle. The elements of existence were, among Saxons as among other rude people, few, simple and decided—food, shelter, war, religion, sensual indulgence. These elements contained the propensities susceptible of being fashioned into commendable and worthy qualities.

The Saxons are represented as persons of the largest size, light complexion, blue eyes, and long hair, and of this they were proud as an ornament. They were disinclined to intermarry with other tribes. They wore loose linen vests, adorned with trimmings, interwoven in different colors. Their external garment was a cloak. Their arms were small shields, long lances, great knives, or crooked swords. Their shields were suspended from their necks by chains; their horsemen wore heavy armor, and used iron sledge-hammers. (Turner, book 7, ch. 1.) Their females wore gowns, and had ornaments for the arms, hands and neck. The ancient distinction of classes appeared afterwards in the English laws; the noble, the free man, the freed man, and the slave. These classes did not intermarry, for this was prohibited; especially the nobles were jealous of their race and rank. Their forms of government, like most of those of early Asiatic origin, was patriarchal or that of elders, in virtue of their experience and wisdom. Earl

signified Elder, and Alderman was a Saxon general. The distinction of Earl and of Alderman, at the present time, is thus easily traced. The continental Saxons had no king, but many chiefs set over the people—from among whom, when war occurred, was selected a leader, whose power ceased with the war.

The early stages of all nations who have been known to advance from a state of barbarism to civilization, seem to be much alike. Some renowned chief is made a deity, and in a few generations, by poetical fancy, however rude, is easily associated with religious reverence, and converted into an object of worship. Time, instead of wearing out these delusions, throws an awful sanctity around them, which reason dares not to investigate. When it is seen that the learned and elegant Greeks, cherished the memory of Hercules, and offered prayers to him, and that the intelligent and refined Romans worshipped their Numa, and many others who were once mortals, the Saxons may not deserve reproach for believing that they should meet with Oden, and feast with him in his blessed halls, when the toil of life should be accomplished.

CHAPTER IX.

Saxons in England—Heptarchy—Consolidation—Egbert—Danish Invasion—Alfred.

In the year 449, Hengest and Horsa appeared in England, with three vessels, and 1600 followers. They were successful in helping the Britons to drive back their northern foes; but these friends in that warfare soon became the enemies of those whom they were invited to protect. During one hundred years, next following, a succession of adventurers from the same northern region, arrived in England. They were not all Saxons, but were distinguished by names derived from the name of the land, or districts of country from which they came. Thus, the Angles, the Jutes, and the Frisians, are among those who appear among the invaders of England in this time. About the middle of the sixth century the Saxons and their associates, had conquered the whole of Britain, and had reduced

the Britons to subjects, or slaves, and the Angles appear to have given their name to the country. About the year 550, England having been conquered, the ancient Britons no more appear as a people. Whoever and whatever existed there, whether British or Roman, were intermingled with and lost in the Anglo-Saxon population, and customs.

The Heptarchy, or seven distinct Saxon kingdoms, are spoken of by all historians of England; but Sharon Turner says they ought to have been treated of as an Octarchy, or eight kingdoms. He says, that before 500, Hengest in Kent, and Ella, in Sussex, made two kingdoms. In 519, Cerdic, in Wessex, with Essex, and East Anglia, made three more; in 547, Bernicia, in 560, Deira, and in 586, Mercia, made three more, eight in all. Bernicia and Deira are usually considered as one, which accounts for the Heptarchy. Between 586 and 827, all these Saxon kingdoms were consolidated into one, under Egbert. In these 241 years an almost incessant war existed in England, among these Saxon princes. Instead of narrating when, where, by whom, and with what consequences the battles were fought which subjected all these kingdoms to one chief, it will be much more instructive to consider what that state of society was which forced upon a people of the same origin, manners and habits, and who were connected by marriages and consanguinity, a merciless and incessant warfare. This may be accounted for by applying to them some well-known principles.

Our Saxon ancestry were obliged to obey the impulses of human nature in finding some employment for their minds, and their hands. Agriculture afforded but little employment, and that little was mostly confined to the servile class. In that space of time there was little or no foreign commerce, few products of industry, whether from the mines, or from the loom, or from the arts now familiarly known. The Saxons had ceased to be pirates; they had no literature, and though they had Christianity among them it did not make them wiser or more moral. Then they had nobles and princes, who were ambitious, restless, covetous and brave. What should such a people do, but make it the principal occupation of life to conquer and despoil each other? The passions and propensities which, with well-instructed and moral minds, tend to elevate and refine human nature, were, in general, perverted and misapplied. It must be admitted of our Saxon ancestry that they exhibited, in these 246 years, every variety of crime that ever appears among a craving, unrestrained, warring people. Per-

fidly, cruelty, and murders of every description, besides all the horrors of vindictive war, were of common occurrence. A successful aspirant to a throne often found it necessary to his own security to dispose, by force or fraud, of every human being who could, by any means, disturb him in his tenure. There is nothing new or surprising in such a state of things, nor any remedy for such miseries as were experienced, but to obtain better knowledge of the purposes of human life, and to find better employments. The very qualities which made the Saxons so odious when these were misapplied or perverted, made them a people, under other circumstances, from whom their descendants need not blush to have sprung.

Egbert's reign was one of "prosperity seldom rivalled." In 836 he was succeeded by his son, Ethelwulf, qualified, by ecclesiastical dispensation from monkish vows, to wear the crown; for which he was little qualified by nature or attainments. His fourth son, ALFRED, was born in 849, whose character as a man and as a prince has illustrated the Saxon name. From the powerful influence acquired by the Roman church, and Ethelwulf's devotion to it, Alfred was sent, in his fifth year, as one of an embassy to the pope. In his seventh year, he went with his father to Rome. Splendid gifts were borne on this occasion.

Hence it appears that the Saxon monarch had the command of gold in abundance, and that the art of making it into gorgeous ornaments was known to the Saxons. While the king was absent, one of his sons conspired to dethrone him. On his return he consented to a partition, and, in two years, Alfred's brother, Ethelwulf, became sole monarch.

Though Alfred had been twice to Rome, he had not learned to read, nor could he read before his twelfth year. His mother, holding a book of Saxon poems in her hand, promised to give it to that one of her sons who would learn to read it. Alfred sought the aid of a monk, and acquired the prize. From this time he was a diligent student, though not neglectful of the manly exercises which qualified him for the military achievements of his future life.

The Saxons and others came to Britain from the countries which now comprise the kingdom of Denmark and a part of Prussia, about the year 450. They continued to come for more than a century, and may be supposed to have diminished the population of those countries. If so, numbers had increased to overflowing before 800. Near this time England was terrified with the incursions and piracies of "the Northmen"

who appeared along the coasts, and even ventured to ascend rivers far into the country. Their object, in general, was plunder, and not the conquest of territory. They answered to the name now given to pirates, that is, "enemies of the human race," with this great difference, that piracy was not only an employment, but it was honorable and glorious. Their deeds of piracy were celebrated by their *scalds* (or historians in song) as deeds of glory are now celebrated in the conflict of armies. There may not be much to choose in the morality of the two cases; the piratical plunderings of the Northmen were the worst of the two in their cruelties and miseries. These were inflicted on people of any country whom the Northmen could approach. The only way in which one can acquire an idea of the manner of coming, and of the consequences of coming, is to suppose thousands of men, well armed, skilled in the use of arms, brave, cruel, and educated to think it glorious to seize, plunder, kill, lay waste and destroy, to appear unexpectedly on the shores of our own country; and to suppose them to exercise their power on all persons and property before a competent force could be gathered to resist them, and as suddenly retiring with their booty. It was their practice to carry away as slaves those whom they did not prefer to kill. Sometimes they came with force enough to take and hold a territory; at least during winter, while the seas could not be traversed with safety.

At the end of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth century, the Northmen had appeared in England repeatedly, and had been sometimes successful, and sometimes repelled. In the year 839 an accident led to consequences which filled England with the heaviest calamities, and at length subjected a large portion of it to the dominion of the Northmen, who appeared under the name of Danes. Ragnor Lodbrog, a celebrated sea-king, whose fame is preserved by the *scalds*, fitted out two vessels of extraordinary size, and came to the British coast. His vessels were wrecked; himself and a part of his followers gained the shore. They were met, defeated, and Ragnor was taken alive by the Saxon king Ella, and thrown into a pit which had been prepared with venomous serpents for his reception. When the news of his capture and death reached Norway, (from which country he came,) his two sons, Ingwar and Ubbo, prepared themselves to avenge his fate. They came with a numerous force, in 866, while Ethelred was the Saxon king, a brother of Alfred. The two sons had the gratification of taking the same Ella alive, who had destroyed

their father. They divided his back and spread out his ribs, and tortured ingenuity to augment his sufferings while life remained.

These invaders were followed by others from the same regions, year after year, until a force was accumulated sufficient to overwhelm England, and before the end of that century it had become the country of the Danes. It would be as useless as painful, to recount the sufferings and miseries of the Saxons while the Danes were subduing them. Imagination may give itself full scope without transcending realities. In the course of these conflicts Ethelred was slain in battle, which opened the way for Alfred to the throne, and he became the Saxon king in 871. It would seem, from the manner of his accession, that the right to succeed did not then depend on the will of the deceased sovereign, nor on lineal descent, because some of Alfred's brothers left sons. It depended on the will of the nobles, by whom Alfred was placed on the throne, at the age of twenty-two.

CHAPTER X.

Alfred's Reign—Danes—State of England—Religion.

ALFRED did little to resist the Danes, and still less to promote his own honor, in the first seven years of his reign. In these years he lost the confidence of his people, and, from the hints of some monkish chronicler, had committed some grievous sins. What these really were, does not appear. From some causes, it is certain, that Alfred, in 878, fled in the disguise of a soldier, and secreted himself as an obscure individual; was often reduced to extreme distress for daily food, and was, for some time, sheltered in the hovel of a swine-herd, who was ignorant that he was the Saxon king. He was employed in the humblest services, and was sometimes rebuked by his hostess for his neglect. In the course of this year he had taken up his abode on a small extent of firm land, surrounded by morass, near the conflux of two small streams, called the Perrot and the Thone, in the west of England, near to Wales. Here he was joined by other fugitives, until a number was gathered sufficient to enable him and his adherents to venture on sudden and predatory excursions against

the Danes. In this time he had profited in the school of adversity, and had recovered the confidence of some of his subjects.

Before the end of 878, Alfred came forth, disclosed himself to his countrymen, and assembled a sufficient force to enable him to contend successfully with a division of the Danes, and then to effect a treaty by which he secured to himself a part of the country, and recognized their right to that which they held. It then became the policy of Alfred to civilize and Christianize the Danes, and to direct their attention to agriculture and peaceful pursuits. Some success followed these efforts. Within the next twelve years, the powerful genius and steady efforts of Alfred had made him capable of presenting a formidable resistance. He had seen the necessity of meeting them on their own element, and had constructed larger and better vessels than they possessed.

A sea-king, named Hastings, had made himself an object of terror on the coast of France and England, for some years. He came again to England in 891. Hastings devoted himself, for six years, to the overthrow of Alfred. His military genius, and resources, which that genius called forth, enabled Alfred to resist Hastings successfully, and finally to drive him away, about the year 896. This may be considered as the period of Alfred's military renown. During the five years of life that remained to him, he established, rather by his pacific labors than military force, an ascendancy, and at length an absolute dominion over all England, and was respected and honored in Wales, though that country was not subjected to him. It is not as a victorious warrior that Alfred is to be esteemed and remembered, but as a sagacious statesman and as a potentate who knew not only how to acquire power, but how to use it for the benefit of his subjects. He died the 26th of October, 901, at the age of fifty-two.

Alfred may be considered as one of the greatest men that ever lived. In the term great, should be included goodness, the having had, and the having used, wisely and successfully, extraordinary means in advancing human welfare. Cæsar is called great, but, setting aside his mere military renown, and considering the opportunities which he had to be useful, Alfred was eminently his superior. Alfred stands in the like relation to such men as Alexander, Napoleon, and many others, who exercised great power only to illustrate themselves. In military genius, Alfred was not the inferior of such men; but that which distinguishes him from most of them, is, that his great

talents, his royal authority, his whole life, were devoted to his country; and he seems never to have thought of himself but as an instrument, under the will of Providence, to save his countrymen from slavery, and to make known to them the true sources of security and happiness.

He is regarded with respect and gratitude by all well-informed Englishmen. Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the laws of England, renders a just tribute to the exalted genius, benevolence, and achievements of Alfred. This commentator considers him as the founder of English liberty. This is the liberty which our ancestors brought to our own country, and which their descendants have formed into the republican rights which are now enjoyed. As the most important object in writing history is to *teach*, by showing what men have done, so that their good deeds may be imitated, and their bad ones avoided, no time will have been misused that is given to a consideration of the life and character of this illustrious person. But to know under what circumstances he lived and acted, what embarrassments he encountered, and what difficulties he surmounted, the condition of his country and of his subjects must be considered. This involves the inquiry, what were the objects which employed the hands and engaged the minds of the Saxons, in their serious hours, and in their hours of pleasure or amusement.

It does not appear that they had any foreign commerce; that is, they produced nothing which they sent abroad; they imported no products of other countries, unless to a very limited extent, and only some articles of luxury for the use of the nobles. Their knowledge of agriculture was limited to the supply of indispensable wants. They had no learning. The arts which they cultivated were only such as to supply them with the implements of husbandry, hunting, and war. They had religion, which was barbarous paganism, up to the end of the sixth century, and after that time a corrupted, superstitious Christianity, imported from Rome. There remain to such a people little else than continual warfare among themselves, (fomented by the base passions of petty kings and jealous and revengeful nobles,) hunting, gaming, and noisy festivals. All which shows a depraved and barbarous state of society, yet containing elements, which, under the masterly genius of Alfred, could be fashioned into qualities, individual and national, of which their descendants may be justly proud.

As religion, in Alfred's time, had become an important and engrossing object of attention, it must be shown whence it

rences in the history of men. In modern days, the greatest men, who happen to sustain public relations, can command the aid of exalted talents in all the departments of duty; and with such aids, even women and infants sometimes nominally manage empires. But Alfred stood alone; there was not a man in all his realm with whom he could compare opinions, nor one who could help him to a thought.

When he was sufficiently instructed he became a writer. Some of his works are now extant. In one of them he says,—“Very few were they on this side the Humber (the most improved parts of England) who could understand their daily prayers in English, (their prayers were in Latin,) or translate any letter from the Latin. I think there were not many beyond the Humber; they were so few that I cannot recollect one single instance on the south of the Thames, when I took the kingdom.” His personal friend and biographer, Asser, says,—“What of all his troubles and difficulties, he affirmed, with frequent complaint and deep lamentations of his heart to have been the greatest, was, that when he had the age, permission, and ability to learn, he could find no masters.” In this distress he sought instructors, but found none who were not ecclesiastics, and whose learning was confined to the church. His first acquisition was Werfrith, skilled in the scriptures; then Plegmund, a wise and venerable priest; and two others of the like order. These he called to his court, and they were, in every leisure moment, employed in reading translations, and in teaching their royal pupil. The more he thus acquired, the greater was his thirst for greater acquisition. He obtained Grimbald, a learned priest from France; Johannes Eregina, (called John the Irishman,) from Ireland, an accomplished scholar, for that day; * and Menevensis Asser, (or Asserius,) a learned Welshman. Asser became the intimate friend, daily companion, and sincere admirer of his patron, and, at last, his biographer. It is from Asser’s minute accounts, that Alfred’s merits are now so well known. From Asser it is known that, in 887, when Alfred was 38, he had the inexpressible delight of being able to read the Latin language, in which, only, learning was then to be had. Alfred then became a diligent writer and translator.

What he did to instruct his subjects. In one of his letters to one of his bishops, he says,—“I think it better, if you think so, that we also translate some books, the most necessary for all men to know, into our own language, that all may be

* Moore, in his history of Ireland, says, that John the priest, who was in the service of Alfred, was not the famous Eregina.

acquainted with them ; and we may do this, with God's help, very easy, if we have stillness ; so that all the youth that now are in England, who are freemen, and have wealth so that they may fill themselves, be committed to learning, so that they may apply to no other duty, till they first well know how to read English writing. Let them learn further the Latin language ; they who will may further learn, and will advance to a higher state." Elsewhere, he says, " Then began I, among much other manifold business of this kingdom, to turn into English the book named *Pastoralis*, or the Herdsman's book, sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense, so as I had learned from Plegmund, my archbishop, of Asser, my bishop, of Grimbold, my mass priest, and of John, my mass priest." Besides this, it is known that Alfred translated the works of Drosius, of Bede, of Boethius, and the curious work of Gregory the Great, called *Pastorals*, wherein this pope prescribes to prelates their official duties. There was also a manual or memorandum book of Alfred's, which existed in 1143, because it is quoted by William, of Malmsbury, a historian who died in that year, and who mentions it as known to him. This is a loss, it is said, much to be regretted ; there is not a remnant of it. Architecture, ship-building, and workmanship in gold, were among the special objects of Alfred's attention.

Political and social objects. He established schools, provided masters, and had his own son educated among the common pupils, by way of example. He compelled his nobles to build castles to protect them against the Northmen. He was inflexible in exacting from all public officers a competent knowledge to perform their duties. Earls, governors and ministers, who had been illiterate from infancy, were required to learn to read, and write, or to lose their employments. He was severe in the administration of justice. There was an appeal to him in person, and he patiently heard and decided trials himself, especially of the inferior classes. The anglo Saxons undoubtedly had juries in Alfred's time, though it has been said they were not known till 150 years afterwards. Whether they were instituted by Alfred or not, is questionable. However this may be, an ancient law book, called the mirror, shows that Alfred was assiduous in protecting the rights of juries ; for it is therein said,—“ He hanged Cadwine, (a judge,) because he condemned Hachary without the assent of all the jurors. He hanged Treberne, because he adjudged Harpin to death, when the jurors were in doubt about their verdict.

To Alfred, England is indebted for the well know division

of territory into counties. It is believed that this division does not exist in any country but the British Isles, and in countries settled by emigrants from them. Our English ancestry made this division of our own country at an early period. It was suggested to Alfred as a remedy for existing evils. England had been broken up into small belligerent kingdoms. The invasions of the Northmen, and domestic contentions, had introduced disorder and confusion. It required such power and such ability as Alfred had, to find an effectual remedy. First, he divided his whole kingdom into convenient districts, nearly such as they are at the present day. These had their name from being put under the government of a count or earl; the latter word means an elder or chief; the former, count, is supposed to have been a term used to signify a companion of the king, and was borrowed from the Franks. Besides the count, there were divers other civil officers, from which these county officers, now known, arose. Then, counties were subdivided into hundreds of families, which distinction is still known in England; and hundreds were divided into tens of families, or tithings, (tenths.) Every subject was compelled to belong to some tithing. The inhabitants of each tithing were responsible for the conduct of every member of their division. Every hundred was made responsible for each breach of public law; they were compelled to produce the offender, or to bear the fine or compensation which the offender, if known, would be liable for. Thus, Alfred made it necessary for each tithing to know who came within their territories, and to guard themselves against the injuries which vagrants and criminals might occasion. Every one who could not show that he belonged to some tithing, became an outlaw, and could find no resting-place. This police became so perfect, that crimes almost ceased. Turner says (vol. i. 327) that "Golden bracelets were hung up in the roads, and were not stolen." Such severity may have been indispensable in Alfred's time. In these days, commercial business and the voluntary movements of individuals, would make such restrictions on personal liberty, intolerable.

One consequence of these measures of Alfred's was highly beneficial, and may or may not have been intended by him. The members of each tithing were compelled occasionally to meet, and confer on their common interests, and thus to cultivate an acquaintance and fellowship. The chief men of the hundreds were required to meet at stated periods, to consult on the common good; and thence arose the still greater, though less frequent meetings of the chief men of the counties. From these

meetings may have sprung the national meetings now known under the name of parliaments. Similar meetings exist in our own country. Instead of tithings and hundreds throughout New England, there are *towns*. These were probably thought of by the first settlers, in imitation of what are called boroughs in England, which are certain portions of territory, within which persons had acquired, from immemorial usage, certain rights and privileges, and especially those of governing themselves as a kind of corporations, and as having certain rights of representation. If the dust of nine hundred years could be swept off, most of these institutions could be traced, probably, to the illustrious Alfred.

The comparatively accurate knowledge which has been transmitted of this truly great man, authorizes the declaration, that from the time when he emerged from obscurity, and re-ascended the throne, his private life and individual virtues, and honorable example, make him no less worthy of veneration than do his public labors. He is represented to have been the most exact economist of time; gentle yet firm, modest but undaunted; pious, charitable, munificent; exemplary as a husband, and as a father. It may be truly said that he lived for every body but himself, but in so living he had lived best for himself, in the respect and gratitude of all ages which speak the language of Alfred.

The person of Alfred has not been described. His habits, purposes, and modes of life may be inferred from the writings of his mass priest, Asser. His whole reign, after his restoration, appears to have been most assiduously devoted to improving himself, that he might be the better qualified to instruct and improve his countrymen. Whatever his malady may have been, it prevented neither the action of his mind or body. He excelled in all the manly exercises of his time, and especially in athletic hunting. Though he used a kingly authority with the independence of a king, it is no where said of him that it was unduly used. It was with him a principle, so rare among all whom birth or accident has raised to the dignity of a crown, that *every Saxon's thoughts should be as free as the winds*. In the whole range of history his superior is not to be found, in the qualities of an able, indefatigable, patriotic king, adorned with all the excellences of an amiable, upright and virtuous man. He was the founder of the British navy; the benefactor if not the founder of the university of Oxford. But that which gives him a rank before all other kings, is, that he conceived and executed the design of bringing into action the

intellectual and moral capacities of his people, not only by precepts, but by unsparing efforts and example. He not only disclosed what should be done, but how it should be done.

The difficulties which he had to contend with cannot be comprehended, unless one could know the difference between the condition of human life, in his time, and at the present day. For example, there are very few now who are at a loss to know, by some artificial means, what the lapse of time is, or when one hour is gone and another is begun. Alfred had no such means of measuring time, and was compelled to invent one for himself. When the sun casts no shadow, and when night permits no distinction, perceptible by the senses, between its first coming, and its end, there is no natural measure of time. Alfred caused six wax candles to be prepared, of equal length, (12 inches,) which required one sixth of the space, of twenty-four hours for each one to be consumed. If one was lighted, and when that ended another, one of them would burn 240 minutes, and each inch would be consumed in 20 minutes. To prevent the waste by the action of the wind, he provided a guard of thin transparent horn.

It is thought that the ancients before the Christian era, had only dials, and sand-glasses, and clepsydra, (from two Greek words signifying I steal—and water, or the stealing away or dropping of water,) which last mode of measuring time Cæsar is said to have introduced into Britain; yet this does not appear to have been known to Alfred, in the same island, nine hundred years afterwards. [The Saracens (Arabians) are believed to be the inventors of some improved kind of chronometers. Charlemagne had, in 809, a present from some chief of this people, of a chronometer, of curious workmanship; but it must have been some centuries after this time, before the application of a weight to wheels to measure time, and the use of the pendulum were known; and the application of the spring, as in the common watch, is less than 290 years old.]

His exhortation to his son and successor, Edward, was worthy of the man, and the sovereign:

“My son, set thou now beside me, and I will deliver thee true instructions. I feel that my hour is coming. My countenance is wan—my days are almost done—I shall go to another world; and thou shalt be left alone in all my wealth. I pray thee, strive to be a father and a lord to thy people. Be thou the children’s father, and the widow’s friend. Comfort thou the poor, and shelter the weak; and with all thy might, right that which is wrong. And, son, govern thyself by law; then shall

the Lord love thee, and God, above all things, shall be thy reward. Call thou upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so shall he help thee the better to compass that which thou wouldst."

CHAPTER XII.

Social and Political Condition of the Saxons after Alfred's Death— Saxon Language.

IN Alfred's time the Saxon people were, as they long had been, thus classed; the king, princes, nobles, ecclesiastics of all grades, free men, freed men, and slaves, who were such from birth, and who were sold or disposed of by will, like cattle. The proportions of the different classes cannot be ascertained. Females were not excluded from the society of the other sex, as in the east, nor did such custom exist among any of the northern nations. They were at liberty to move abroad, as is customary among their descendants, and they met their husbands, brothers, sons, and guests at the same table. The princes, nobles, and wealthy, of both sexes, wore ornaments of gold, and were proud of personal decoration. All the males, at an early age, were trained to hunting and to arms, except those who were held to servile labor. As they had horses, cattle, sheep, abundance of swine, which lived in the woods, and fish, among which eels make a prominent article, and also wheat and barley, they fared well. Drinks of various kinds were prepared from honey; mead was the drink of luxury, but wine and cider are spoken of; what kind of wine, and whence it came, does not appear, as none was made in England. Their places of abode were rude and inconvenient, their furniture simple and heavy. Some of their interior apartments were adorned with hangings against the walls, part of which were ornamented with needle-work. Silk is said to have been in use, which is remarkable, as silk was a rare and precious article of commerce, and came from China, either in caravans over land, or by a tedious voyage from India to the Red Sea, and thence through Egypt. The origin of the culture of silk in Europe dates from the year 536, in Justinian's time. The complicated process of making silk was much above the attainments of Europeans in Alfred's time. It was not attempted, even in Sicily and Italy, until

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two hundred and fifty years later. The Saxons had glass, but used horns to drink out of, some of which were very ornamented.

Gold seems to have been abundant, and they had some gems, and articles they knew how to work into vessels and ornaments. There could not have been much foreign commerce; piracy was the business of the Northmen. But there was some foreign commerce, for London is mentioned as a place to which ships frequented, in the seventh century. Several places are mentioned in which payments, resembling modern commutation, were exacted. Whether their gold and luxuries were introduced is uncertain. Coins of various denominations were found among them, which shows, at least, a beginning of commerce. They had various mechanical arts. Implements of husbandry and of hunting, and swords, spears, helmets, shields, were of their own manufacture. The manufacture in iron was held in high esteem.

It is to be inferred, that such a people, who were not compelled to labor for daily subsistence, and whose food came from the hands of slaves, must have found occupation in hunting, gaming, festivals, contentions, must have each contributed to supply this demand. At their feasts, they were attended, and it was common to send round the harp, and each one might show his skill. Their songs were narrative and commendatory of heroic deeds, so far as can be gathered from the fragments which are preserved. It is doubtful that here were materials for the forming a fine race of man beings, and that the means of social and intellectual improvement needed only to be allowed a free and natural course. But their monkish Christianity and their slavish submission were, and long continued to be, serious obstacles. It is probable they were indebted to Christianity and to intercourse with Rome, for some advances from barbarism.

Their luxuries may have been thence derived.

There was a custom among the Saxons, which, so far as is known, was peculiar to them. They formed fraternities, clubs, guilds, as they were called. The members contributed to a common fund, and that fund was used for charitable purposes among themselves, and the families of such as deceased. St. Dunstons Hall, in London, of the present day, may have had its origin. England is remarkable at the present time for associations. In some instances they seem to have had connexion with religious observances, and mass priests were associated with them. The general object appears to have

been a friendly union for mutual aid and contribution; and to meet the payments which were continually required for fines, legal exactions, burials, compensations, &c. All which tends rather to show a state of severe political policy and of clerical impositions; and to show that these associations arose from the vices of a rude society, and not from the desire to make the most of a refined and orderly one.

It is not a reproach to the Saxons that they were an exceedingly superstitious people, for this is common to all people in all ages, in proportion to their ignorance of the laws of the natural world. Sound knowledge and degrading superstition are no where found together. Among an ignorant people, the daily occurrences, whether in the ordinary action of the elements, or in the incidents affecting the person, are attributed to the agency of some unseen and malignant influence. Superstitious notions arise, and are passed down, from generation to generation, and grow venerable from their antiquity. Even in the best informed nations of the present day, remnants of these proofs of ignorance are still discerned. The Saxons had lucky and unlucky days, charms, ominous dreams, fearful apprehensions from the occurrence of thunder, and from uncommon appearances of the sun and moon. They were believers in the powers which pass under the name of witchcraft, (a word of Saxon origin,) and in that of letting loose tempests; and also believed that if one could be made to take certain substances into the stomach, he could be made to hate and love according to the will of the party by whom they were secretly administered. So, also, they carried about their persons some holy relic or some charm, which would keep off evil spirits or resist the approach of disease. Such weaknesses and proofs of ignorance were common among the Northmen, and still are among ignorant Africans, and among the natives of the American woods.

The ancient Saxon tenure was not the feudal tenure, though bearing a strong similitude. All the lands of England, however title may have been originally derived, were subjected to furnishing a proportion of men for the service of the king in warfare. Even grants of land to monasteries were commonly subject to this right to service. Sometimes this service could be avoided by the payment of money. Lands were also subjected to the burthen of repairing bridges, fortresses, and walls, and especially to the building of castles; and, on non-performance, were liable to forfeiture. There is an endless variety of conditions and exemptions in grants; and it seems as though

a large proportion of the English territory was held (even before feudal days) by the king, princes, nobles, and churchmen, and that the grants proceeded from them. These grants were of the whole right, or, in law-language, fee simple, or freehold for life, or for term of years, with various conditions. Their tenures, therefore, resemble those of England as now existing, freed from feudal burthens, as our own resemble those of England. Lands passed under the name of hides; one hide equal to one hundred and twenty acres, or so much as one plough could work during a year.

There were courts of law of various descriptions, which it would be useless to name. Out of the county meetings, in which the affairs of the hundreds were discussed, probably arose courts of sessions. The great power of the kingdom resided in the national council, called Witena-gemot. This was composed of the nobles, high prelates, and great landholders. Anciently, the Saxons elected their kings only during a war. But it appears, that, in the eighth century, and perhaps earlier, the royal authority continued after the war had ended, and until the king's death. The successor (the cyning, king) was chosen by the Witena-gemot. Edgar was chosen by the "priests and elders," who were this national council; they are also spoken of as "the chiefs of the English." This council is now seen in the Parliament of England. The riches and prerogatives of the Saxon monarch were very great. They were composed of the acquisition of eight (not seven) distinct monarchies, for Alfred succeeded to the rights and emoluments which belonged to all the Saxon kingdoms, which included all England except so much as he permitted the Danes to hold in Northumbria and East Anglia. Alfred had lands all over the kingdom as his own property, and many royal residences; and, among others, Windeshore, which is now Windsor, and rather the king's home than his palace in London. The king's revenues were from these lands and various other sources. His military power was rather the authority to exact service of a militia, than the command of a standing army.

It would extend these notices of the Saxons beyond prescribed limits, if their penal code were detailed. There may be seen in it, that it was derived from the Northmen, whose custom it was, in common with the ancient Germans, to punish murder and all inferior crimes by imposing a fine (in money) on the offender, which went, in the case of murder, to his family connexions or some one of the number; and also a

fine to the king, or some chief, as the case might be. Besides this, there were offences which were punishable with death, and sometimes by cutting off the hand. Certain kinds of theft were so punished. It is curious that the law of England at this day, that no one shall lose his life for stealing only twelve pence, was the law in Alfred's time. There were certain offences against domestic rights, which the Saxons, like the ancient Germans, punished with the utmost severity, but which are now only ecclesiastical or civil offences; and which, in some countries, where German rules once prevailed, have long ceased to be an offence against any law.

The ordeal was brought by the Saxons from the north. It has been supposed by some to be an absurdity which arose from the corruptions of the church; but it undoubtedly was a Gothic practice, and was easily incorporated among the ceremonies of the ecclesiastics. One test of the guilt or innocence of the accused, was to plunge his naked hand and arm into a vessel containing boiling hot water, with a stone at the bottom of it. He was then to snatch the stone out, and carry it nine feet and drop it. His hand and arm were immediately bound up and kept so for three days. At the end of that time they were examined, and the priests could tell, from their appearance, whether they showed the marks of innocence or guilt. Another form was to carry a red-hot iron nine feet, in the naked hand, and the same measures were taken to ascertain the truth as in the case of hot water. Another form was for the accused to walk, with a bandage over his eyes, with naked feet, among red hot ploughshares. The theory was, that God would work a miracle in every case, to prove the innocence of one who so appealed to him. If the miracle was not wrought, the offender was subjected to punishment, as in case of conviction on any other form of trial. It is obvious that this absurd mode of trial threw an extraordinary power into the hands of the priests, by whom it was always conducted with solemn religious ceremonies.

These ordeals, or judgments of God, have prevailed in many countries and nations, and were, perhaps, brought from the east. It is said they do exist, or have existed in Hindostan. They have had a variety of forms, and when they were borrowed by the ecclesiastics, they assumed new forms. Among others, the touching of relics and placing the sacred bread between the lips. From the same source came the casting of witches into water, and the requiring of a suspected person to touch the body of one who had been murdered.

Also, the very common, and even modern practice, of determining the truth or falsehood of accusation, and even the right of property, by battle. Of the same family is the modern duel, though in this last case the appeal to God is not supposed to be an element, the parties depending entirely on their skill, pistols, and steadiness of nerves; and the attendants are changed from priests into surgeons.

As the Saxon language (which is really the English language of the present day, modified, as all living languages are, by the lapse of time) was as perfect, probably, in Alfred's time as at any subsequent one, it will be convenient to notice it here. Before that time it was a *spoken* language, and the language of poetry as used by the harpers, but rarely a *written* language. The *Latin* was the written language, and that was mostly unknown except among the churchmen. It was Alfred who caused the Saxon language to be a written one. It is foreign to the present purpose to state the opinions which learned men have entertained on the origin of languages. Were all the languages that have been and now are spoken on the earth, derived from some original primitive language? Are these languages in their own nature so radically distinct, that they could not have been so derived? Were all languages the gift of the Deity, or from his inspiration? Are they of human invention, and carried on in the lapse of ages from some original sounds or elements, to the present perfection? These are questions on which learned men of different ages and countries have exercised all their ingenuity.

Turner has attempted (towards the close of his second volume) to apply the theory of Tooke on the formation of language (*Diversions of Perley*) to the Saxon. Mr. Tooke's theory is, that there are only two original parts of speech, the noun and the verb, and that the other parts are abbreviations of these two. The nouns rank first, as they are the objects of the senses, in the origin; and then the verb, as this implies acting or being acted upon, by nouns; and thus these two are the primitive stock of language. The verb is formed by adding to the noun a word which signifies acting. Thus, in the Saxon, *ian* or *an* is the verb, which is added to any noun, as the Saxon word *borg* means a loan; *borg-ian* means to lend. *Car* was the Saxon word for care; *full*, a word signifying some quantity: the addition of *nysse* (a common Saxon termination) makes a new class of nouns, as *car-ful-nysse*. *Ac*, signifies oak, *corn*, the well-known plant, *ac-corn*, or acorn is the corn of the oak. It is said (by Turner) that all the

adjectives are formed from the participles of verbs, or from some qualifying addition to nouns. *Er* or *ar*, implies priority, whence the comparative degree, and *est*, implies munificence or abundance, and, being added to an original noun, formed the Saxon superlative. These few remarks may serve to show how the Saxon language is supposed to have been constructed; but as to the wonderful difference between the original efforts, and the perfect language, the difficulty of the process is not removed. Some of the languages of the American Indians are found to be as copious, as flexible, and expressive, for all the ideas which such a people can have, as any of those which are spoken in Europe.

To show the similarity between the Anglo-Saxon, and the English, as now spoken, the following is the Lord's prayer in both languages, as stated by Turner.

Urin Fader thic arth in heofnes
 Our Father which art in heaven;
 Sic gehalgad thin noma,
 Be hallowed thine name,
 To cymeth thin rye;
 To come thine kingdom;
 Sic thin willa sue is in heofnas and in eortho;
 Be thine will so as in heaven, and in earth;
 Urin hlef ofirwistlie sel us to daig;
 Our loaf, super excellent, give us to day;
 And forgefe us scylda urna, sue we forgefan;
 Scyldum urum;
 And forgive us debts ours, as we forgive debts of ours;
 And no inlead usig in custnung,
 And not lead us into temptation,
 Ah gefrig usich frun ifle
 But free us from evil.

The Saxon, like all other living languages, was found, even in Alfred's time, (by comparing him with the historian Bede,) to have undergone, in a century and a half, great changes. One tenth of the words, at least, had become obsolete. Besides such changes, the Danes and the Normans introduced some words; churchmen and scholars have introduced many more from the Latin. Science has depended almost entirely on the Greek for the words which it has called into use; but still the basis is Saxon.

This will appear the more obviously, from the following lines; (all of those which are in italics are of Saxon origin; the others from the other sources, principally Latin;) the lines

are from Cowley, who lived in the time of Cromwell, and died in 1667.

*Mark that swift arrow! how it cuts the air;
How it outruns the following eye!
Use all persuasions now, and try
If thou canst call it back, or stay it there.
That way it went; but thou shalt find,
No track it left behind.
Fool! 'tis thy life, and the fond archer thou.
Of all the time thou'st shot away,
I'll bid thee fetch but yesterday,
And it shall be too hard a task to do.*

There are 76 words in these lines—69 of them are Saxon, and the remaining 7 are from other sources, mostly from the Latin.

NAMES OF THE WEEK.

Sunday—or Sunnan dæg—is the sun's day.
Monday—or Monan dæg—is the moon's say.
Tuesday—or Tiwes dæg—is Tiw's day.
Wednesday—or Wodnes dæg—is Woden's day.
Thursday—or Thunre's dæg—is Thunre's day.
Friday—or Frige dæg—is Friga's day.
Saturday—or Seterne's dæg—is Seterne's day.

These names are of northern origin, brought by the first Saxons, and have reference to the pagan Deities, who were their objects of worship. Woden, of the Saxons, and Odin, of the Danes, is probably the same, and is thought to be (as among Greeks) a deified mortal. [Turner's Saxon History.]

CHAPTER XIII.

Succession of Kings from Alfred to William the Conqueror—St. Dunstan—Danish Kings—Battle of Hastings—William, in 1066.

FROM the Great Alfred's death, in 901, to the time of the conquest of England, by William of Normandy, in 1066, is 155 years. At the end of these years no more is heard of the Anglo Saxons as a distinct people. In this space of time there were fourteen kings; three of them were Danes, as that people obtained the mastery for about 38 years. From 1066 the political affairs of England became involved with those of the kingdoms on the continent, and especially with that of

France, and have ever since continued so to be, in some respects. If there be taken out of these 155 years, the history of battles, and of crimes perpetrated in connection with efforts to obtain, or to hold, the kingly authority, there remain but few instructive events. We shall pass lightly over the battles, and notice crimes but in few cases. Those events which tended to change the character of society permanently, for better or worse, deserve attention; for these only affect the present condition of the world.

KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM 901 TO 1066.

Anglo Saxon.

901 to	925.	Edward the Elder, son of Alfred.
925 to	940.	Athelstan, natural son of Edward.
940 to	946.	Edmund the Elder, brother of Athelstan.
946 to	955.	Edred, third son of Edward.
955 to	959.	Edwin, or Edwy, son of Edmund.
959 to	975.	Edgar, brother of Edwin.
975 to	978.	Edward the martyr, son of Edgar.
978 to	1016.	Ethelred the unready, brother of Edward.
1016 to	1017.	Edmund, ironside, natural son of Ethelred.

Danish Kings.

1017 to	1035.	Canute the Great.
1035 to	1040.	Harold, second son of Canute.
1040 to	1042.	Hardicnute, third son of Canute.

Anglo Saxon.

1042 to	1065.	Edward the confessor, son of Ethelred.
1065 to	1066.	Harold, son of Godwin.
	1066.	William of Normandy, the conqueror.

Edward the Elder, 901—925, spent most of his years in warfare with the Danes, who held a part of England during Alfred's time, and who attempted to free themselves from the limits in which they had been held, and to conquer the Saxons. Edward resisted them successfully, and strengthened the Saxon dominion. No events worth narrating occurred in his time. He was twice married. He had an illegitimate son, Athelstan, whose mother was a shepherd's daughter. Edward had nine daughters, who were distinguished for beauty. Five of them married reigning potentates on the continent. He had four sons be-

sides Athelstan. He died a natural death, and is considered to have been a respectable king, and worthy of his father.

Athelstan, 925—940, acquired celebrity as a warrior, and was the first of the Saxon kings who reigned over all England. He was childless himself, but he had his sisters to bestow in marriage, and through this circumstance, and the fame which he acquired in subduing his enemies, whether Danes, Scots, or Welsh, he was highly respected on the continent, as well as within his own dominions. It is a remarkable circumstance, that several young persons resided at Athelstan's court, by invitation, or from having sought refuge there in political storms; and, among others, three who afterwards became reigning potentates on the continent, Alan, of Bretagne, Louis, of France, and Haco, of Norway. The character which Turner gives of him (vol. i. p. 364) is such as few monarchs acquire or deserve. "It is not at all surprising that he was a favorite, both among his own people and in Europe. He was certainly a great and illustrious character, and amiable as great. To the clergy, attentive—to his people, affable and pleasant—with the great, dignified—with others, condescending and decently familiar. His people loved him for his bravery and humility; but his enemies felt his wrath." Turner attempts no palliation of the crime of Athelstan in sending his brother Edward to sea in a shattered boat, without oars, with the design, and with the effect, of having him drowned. The reign of Edmund the Elder, 940—946, affords nothing worth notice. He was assassinated at a festival; precisely how, is not known. The reign of Edred, 946—955, needs not a single remark.

In the reign of Edwin, 955—959, some extraordinary events occurred. To introduce these, it is necessary to mention, that, as far back as 480, Benedict, an Italian, was born. This person saw fit to reside several years in a deep cavern, alone. His food was let down to him by a friend, who, for a long time, was the only person that knew his place of residence. In that age it is not wonderful, that this man's singularities, as they were connected with piety, excited curiosity, then veneration, and at length gave him great celebrity; and a powerful influence over the Christian world. He was the founder of the order of Benedictine monks, still known in Europe. Before the year 1462, there had been 18 popes, 200 cardinals, 1600 archbishops, 4000 bishops, 15,700 abbots, 15,600 saints, all of whom were Benedictines. This order had spread over Europe, and its influence was felt in the west in the tenth century. In the reign of Edwin, Benedictine monks had found their way into

England. Here lived the celebrated Dunstan, who became one of these monks, and who obtained such supremacy, as an ecclesiastic, as to make kings, nobles, prelates, and the whole kingdom submissive to his will. He effected a complete revolution in church affairs, and made such impression on society that it was felt through many centuries.

Saint Dunstan was one of those men who present the difficult problem, whether they are sincere in motives and measures, or profound hypocrites; or whether they are sincere and honest in motives, but who consider all means, however criminal, proper, if adapted to accomplish their objects. This problem is not confined to St. Dunstan, nor to any age, or country; nor to religion; it is equally a problem in politics, and occurs in our own country, and in our own times; and, in short, wherever there is human society. He, only, who can read the human heart can know motives. To human seeming no small portion of what is done in the world may be referred to one or the other of the above suppositions, or to a compound of both. If any one will open his eyes upon what is passing, he will have frequent occasion to ask, Is this man doing wrong, knowing it to be wrong, and because he thinks he can promote his own purposes in so doing? or, does he think himself right and honest as to his objects, and that the means, whatever they may be, are right, if those objects can be thereby accomplished? It is not among the eminent only, in whatsoever department, that these questions arise, but among all who have not learned, that the true end of living is best attained by the pursuit of justifiable ends, by righteous means.

Dunstan was born at Glastenbury, in the southwest of England, in 925. He was a person of extraordinary intellect, and availed himself of the means of instruction. He acquired all that was then known in mathematical science; he excelled in music, in writing, painting, engraving, and in working gold, silver, copper, and iron. In early manhood he presented himself at the king's (Edred's) court. His accomplishments caused him to be accused of demoniacal arts. He was expelled. He then became a Benedictine monk. In the legends of that order, he is as celebrated for supernatural and miraculous agencies, as King Arthur was, in the poetical fictions of the bards, for heroic achievements. Among these legends was one on St. Dunstan and the Devil, which is sometimes alluded to even in these days.

The qualities of Dunstan were audacity, impetuosity, ambition. Like Benedict he prepared an abode in the side of a hill,

five feet deep, two and an half wide, and high enough to stand up in, closed by a door, an aperture in which let in light and air. Here he exercised himself in piety and in working on metals. The neighborhood were alarmed one night by terrific howlings which proceeded from this abode. In the morning multitudes appeared there to inquire the cause. Dunstan explained the matter to their entire satisfaction, by assuring them that the Devil had made him a visit, and had thrust his head through the opening in the door, whereupon Dunstan seized him with his tongs, by the nose, and there held him, and that the noises which they heard were the roarings of the Devil. If this legend is to be credited, it serves as an illustration of the character of Dunstan, and is unworthy of notice for any other purpose.

The celebrity of Dunstan again introduced him to court in Edred's time; and he was there in Edwin's time, and rose to the highest honors of the church. At this time, Odo, the son of a ferocious Northman, who was among the invaders of England, was archbishop of Canterbury. Edwin was but 16, when he was crowned. At the festival, on that occasion, Odo and Dunstan were present. Edwin retired from the feast, and went to the apartment in which were Elgiva, his wife, and her mother. The company being displeased by his absence, Dunstan, accompanied by the bishop, thrust himself into the apartment, forcibly replaced the king's crown on his head, and brought him back to the table. The king resented this indignity, deprived Dunstan of his honors, and he fled to the continent. But Odo espoused his cause, and divorced Edwin from Elgiva on the ground of kindred, and attempted to destroy her beauty by branding her face with hot irons, then banished her to Ireland. She returned: then these conscientious prelates severed the muscles of her lower limbs, to make her incapable of motion. These barbarous acts occasioned her death. The attempts of Edwin to exercise his authority against his prelates raised a rebellion under their guidance, and the unfortunate monarch died, broken-hearted, before he had attained to manhood. Such occurrences show what the state of society was, and what a tremendous power had already grown up under the shadow of perverted religion.

Edgar, 955—975, the brother of Edwin, was but sixteen when he came to the throne. Dunstan returned, and became the real monarch of England. He expelled the clergy from their offices and abodes, and substituted Benedictines throughout the realm. In this way he secured partisans in all high

places in the church. The accounts which are given of his pretended visions, of angelic missions to him from heaven, and of his own pretended visits to heaven while in a seeming trance, show the audacious aspiring of the priest. No charity will admit him to have been self-deceived. But he had not yet attained to be primate of England. This required a still further exercise of his ingenuity.

The reign of Edgar is commended because it was, fortunately, pacific compared with others. He was successful in such wars as did occur, and also in suppressing, in some degree, clerical ambition. But in the exercise of his power he was strongly contrasted with Alfred. He lived for himself, pompously and magnificently; yet performed kingly duties well, in some respects. He is said to have enforced the laws, to have suppressed robberies, and to have inspected his kingdom personally, in periodical circuits. As an instance of his vanity, he went to Chester, to which place he had ordered certain petty tributary kings, of Wales, and of the north, to come, to the number of eight; and he ordered these potentates to row him in a barge on the Dee, while he sat at the helm. Alfred would have blushed for such a descendant. Some odious aggressions on private rights, of the most sacred character, stain the memory of this vain prince. He did not long disgrace his station: his career was closed at the age of thirty-two.

Some question arose on the succession, between Edward the Martyr and Ethelred. St. Dunstan assumed to end the contest by crowning Edward. The contention seems to have been between parties, who might be called clerical and anti-clerical; or rather between those who favored the ancient clergy, and those who favored Dunstan, as the Chief of the Benedictines. He again resorted to miracles and to crimes. His opponents were the nobles, better known in after times as the barons. He assembled (Turner says, vol. 1. p. 405.) a council of nobles at Calne in 975. It was so managed that the young king was absent. While the senators of England were debating, and reproaching Dunstan, he made a short reply—closing with the words,—“I confess that I am unwilling to be overcome. I commit the cause of the church to the decision of Christ.” When these words were uttered, the supporters of the flooring gave way, and all present, but Dunstan, fell amidst the ruins to the earth below. His seat remained unmoved. Many were killed, and more grievously wounded.

There was but one person in England who was able to cope with Dunstan. This was Elfrida, own mother of Ethelred, and

in-law of the king. The efforts of this princess, to counter the measures of Dunstan, are a series of abominable, not worth a detail. The most conspicuous of them was which she removed Edward, and enthroned her son. hunting in Dorsetshire, near Wareham, Edward was led from his companions, and came in view of Corfe, where Elfrida and her son resided. He rode up to the castle, and the Lady and her son came out to him. She offered him some refreshment in a goblet, and while he was drinking, an assassin plunged a dagger into his back, and inflicted a mortal wound. He fled, fell from his horse, was dragged by the stirrup, and found dead. This incident gave him the dignified name of the martyr, for which he was probably indebted to Dunstan.

Ethelred, 978—1016, had a long and disgraceful reign. He earned the surname of *the Unready*, as he was never prepared to meet his adversaries, who again appeared in the Northmen. One of his odious measures towards his enemies was, to order a massacre of all the Danes in England. This policy towards his subjects was intermingled with the Saxons; friend-marriages, and various associations, had united the two

This cruel and useless perfidy, on his part, excited the wrath of the Northmen. They came with powerful forces. Instead of contending with them in arms, he impoverished his treasury by raising money to buy peace. He was at last compelled to resist. But the want of confidence in him, the influence of perfidy in those he employed, his incapacity to govern, and his obstinacy in attempting to govern, reduced the realm to a deplorable condition. The only hope of saving it from destruction was, that the power might devolve upon another

Ethelred died in 1016, but too late to save the kingdom. Edmund, surnamed Ironside, 1016—1017, an illegitimate son of the last king, was worthy of a better fate than befel him. He struggled manfully against the Danes, about a year, and won some battles which do him credit as a king and a soldier.

To his honor, as a man, he mourned over the destruction of his subjects in these ruinous conflicts, and came to the conclusion of challenging Canute, the Danish chief, to settle their pretensions by a single combat. This led to a pacification, in which England was divided between them. Canute was to reign in the north, Edmund in the south. In the same year Edmund was murdered, in what manner is uncertain, but the Anglo-Saxon sagas (historical poems) ascribe the murder to one Godwin (an infamous traitor, who was alternately on either

side,) and intimate, that the act was done at the suggestion of Canute. In this time arose a remarkable person called Godwin, a Saxon peasant, who sided with the Danes, and whose son became a king, to which elevation Godwin had aspired himself.

Canute, the Dane, 1017—1035, was called the brave: though his fame is stained with some odious crimes, he was, for a Northman of that age, entitled to be remembered with respect. It was consistent with the common policy of the times, by fraud or force, to remove all Saxon competitors to the throne. He soon obtained dominion over all England. The infamous Edric was slain in Canute's presence. Canute reproached Edric with his crime in murdering his own king, Edmund, because he was, by treaty, Canute's friend and brother! An historian says,—“The villain who perpetrated the act, was confounded by the hypocrite who countenanced it.” Canute married Emma, (or Elgiva,) Ethelred's widow. He had the reputation of reigning over six kingdoms; three of them in the north. There were traits of a great mind, in this person, who became wiser and better as he grew older. It is remarkable that such a man should be mentioned with praise for his Christian piety. This is the monarch who is said to have placed himself on the sea shore, in a chair, in the presence of his nobles, to command the rising tide to retire. Some historians mention that fact, as an instance of the vanity and folly of a mortal who happened to hold a high earthly dignity. But Turner gives it a different version. He says, when the tide had risen to the monarch's knees, regardless of his command to retire, Canute exclaimed, “Let every dweller on the earth confess, that the power of kings is frivolous and vain! He only is the Great Supreme—let him only be honored with the name of majesty, whose nod, whose everlasting laws, the heavens, the earth and sea, with all their hosts, obey.” Canute was the master of great riches, and showed his liberality in dispensing them in a sort of proud pilgrimage to Rome. He was, undoubtedly, a very respectable person among the order of men called kings, and is a rare instance of one's growing wiser and better, both as a man and as a king, in singular prosperity.

Harold the first, 1035—1042, surnamed Harefoot, second son of Canute, had a short reign, stained with some disgraceful deeds. He was succeeded by the third son of Canute, called Hardicnute, who reigned two years, and died at a nuptial feast. He was standing in a gay company, and drank copiously, fell senseless, and soon died. With him ended the Danish reign, in 1042.

The crown came again to a Saxon prince, who is historically known as Edward the Confessor, surviving son of Ethelred. This person is represented to have been very weak, and to have been incessantly harassed by the aspiring Godwin, who was rash, ambitious, and powerful. Godwin had great address and talents, and may have entertained, very justly, the opinion, that he should make a much better king than Edward, who is said to have spent his days in praying and hunting. He reigned from 1042 to 1066.

The glory of Saxon fame had long since been lost; the national name was also soon to be lost. Edward leaving no child, there were two aspirants to the throne, with no other rights than which of the two had the longest sword. Rollo, a descendant from northern kings, had established himself, in 911, by force, in that part of France called Normandy. The fourth duke of Normandy from Rollo, was Robert, father of William the Conqueror. The other aspirant was Harold, the son of Godwin. On the very evening of Edward's funeral, Harold took the crown. Both William and Harold insisted that the right was acquired by the voluntary gift of Edward, a title not likely to be much respected by either. Both prepared to settle their right by that which settles all right when it must be resorted to—*which is the strongest*. William had strengthened himself by aids from the vicinity of Normandy, and had called to his assistance some of the kings of the north. Harold had assembled all the strength of England, as his was a contest in which Anglo-Danes and Saxons could unite.

William and Harold met on the sea-coast of England, near a place called Hastings, sixty miles south-east from London. The battle of Hastings settled the fate of England, and turned the tide of its affairs into a new and unexpected channel. The battle was fought on the 14th of October, 1066, with a bravery and skill proportioned to the prize on that day to be won or lost forever. The numbers engaged in this battle are differently stated by different historians. If, as seems to be generally admitted, fifteen thousand Normans were slain, the Norman army must have been more than double that number. The united Saxons and Danes, as they had not the sea to cross, but were gathered on their own territories, were probably greater. William was often in imminent peril, having had three horses killed under him. The fate of the day was long doubtful, sometimes inclining to one side and then to the other. When it seemed most favorable to the English, and when the Normans were nearest to giving way in despair, William dis-

posed of the most powerful body he could command, so as to take advantage of his intended movement, and then rushed on furiously with the residue, as though for a last and determined assault. But, as he intended, his troops soon gave way, and appeared to be retreating in confusion. The English then quitted their strong ground and came on to reap the fruits of victory. They were assailed, in their disordered ranks, by the reserve of William, and became an easy conquest. Harold and his two brothers, with nearly all the young and gallant nobles of the realm, fell in this battle. England beheld a new race, a new language, new laws, and new manners—new and foreign customs, and grievous oppressions. To the manly and elevated feelings and habits of rational liberty which Alfred had implanted, succeeded the force and brutality of the feudal system, which William brought with him, and tyrannically enforced. But the benefits and the glories of Saxon liberty, though overwhelmed and lost for centuries, were not lost forever. The day was to come when the effects of the Norman conquest were to be rooted out and give place to the institutions of Alfred, and again to make his memory precious to all who pride themselves in Saxon descent.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Reign of William—Introduction of the Feudal System—Doomsday Book—Game Laws—William Rufus—Henry I.—Stephen—Henry II.—Thomas à Becket—Events in Henry's Reign—His Death—State of Society.

THE contest between Harold the Saxon, and William the Norman, at Hastings, on the 14th of October, 1066, settled who should win the battle, and wear the English crown. If this had been all that the contest settled, it would have been like a thousand other battles, of little importance except to the parties concerned therein. The result was not only victory to William, and the throne of England to him and his heirs, but the destiny of the Saxon people was thereby essentially and most unfavorably changed. The consequences of that victory are felt to this day, in England, and in every land which has been, or still is, a colony of England. The destinies of France were, also, unfavorably changed. The foundation was laid, by this event, for the long, bloody, and ruin-

ous wars which have been carried on between that country and England. It may not be assuming too much to say, that William's victory arrested the progress of civilization and refinement in England, and brought back and prolonged ignorance and barbarism there, for centuries. It may, perhaps, be justly said, that this victory was a calamity not only to England, but to Europe.

Under the influence of the great Alfred's labors and example, the Saxons of England were the best informed, the most cultivated, and the most refined people of Europe. They had acquired far better knowledge, than any other people, of the principles of political justice and of the best means of promoting social welfare. If the power of the Roman Church was not to overshadow the understandings of the Saxons, they had received an impulse from Alfred, which would have led to the most beneficial attainments. Probably they would have been wise enough to have resisted that power. The conquest of William deprived them of all they had attained, even of their own language. He ordered that the only language of his court should be his own barbarous Norman French; that the acts of the government and the administration of justice should be in this language, and that none other should be taught in the schools. Within five years, all public offices in the state, in the church, and in the army, were filled by Normans; and so oppressive and tyrannical were all the measures of these new rulers, that, after some feeble attempts at resistance, all who could leave England preferred exile to the new dominion.

Hitherto, the Saxons had been strangers to the burthens and oppressions of the feudal system. It now came on them with all its rigor. The tenure of all the landed property in the kingdom was entirely changed; the territory was divided into baronies, and assigned to the great barons or lords, who acknowledged themselves to hold of William, as the supreme lord over all, and as the owner of all the land in the kingdom, subject to the uses of these barons and their tenants, according to prescribed rules. Having elsewhere described the origin, the nature, and the consequences of the feudal system, we shall only add here, that William so firmly established it in England, that, to this day, every estate owned there, still retains the most obvious proofs of having been transmitted through that system.

One of the most oppressive and odious acts of William, was the forcible turning out from their lands and tenements

all the people who dwelt in a space of thirty miles around in the south of England, near Winchester, for the mere purpose of planting a forest for his own pleasure in hunting. He demolished not less than twenty-two churches, to accomplish his object. This outrage is consistent with the well-known character of this Norman race. They had but three principal occupations from choice, war, hunting, and boisterous festivity. To William, the English nation of the present day may look back for the origin, the rigor, and the vexation of their game laws.

Though almost every thing in England, civil and social, bears some stamp of the Norman conquest, there is one peculiar monument of William in the volumes called Domes-day or Dooms-day book. There are different opinions on the meaning of the name which this book bears. But, whatever this meaning may have been, originally, the book itself contains what would be called a *valuation*, in modern language, or an exact enumeration and record of all the property, real and personal, throughout the kingdom, and to whom belonging. This book served William for various purposes, and, among others, to aid him in whatever exactions he saw fit to make. The original book has survived all the commotions and revolutions which have befallen England, and is now safely kept at the charter-house in Westminster, and is accessible as a book of authority, or may be there seen as an object of curiosity. It has been often reprinted.

It is not to be supposed that our Saxon ancestors endured these tyrannical acts without murmuring or resistance. But the despotism of William was too firmly established to be shaken, though well-concerted attempts were frequently made to free the country from the Norman yoke. William was sensible that he ought to guard himself against the spirit of hostility and hatred which he must have excited. He relied for security on fear and terror only. Whenever the occasion called for it, his punishments were terrible. In the northern part of the kingdom, where aid might be expected from the Scotch, the will to resist had most frequently manifested itself. William appeared there with a formidable force, put one hundred thousand inhabitants to the sword, and laid the whole country utterly desolate, from York to Durham. No property, nor any person of any age, or of either sex, was spared. He established a watchful and energetic police throughout his kingdom. At eight o'clock a bell was rung. This was a signal that every fire should be covered, every person retire to

bed, and every light be extinguished. This bell acquired the name of *curfew*, because, in William's Norman language, *couver* is the word to cover, and *feu* the word for fire.*

William died near Rouen, in France, in his sixty-third year, in consequence of some accident in riding, (1087.) It is not unacceptable to find it recorded of him, that he had some contrition at the close of his life for his oppressions and tyrannies. But he manifested his contrition no otherwise than in donations to enrich the priests, and aggrandize the church, and so buy his peace with Heaven.

William was a very able man for the day in which he appeared, whether as a civil ruler or military chief; no doubt the most capable and the most successful monarch of that age. But he was a mere barbarian, and no history records of him a single act of public spirit, humanity, or magnanimity. So far as can be discerned, in looking back through the obscurity of ages, it was a grievous and unmitigated misfortune to the Saxon race, to England, and to the civilized world, that William the Conqueror had not been conquered and slain himself, instead of Harold, at the battle of Hastings.

William left his Norman possessions in France to his oldest son, Robert, and his kingdom of England to his son William Rufus, who was crowned in 1087, and is called, historically, William II.

By the Norman conquest, England was assimilated to the continental nations of France and Germany, in the forms of government, in policy, in religious duties and papal dominion. England had also become so connected with the public measures of France, that few movements, in that country, were without some influence, good or evil, and generally the latter, on its own internal relations. As William divided his dominions among his sons, contentions soon arose among them, and wars followed, in which the monarch of England, for the time, might feel deep interest, while the people of England, certainly the Saxon portion, could have nothing to gain, though often visited by severe sufferings from these wars. The character of that age, from the time of William's death in 1087, for a century next following, would lead us to expect nothing, in historical details, but the exercise of tyrannical power on the part of kings, resistance, and sometimes rebellion, among powerful lords; the continual encroachment of the Roman

* The word *curfew* is used to denote this signal-bell in Gray's well-known *Elegy on a church-yard*.

church; the humiliation and oppression of the great mass of the people. The course of events in England, for a series of years, presents nothing that is instructive in principle, nor any thing in the particular character or conduct of kings or rulers, which is worth noticing in this general view.

William Rufus having been accidentally slain by an arrow from the bow of one of his companions while hunting, his brother Henry (called beau-clerc) hastened to London and caused himself to be proclaimed king, in 1100. As his elder brother, Robert, in Normandy, had the better right, William Rufus not having left any child, Henry attempted to conciliate his subjects by some relaxation in severity. He abolished the curfeu, among other things. Henry reigned till 1135, and died, leaving a daughter, Matilda, who was the wife of Henry V., emperor of Germany. He lost his only son, who was passing from Norway to England, and is said never to have been known to smile afterwards. What acquirements one must have had in the beginning of the twelfth century to entitle him to the surname of *fine scholar*, (beau-clerc,) there are no means of judging.

Stephen, the grandson of William, by Adela, the wife of the Count de Blois of France, aspired to the throne and obtained it, to the prejudice of Matilda, the rightful heir. Then followed a long and vindictive civil war between Stephen and Matilda, one of the most afflictive in English annals. This was one of the deplorable consequences of the Norman conquest. The war ended by compromise. Stephen held the throne till his death, in 1154, and was succeeded by Henry, the son of Matilda, by the French Count of Anjou, whom she married after the death of the emperor, Henry V. of Germany. Henry was the son of a Frenchman, and was educated in France. He called himself Henry, Fitz-Empress.* He is called, in history, Henry II.; also Plantagenet, (the surname of his father, from his wearing a sprig of corn-broom in his cap,) the first of the Plantagenet kings.

Henry was the Duke of Normandy, in France, in right of his mother, and of the adjoining province of Maine, in right of his father, Count of Anjou. He married Eleanor of Guienne, whom the French king, Louis VII., had just divorced from himself, and thereby acquired the lordship of Poictou, a province adjoining and south of Maine, and of Guienne, a province adjoining Poictou. Thus, Henry was feudal sove-

* Fitz is an old French word, meaning son.

reign of nearly one fifth of France, when he claimed the English throne against Stephen. He was 22 years of age when his reign began, in 1154. He died at the age of 58, having reigned 35 years. Historians commend this king for his personal qualities, and his good intentions, as a monarch. Some occurrences deserve notice. 1. Henry's controversy with Thomas à Becket. Becket was the son (it is said) of a London merchant, and a Saracen lady, whom he met with in Palestine, and who followed him to London. He was educated at Oxford college, founded, it is supposed, by Alfred. This was the time when the popes of Rome were attempting, by every means, fraud, threats, superstition, promises and terrors, to extend their power over the civilized world. The Norman princes in England had resisted these papal usurpations as much as they dared to; and submitted to the authority of the Roman pontiffs only when their own interests were promoted by the submission. Becket found favor with Henry, and was honored with civil and military trust. He had become wealthy, and distinguished himself by his splendor of life. When Becket was 43 years of age, the archbishopric of Canterbury being vacant, Henry raised him to that dignity, expecting from this appointment an important aid in resisting papal encroachment. But Becket immediately laid aside his worldly habits, devoted himself to an extreme austerity, and used his office and his talents to strengthen the power of the church. He soon gave great offence to Henry in attempting to draw matters in controversy from the civil to the ecclesiastical authority. In short, Becket became the devoted supporter of all the obnoxious pretensions of the pope, and used his talents and official station to subject Henry, his kingdom and subjects, to the papal supremacy. Henry fortified himself by convening a general council of prelates and nobles at Clarendon, Jan. 1164. This council passed "The Constitutions of Clarendon," which defined and circumscribed the clerical and papal authority in a manner highly creditable to Henry's good sense, as a man, and as a king. [Hume, chap. VIII.] Becket was compelled to subscribe, and to swear to submit to these constitutions; but repented of this concession and obtained absolution from the pope, who issued a bull to annul the proceedings at Clarendon. Henry, giving way to his resentment, proceeded against Becket with severity, and even injustice. Becket, equally resolute on his part, provoked Henry to measures designed to humble and ruin him; and, to avoid this extremity, he withdrew to France, where he was graciously received by Louis VII, and pope

Alexander III., at that time residing at Sens, an ancient city, 60 miles S. E. of Paris.

By the intervention of third persons, a forced and insincere reconciliation was effected, and Becket returned to England, but conducted himself with such insufferable arrogance, and such offensive insolence in relation to the king personally, as to draw from Henry, who was then in France, the words—“Shall this fellow, who came to court on a lame horse, with all his estate in a wallet behind him, trample upon his king, the royal family, and the whole kingdom? Will none of all those lazy, cowardly knights, whom I maintain, deliver me from this turbulent priest?” These expressions were understood by four persons, who heard them, to be an invitation to dispose of Becket. He was assassinated in the Cathedral church of Canterbury, on the 29th of December, 1170. [The manner of his death is stated by McIntosh, vol. 1. 142—3.]

Whether Henry desired the death of Becket or not, he cannot be considered as having been a party in this murder. Henry was the most powerful monarch of that age; he was not disposed to submit to papal usurpation; he appears to have been a man of strong mind, and to have been very decided in supporting his own rights. Yet, such was the power of the pope, that Henry was obliged to pass a day and a night without food, at the tomb of Becket, and submit himself to be scourged by monks. Among the humiliating terms of reconciliation prescribed by the pope, was a solemn oath, that Henry would engage in a crusade to the holy land.

Three years after his death Becket was canonized. There were two volumes of records of the miracles wrought by the relics of this man; and 100,000 persons are supposed to have made a pilgrimage, in a single year, to the shrine of Becket, at Canterbury. This city is S. E. by E. from London, about 50 miles, and 20 west from the straits of Dover; and southwardly of the Thames. Among the pilgrims at Becket's shrine, in the year 1179, was Louis VII., king of France. Littleton, Hume, Henry and Macintosh, have discussed the character of this remarkable person, in their respective histories of England. The conclusion to be drawn from their remarks, is, that Becket was a man of extraordinary talents; that he sustained the pretensions of the church, at first, through policy, but soon became sincere and resolute, as the tendency of the human mind is to believe that to be true, which it desires to be true.

The pilgrimage to Canterbury (which was continued for


centuries) furnished Chaucer with the plan of writing a poem of great celebrity, entitled *Canterbury Tales*. He imagines a company to have met at an inn, in Southwark, on their way to the shrine; and the tales recited by this company, for their own amusement, are supposed to be an able delineation of private life, in the fourteenth century.

The *second* thing to be noticed in Henry's reign is, the conquest of Ireland, as it is called, and the annexation of that island to the dominions of the British crown. In the sketches of Ireland, the causes and the manner of this conquest have been described, and to these sketches we refer.

The *third* thing to be mentioned is the attention which Henry bestowed on the making and administering of salutary laws. In every community wherein there are intelligent and honest judges, authorized and employed to administer justice, systems insensibly arise, by which right and wrong are ascertained. Positive laws rather come in aid of such a system, than create it. At a great national council, held at Nottingham, in 1177, a most important provision was made, and which may have been the foundation of the judicial glory which has long distinguished the government of England from all others in Europe. England was then divided into six circuits, each of which was to be visited, at stated times, by three justices to hold courts. At this time, also, attempts were made to abolish the absurd customs of deciding right and wrong, truth and falsehood, guilt and innocence, by ordeals of fire, and by other modes of bodily pain. This may be considered as the period of beginning to submit controversies to the judgment of juries. It is believed, however, that trial by jury was not unknown among the Saxons.

The fourth *subject* which deserves notice is, that the wars which so long distressed England and Scotland were prosecuted with great energy by Henry. William, then king of Scotland, was taken prisoner, and obtained his liberty on the hard terms of acknowledging himself the vassal of Henry, and as holding his kingdom as a feud of the crown of England.

In the year 1188, Henry yielded to the earnest solicitation of Pope Gregory VIII. to engage in a crusade. The Saracens had taken Jerusalem, and threatened the same fate to Antioch. William, arch-bishop of Tyre, procured a conference between Philip II., (Augustus) of France, and Henry, and it was agreed to unite in an expedition to the east. While preparations were making, Henry was called to another warfare from the revolt of his son Richard; which, however painful, was a less afflictive occupation than the perils of a crusade.



It has been mentioned that Henry married Eleanor of Guienne. This person lived longer than Henry lived, and is represented to have been very able, and very troublesome. Henry had preferences for other ladies, who were objects of malice with Eleanor, in the degree of their superiority in attractions, over herself. "Fair Rosamond," is a tale founded in some realities, but highly embellished. There is no doubt that Rosamond Clifford, the daughter of a gentleman of Herefordshire, was one of Henry's favorites. Her fame for singular beauty seems to have been so thoroughly established, as to have found its regular place in history. It is a fable naturally suggested by Rosamond's loveliness, Henry's devotion to her, and Eleanor's malicious jealousy, that Henry built for her a place of abode at Woodstock, a labyrinth which could be entered only by the guidance of a thread, of which he alone was master. Yet Eleanor is fabled to have found her way into the labyrinth, and to have put an end to Fair Rosamond. Other accounts represent Rosamond to have died a natural death, and to have been buried in the Church of Godstow, opposite the high altar. Addison wrote an opera, founded on the story of Fair Rosamond, which has served to preserve the name of one who has little claim to be remembered.

The declining years of Henry were far from being such as the most intelligent and powerful monarch of his time, would be thought to have secured to himself. His three sons rebelled against his authority, and sought to deprive him of his dominions. In these measures they were instigated, counselled, and assisted, to the utmost of her power, by their mother. Sir J. McIntosh, (*His. of Eng.*) credits the fact that she appeared at the head of the rebellious army of her sons, in Aquitaine, (*France*), and was made prisoner, in man's apparel. The distresses which befell this king, more from the undutiful conduct of the members of his own family, than from any other cause, are supposed to have hastened his death, which occurred at the castle of Chinon, in Normandy, on the 5th of July, 1189, in the 35th year of his reign, and the 58th of his age. Hume has drawn a very favorable character of Henry, (*chap. IX.*) in comparison with the kings and distinguished men of that time.

The prominent events of Henry's reign have been preserved and transmitted with sufficient accuracy to enable us to judge of them. But this is only a part of that knowledge which is desired of ancient times. How the despotism of a powerful monarch, the superiority of nobles over the common mass of subjects; and how the authority of the church, and of the feu-

dal system, affected social life, as a whole, can only be conjectured. Very little is known of the rank which females held, how they were educated, what influence they had. This, however, was the age of chivalry; and also of the crusades. In the distinct and separate notices of the church, and of the crusades there will be opportunity to inquire into the private life of this age.

In the year 1140 lived William of Malmsbury, an English historian, who is always mentioned with the highest respect.

In 1152, Geoffrey, of Monmouth, was either the author or the translator of a chronicle or history of the Britons, a work abounding with fables, but sometimes quoted.

1180. Ranulph de Glanville, chief Justice of England, was author of a work on the laws and customs of England, a work of high authority. He is the person who accompanied John to Ireland. He went with Richard to Palestine, and died at the seige of Acre, in 1190.

1190. Geraldus Cambrensis, of Wales, is often quoted as an author of many esteemed historical works, though, according to the fashion of the day, marvellous in some facts.

In the same year, William, of Newburgh, a native of Yorkshire, is mentioned as the author of a chronicle; and Richard Hoveden, of Yorkshire, also, is quoted as an historical writer.

At the close of the eleventh century, the state of society in England was much debased, although it was the age of chivalry. The royal family and the court were French. Henry was the son of a Frenchman, his Queen, a French woman. The Roman church, with all its abominations, had full dominion. Some monks complained to Henry that they had been deprived of three of their daily dishes. He asked how many remained. Ten. He ordered seven to be taken from the ten, for that they would then have as many as he had himself. It was a practice, in this reign, for companies of men, sometimes 100, to combine in London, to commit robberies, and other felonies, comprising persons of wealth and family. Henry was very severe against these combinations.

Henry revived a law of his grandfather, abolishing the right of proprietors of lands to vessels and goods, in case of wreck on their shores. If any person, or live creature were found on board, the property remained three months to be claimed. Unclaimed, it belonged to the crown. (Macpherson on commerce, vol. 1. 342.) In 1176 a new bridge of stone was begun alongside the old wooden bridge, in London. In 1181, Henry prohibited the sale of British vessels to foreigners, and the em-

ployment of British sailors by foreigners, a measure of war, not of commerce. Copper, iron, tin, lead, fish, (herrings and oysters,) wool, cheese, beef, were exported, and silver obtained from Germany, in return; and cloths and linen from Flanders. Lead was used to cover roofs of churches, and palaces. *Slaves* were exported, especially to Ireland. Wine, silks, spices, jewelry, furs, woad were imported. There were several manufactories of cloth in England, in this reign, established by the aid of Flemmings, who had long been skilful in this employment. Henry prohibited the use of Spanish wool.

Instead of depending on the feudal military force, inefficient and disorderly, Henry imposed taxes, and hired troops. He relaxed the severity against the Jews, but they were otherwise treated by his successors. The English goldsmiths had acquired a high reputation about this time. A pair of candlesticks, made of silver and gold, were presented by a monk of St. Albans to pope Adrian IV. They were of such exquisite workmanship that the pope consecrated them to St. Peter. (Macpherson, vol. 1. p. 348.)

CHAPTER XV.

Richard I.—Crusade—Jews—Richard's Imprisonment—His Death—John—Murders Arthur—Submission to the Pope—Loss of French Provinces—Magna Charta—John's Death.

IN July, 1189, Richard I., called Cœur de Lion, (lion-hearted,) the second son of Henry II., by Eleanor, of Guienne, ascended the throne, being then 32 years old. He had been invested, in the life-time of Henry, with the ducal sovereignty of Guienne and Poitou, in France. He had engaged in hostilities against his brothers, who had similar possessions, and also with them, in rebellions against their father. The renown of Richard as a skilful and valiant warrior, in the school of chivalry, had procured for him his surname of Cœur de Lion, or the lion-hearted. His reign continued ten years, no one of which (says McIntosh) was passed in England. Nearly one half of these ten years were passed in his crusade to Palestine, and most of the other half in wars with his neighbors, or rebellious subjects, in France. He was, in truth, a Frenchman, in every respect but the place of his birth. His residence in the south of France, while young, had made him familiar with

the gallantry which prevailed there among the class of accomplished men, who united the professions of arms with music, poetry, and love, under the name of the *Troubadours*.

As king of England there is very little to be said of Richard. As one of the most distinguished of the thousands of valiant knights who engaged in the recovery of the holy land from the infidels, the story of Richard is interesting, and rather resembling the products of fancy, than history. The proper place, therefore, for noticing Richard is in the sketches of the Crusades. Some things should be mentioned in connection with his reign in England.

About the time that Richard came to the throne, a barbarous and indiscriminate slaughter of the Jews occurred throughout England. This people, scattered over the world, and dealing almost exclusively in money, and the most valuable merchandize, and ministering every where to luxuries which they could enjoy nothing of themselves, were subject to the most unjust and cruel treatment. This slaughter of the Jews is said to have been ordered by Richard. It is also said, that he forbade any Jews to appear at his coronation; that this order was disobeyed, and that popular resentment arose, soon ran into violence, extended over the kingdom, and ended in a general pillage and massacre. A third account is, that when Richard, in his second year, had resolved to go to Palestine, it was deemed popular and pious to begin with a robbery and slaughter of the Jews; and with making a bonfire of the bonds and securities which they held for money lent by them, to Christians.

Another circumstance should be mentioned to show what royal government was in the days of Richard. In his return from Palestine he was taken prisoner, and held in Austria, (as will be shown in another place,) at a price of 100,000 marks, as a ransom. His subjects were called on to pay this sum in money, equal to about 333,333 dollars. To pay this sum the plate of the churches and monasteries was taken; and those who had not plate were required to give up their wool, and "England, from sea to sea, was reduced to the utmost distress." This was to buy the presence of a man who could do no act so useful to England, as one which would prevent him from ever seeing it again.

Richard, in attempting to subdue one of his inferior vassals, in the French province of Lamousin, in the south of France, was wounded, on the 24th of March, 1199, by an arrow from the castle of Chaluz. He soon after died of this wound. The qualities and abilities of Richard were not such as to make him

a serviceable king. The terrors of his name had some tendency to repress the seditious and rebellious propensities of the age. In this last scene, it is said, that his vassal, Bertrand de Gourdon had found a treasure, of which he sent Richard a part. Richard claimed the whole, which was refused. Gourdon shut himself up in Chaluz, and prepared for defence. Richard having approached the walls was wounded by an arrow. The castle was afterwards taken, and Gourdon brought before his sovereign, who then knew he must soon die of the wound. Being asked by Richard what induced him to inflict a mortal wound, he answered,—“You killed my father and my two brothers with your own hand, and you intended to have hanged me. Inflict your severest torments; I will bear them with patience, since I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a nuisance.” Richard ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty. But Macarde, unknown to Richard, flayed Gourdon alive, and then hanged him.

In the last year of Richard's reign a battle occurred between him and Philip of France, at a place called Treteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome, 95 miles south of Paris. On this occasion Richard assumed the motto “*Dieu et mon droit*,”* which has ever since been used by British kings.

John, the brother and successor of Richard, surnamed Sans-terre, or Lackland, was born in 1167, was 32 years of age when crowned, reigned 17 years and a half, and died in 1216, at the age of 49. When Richard I. died, there was living a son of Geoffrey, (next brother of Richard,) named Arthur, a youth of 15; John was next brother to Geoffrey. Whether John or Arthur was best entitled to the crown, was a question which was not settled by law, or custom. John's memory would be less infamous than it is, if he had merely assumed the crown, and defended his possession. He not only did this, but he possessed himself of the person of Arthur, and put him to death with his own hand, and if not, by the hand of Peter de Mauley.

When John was crowned, nearly all the provinces along the west coast of France, from near Calais to and beyond Bordeaux, in the dukedom of Guienne, were held by the king of England; but the king of France was the superior lord, according to the feudal law; and the king of England was consequently a vassal of the French king, (as to the tenure of these provinces,) who was then Philip Augustus, or Philip II. Philip

* God and my right.

supported Arthur's claims because Constance, mother of Arthur, was sister of Philip. To give the greater importance to Arthur's claim, Philip united Arthur and Mary, his daughter, in marriage. Arthur was hereditary duke of Brittany, in right of his father, and as such was vassal of Philip. John, now king of England, being charged with the murder of Arthur, the vassal of Philip, was summoned, in his character of duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, (and consequently vassal of the French King,) to appear before the court of peers, at Paris, and answer to this charge. In this summons, John is accused of having murdered a vassal of the French king—that this vassal was John's own nephew, whom he was bound to protect; that the murdered vassal was the son-in-law of Philip, and that Philip was bound to avenge the murder. John did not appear, was pronounced contumacious, and all his provinces in France, but one, were declared forfeited to the French crown. Thus, by this murder, John lost one third of his dominions. By the death of Arthur the ducal sovereignty of the great province of Brittany came to his sister Eleanor. John carried this young princess with him to England, and shut her up in a monastery, near Bristol, where she lived forty years, a prisoner. (Brittany was annexed to the crown of France in 1532.)

The murder of Arthur, and the loss of all the French provinces, (but Guienne, on the Garonne, which seems not to have been included,) added to the general detestation felt by John's subjects in England. Other causes arose to make John one of the most contemptible, as well as odious, of all men that ever wore a crown.

At this time (1207) Innocent III. was on the papal throne, and he was devoted to the great purpose of subjecting the civil or temporal affairs of the world, to the spiritual dominion of the church. Hitherto the encroachments of the church had not been so great in England as on the continent. Innocent III. ingeniously brought himself into the controversy which then existed in England on the question whether the archbishop of Canterbury should be chosen by the monks of St. Augustin's abbey, in that city, or by the bishops of the province of Kent. The monks would choose as the pope ordered; the bishops were subject to the influence of the king. The monks elected Stephen Langton. John seized the ecclesiastical possessions at Canterbury, and turned the monks out. He insisted that the election of Langton should be annulled. The pope sustained Langton. The controversy became more and

more serious, until, at length, the pope (in 1213) excommunicated John, and declared his subjects absolved from their allegiance.*

The pope gave John's dominions to Philip Augustus of France, who assembled a powerful army to take possession of them. John gathered an army on the British coast to meet the invasion. The pope was now driven to other measures. He perceived that it was risking his supremacy as a spiritual ruler, if he left the decision to the chance of arms. Availing himself of John's weak points, he sent agents into John's presence, who terrified him with accounts of the military force which Philip had gathered, the certainty of defeat, and the horrible vengeance of the pope. John was at length subdued, and entirely surrendered himself to the pope's disposal. He was required to give up his kingdom to the pope as his lord and master, and to receive it back again as the vassal of the pope, and to hold it as a fief or appendage of the papal crown. He was also required to pay, annually, as a tribute, seven hundred marks for England and three hundred for Ireland. At Dover, on the 15th of May, 1213, John, kneeling before the pope's legate, and having his hands raised and clasped, and enclosed in the hands of the legate, (Pandulph,) he solemnly resigned his kingdom, his power, and authority to the pope. The legate retained the possession for five days. John was then reinstated in his kingdom, but only as the vassal and dependant of the holy Roman church. Pandulph then hastened to Philip Augustus, and warned him not to interfere with the possessions of John, who had become a penitent and devout son of the representative of St. Peter on earth.

Philip Augustus was much displeased with this sudden turn in affairs, and disinclined to give up the hope of subduing John. His arms were needed in another quarter. The emperor of Germany, and the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and others, in the Low Countries, united to control the power of France, which they considered to be growing too formidable. John joined in this league against France. He employed his maritime force, consisting only of small vessels, against a similar force of the French king, and was able to destroy some of them, capture others, and destroy the provisions and military stores which the French ships were carrying to the French king's army. This is the first naval conflict between these two nations, (1213.)

* The effect of an excommunication will be shown in the notices of the Church.

John attempted to recover his lost provinces in France, but was wholly unsuccessful. The murder of Arthur, the contemptible submission to the pope, the failure of his military attempts, the licentiousness and odium of John's private life, had disaffected all his subjects. Stephen Langton, though chosen at the pope's command to fill the high office of archbishop of Canterbury, proved to be a man deeply interested in the welfare of England. To remedy the existing evils, Langton required of John to take an oath to conform, in the exercise of his power, to the laws of king Henry I. At a meeting of peers and prelates in August, 1213, Langton declared what these laws were, and how they ought to be observed. From this time Langton appears at the head of the reformers; that is, the confederated barons, who had determined to control the king.

Numerous meetings were held. The confederates took arms, and their party became daily stronger. Conferences were held with the king. The pope issued a bull in favor of king John,—the dear son of his holiness,—and denouncing conspiracies against his lawful authority. The king had assembled whatever forces he could, and the two parties approached each other on a plain called Runnymede, on the banks of the Thames, on the 15th of June, 1215. The confederates called themselves "the army of God and of the Holy Church," and were composed of "the whole nobility of England." Here, on the nineteenth of this month of June, the king signed the great charter, (*Magna Charta*), which has ever since been regarded and honored as the foundation of English liberties. Sir James McIntosh was of opinion that this famous instrument was drawn up by the same Stephen Langton, who was elected by the Pope's order to the primacy of England. By whomsoever drawn up, it is the foundation of the constitutional law which afterwards raised England to the highest rank among nations. Yet, the sentiments and principles of this charter of liberties are not of Norman origin. They came from the Saxons, probably from Alfred himself, and had slept for ages under the foreign dominion of William's descendants. They now re-appeared, and were the more precious from their long absence. It is inconsistent with indispensable brevity, to enter into a consideration of the great charter. The following summary from Sir William Blackstone will show its general purport. *Magna Charta* is the basis of English laws and liberties. Besides redressing grievances of feudal tenures, it protected the subject from

divers abuses of the royal prerogative. It fixed the law of forfeiture for felony. It established many private rights of the subject. It enjoined uniformity of weights and measures, encouraged commerce, protected merchant strangers, and forbade the alienation of lands in mortmain. The administration of justice was provided for by numerous and highly important regulations. And, lastly, it protected every individual in the nation in the free enjoyment of his life, his liberty, and his property, unless declared to be forfeited by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

The purport of this declaration of fundamental rights, may be further understood from the eulogy of Sir James McIntosh, in his History of England:—"The language of the Great Charter is simple, brief, general without being abstract, and expressed in terms of authority, not of argument; yet commonly so reasonable as to carry with it the intrinsic evidence of its own fitness. It was understood by the simplest of the unlettered age for whom it was intended. It was remembered by them, and though they did not perceive the extensive consequences which might be derived from it, their feelings were (however unconsciously) exalted by its generality and grandeur."

The assent of John to the charter, and even his solemn signature and acknowledgments, were no assurances that it would be regarded by him. The barons required of him to surrender the city and tower of London, as security that he would faithfully execute the charter. Not satisfied with this, the barons required John's assent, and obtained it, that twenty-five of their number should be guardians of the liberties of the kingdom, with power to these extraordinary magistrates, if they saw any breach of the charter, and if redress was denied or withheld, to make war on the king, to seize his castles and lands, and to distress and annoy him in every possible way till justice was done, saving only the person of the king, the person of the queen, and the persons of the royal progeny.

Looking back on such a scene as this, it seems incredible that one man, surrounded by thousands, among all of whom he was the very worst, and the enemy of all of them, should have a power which all present admitted to be greater than their own, and this power resting on the mere accident of his birth. Common sense would dictate, if John was contemptible and detested as a man, and tyrannical and odious as a king, that the proper course would be to displace him, and find a proper person for the exercise of royal authority. But

in that age of the world, the authority of a king was held to be an indispensable power. No authority, less potent, could have controlled the discordant elements of society.

John attempted, by force of arms, afterwards, to subdue his barons and recover his former position, and they, to escape from him, proposed to receive as king, Louis, son of the king of France, who came over, and for a short time was acknowledged to be king of England. The residue of John's life was passed in these civil commotions, with hired auxiliaries on his part, and foreigners aiding the barons. This conflict was not of long duration. John was moving with his force in Lincolnshire, over the sands near the sea, when a sudden influx of the tide overwhelmed his baggage and treasure. He was then in impaired health, from his unfortunate condition, and having become still more impaired, he died at Newark on the 18th of October, 1216.

John's improvidence, follies, and necessities, compelled him to resort to various modes of raising money. He sold to London and several other cities, charters granting various privileges. He granted various privileges to the Jews, which he afterwards shamefully disregarded. Macpherson (vol. i. p. 376) narrates several instances of exaction from this unfortunate class. He imposed the enormous tax on the Jews of 66,000 marks. (A mark was two-thirds of a pound sterling.) A wealthy Jew of Bristol was required to pay 10,000 marks. He refused. John ordered that a tooth should be drawn every day till he submitted. He lost seven, and on the eighth day he paid. The first notice of any vessels or galleys belonging to a king, since the time of Alfred, occurs in John's reign.

However odious the conduct and character of John may have been, the English nation derived therefrom permanent benefits. The principles of liberty were asserted, and the foundation laid for the constitutional freedom which Englishmen have since maintained as their birthright.

CHAPTER XVI.

Henry III.—Civil Wars—Confirmation of Magna Charta—First House of Commons—De Mountfort—Death of Henry III.—State of Society.

HENRY III., son of John, was born October 1, 1206; crowned at the age of ten years, October 2, 1216; reigned

fifty-six years; died November 16, 1272. At the age of thirty, Henry married Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, (south of France,) who survived him. There were many children of this marriage, and among them Edward, surnamed Longshanks, afterwards Edward I. Margaret, born in 1241, who married Alexander III., king of Scotland. Edmund, surnamed Crouchback, or the lame, earl of Lancaster. From this person the kings of the house of Lancaster claimed descent.

England was never more miserable than during the fifty-six years of Henry's reign. The four elements of English history concurred to make this misery: 1. Contention for the crown. 2. Wars in France, with Scotland, and with Wales. 3. Ecclesiastical contentions, usurpations, and tyranny. 4. Civil wars, in which the insignificance of Henry, and his utter destitution of every quality necessary in a king, permitted the great barons to reduce government to the simple element of force and violence. The persons who make the most conspicuous figure in Henry's time were these: 1. The earl of Pembroke. This person was regent, with general consent, and had the custody of the king's person. He died in 1220. 2. Hubert de Bergh (who appears in a judicial as well as military capacity) became regent. 3. Simon de Mountfort, a Frenchman, came over and married Henry's sister, Elenora. He was made earl of Leicester, and became a very conspicuous agent in English affairs. 4. Richard, the brother of Henry, and earl of Cornwall, and elected king of the Romans. 5. Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, a Frenchman by birth, was successor of de Bergh, as first minister. 6. Henry's mother, Isabel, married, while widow of John, the Count de la Marche, and had four sons, who appear in Henry's time in public concerns, and especially as his favorites.

Henry III. is represented to have been a weak, capricious, irresolute, and perfidious person, without the relief of a single good quality. His niece, Eleanor, whom John imprisoned, was still living, but does not appear to have been mentioned as a competitor for the crown. The French prince Louis continued his pretensions with various success, till the close of the following year, (1217,) when peace was made with him, and he withdrew to France.

While the virtuous and intelligent Pembroke was regent, a revision of the laws was made on the forests and several other subjects, and the great charter was confirmed, with some omissions, (supposed to be agreeable to the barons,) and divers

conciliatory measures were taken, that the personal administration of the young king's government might begin under the most favorable circumstances. Unhappily, Henry had no capacity to avail himself of the good wishes and prudent acts of Pembroke.

In 1231 the rebellious nobles succeeded in driving Hubert de Bergh from the confidence and ministry of the king, and he hardly escaped with his life. Hume calls him the ablest and most virtuous minister that Henry ever possessed. But the vigor which he used in suppressing the seditious and rebellious barons, (among whom may be numbered the king's own brother, Richard, duke of Cornwall,) made him unpopular, and the king dared not to retain him.

Under the bishop of Winchester, the successor of de Bergh, the highest offices, in church and state, were bestowed upon the bishop's countrymen from France. This favoritism occasioned great dissatisfaction. But, in 1236, the marriage of Henry with a French countess, (of Province,) introduced multitudes of hungry foreigners, who became the favorites of the court, and sole objects of its grace and bounty. The king, as feudal guardian of his young vassals, had the right to dispose of them in marriage. Young females were invited from France, and married to young English nobles.

Henry's subjects were further irritated and disgusted by finding the power of the Roman church so firmly established as to be able to bestow all the rich offices in the church on the pope's Italian favorites. The pope, Alexander IV. (successor of Innocent III.) had influence enough with Henry to persuade him to embark in the futile and costly project of attempting to make himself king of Sicily. From these and many other improvident and vexatious measures, Henry became not only much embarrassed, but generally odious to his subjects. To relieve himself from his pressing wants, he applied to parliament. He was answered that he had repeatedly broken his solemn promises, and had little claim on his English subjects, as he had lavished all his favors and benefits on foreigners. The only instance which is recorded of Henry's ability, is his reply to a deputation sent by the bishops in parliament to remonstrate on his conduct. The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle were deputed. They complained to Henry of his frequent violations of their privileges, of his oppressions, of uncanonical and forced elections to vacant dignities. Henry is said, by Hume, to have replied,—“It is true, I obtruded you, my lord

of Canterbury, on your see. I was obliged to employ both entreaties and menaces, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected. My proceedings, I confess, were very irregular when I raised you, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, from the lowest stations to your present dignities. I am determined, henceforth, to correct these abuses; and it will also become you, in order to make a thorough reformation, to resign your benefices, and try to enter again in a more regular and canonical manner."

On these, and like remonstrances, the king promised to redress both ecclesiastical and civil grievances, and parliament agreed to grant a supply, but on condition of a solemn ratification of the great charter. All the prelates and abbots were assembled. The great charter was read. Excommunication was denounced against every one who should, thenceforth, violate this fundamental law. The ecclesiastics then threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed,—“May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence, so stink and corrupt in hell!” This appears to have been the highest degree of solemnity in which an obligation could be assumed. The king was present, holding his hand on his heart, and responded,—“So help me God! I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, as I am a king crowned and anointed.” Such is the account which Hume and other historians give of this transaction, which is regarded as a voluntary establishment of Magna Charta, and as free from all restraint and compulsion, which was sometimes objected to the original act of king John. So solemn as this ratification was, it produced not the least effect on the policy or conduct of the king.

Affairs had now come to a crisis. The measures of the king could no longer be endured. Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, and who was husband of the king's sister, formed a combination among the discontented lords, and including those of the highest distinction. De Mountfort was able and energetic, in counsel and in war, and the effect of his measures was, that when Henry came to Oxford, on the 11th of June, 1258, to meet the parliament, and to receive his grant of supplies, he found the great barons there, in arms, and accompanied by their military vassals. The king was compelled to submit to whatever terms were imposed. A council of twenty-four were selected, and de Mountfort placed at the head of it. It became, by successive steps, the actual and only government, exercising the power both of king and parliament. In

1264 an ordinance was passed, to which the king's consent had been previously extorted, that the royal power should be exercised by a council of nine persons. This council was to be chosen and removed by a majority among *three*, who were Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester. "By this intricate plan of government, the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands, *as he had the entire direction of the bishop of Chichester, and thereby commanded all the resolutions of the council of three*, who could appoint or discard, at pleasure, every member of the supreme council." (Hume, vol. ii. p. 92.)

We find, in the measures of this council, the origin of the British parliament. The prelates, barons, and knights had, theretofore, constituted the parliament convened in one body. There was no fixed rule of selection. This depended on the will of the king. The new council ordered that four knights should be chosen, by each county, to attend parliament, and make known grievances. Also, that three sessions of parliament should be held in every year. Divers other regulations were established. No supplies were granted to the king, but severe measures were adopted in relation to foreigners, and especially towards the four half brothers of the king, who were banished from the kingdom.

This imperial council assumed an authority even greater than the king had ever exercised, and exacted an oath from all, even from the king's son, the heir apparent, to obey all their orders, which, in effect, deposed the king. The nation began now to murmur against the council. The ecclesiastics found that their power was impaired, and that the council assumed to rule the church as well as the state.

Henry obtained from the pope absolution from the oath he had taken, and suddenly made proclamation that he had resumed the government of his kingdom. He displaced all officers appointed by the council. It was then agreed that all controversies should be submitted to the judgment of the king of France, called Louis IX. and also Saint Louis; a man distinguished from nearly all others of his time, for his virtues and ability. Henry and de Mountfort went to France for this purpose. The judgment of Louis was not agreeable to the barons. De Mountfort, though he remained in France, directed the forming of a powerful combination in England, to resist the royal authority, and, in due time, came over to put it in motion. A fierce and bloody civil war began, in which the strength of the country was about equally divided between the

royal party and the barons. The latter were, at first, most successful, and took the king and his son, prince Edward, prisoners.

De Mountfort now felt strong enough to exercise a tyrannical power, and entirely remodelled the forms of government; and, among other acts, (doubtless ignorant of the important consequences of this measure,) he ordered that two knights should be returned from each shire, and deputies from all the boroughs (or towns) to sit in parliament. This is considered to be the origin of the House of Commons, in 1265. De Mountfort had now a parliament of his own selection; it had elements of a nature that he could control, and he used them to crush all his opponents. But, as may ever be expected, his arrogance and violence disgusted many of his own party, and a reaction began against him. He still kept the king a prisoner, and carried him, wherever he went. Prince Edward, who was also his prisoner, was assisted to escape, and immediately placed himself at the head of a willing and competent force. At this time, de Mountfort had been drawn to the western borders of the kingdom with his army, and was on the north-western side of the Severn, and between it and Wales. He crossed the river, and on the 6th of August, 1265, prince Edward met him at Evesham, and there defeated and slew him. This was the overthrow of the baronial party. The king (who is said to have been in the front of the battle, so placed by de Mountfort) resumed his authority. For that age of the world, an astonishing degree of clemency was exhibited by the royal party. No blood flowed on the scaffold, and the forfeitures and fines were far less than the usage of that day would lead one to expect.

Hume admits the extraordinary talents of Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, but gives him no credit for good motives in his extraordinary career; while Sir James McIntosh rates him equally high as to his abilities, and seems to ascribe to him very commendable intentions against very unworthy adversaries. This is a striking instance of the doubtfulness of historical details. The same means of judging were open to both these eminent historians. Their conclusions partake of the views of the respective writers. The facts are very imperfectly known. The peculiar characters of the agents in these scenes, and their motives, varying and changing under the influence of violent excitements, can only be conjectured on general principles of human nature. And these must be judged of by what this nature may be supposed to have been in the most rude and barbarous times.

These bloody and costly conflicts appear to have imparted salutary lessons to all the interested parties. Henry, who found himself to have been restored to the throne more by the wisdom and bravery of his son Edward, than by any other causes, was probably influenced by the advice of Edward. Tranquillity having been restored, and there not being any apprehension of its being disturbed, Edward gave way to the enthusiasm of that age, assumed the cross, and departed, in 1270, for the Holy Land. The absence of Edward was a removal of all restraint on the bad passions of the subjects; and disorders and violence began anew in different parts of the kingdom. Henry was so sensible of his own incompetency to rule, that he entreated his son to return. Before that event happened, Henry died (November 16, 1272) at St. Edmondsbury.

The character of Henry is sufficiently obvious even from these brief sketches. The character of the times can be judged of only by events. 1. There was very little commerce, and the principal articles of personal estate were cattle, sheep, and implements of husbandry. 2. There was very little money, and this little belonged to the Jews, who loaned it at an exorbitant rate. Fifty per cent. was sometimes paid. But the Jews were severely dealt with. They were hated for their riches, their usury, and their religion. They were fined with a degree of extortion which exceeded their own usury. In 1243, a tax laid upon the Jews exceeded all the other revenues of the crown. 3. Crimes of every description appear to have been common. Bands of robbers were found in various parts of the kingdom, and among them were knights and persons who were often in the presence of the king as his attendants. 4. The prelates and all orders of ecclesiastics appear to have used their spiritual terrors to defraud and impoverish the community. Indeed, the extortions of the court of Rome were complained of in every land in christendom. A new and most astonishing assumption of power on the part of the church, occurred about this time, (under pope Gregory IX.,) which will be noticed in sketches of the church. 5. Trials by ordeal were abolished. 6. The first mention of coal in England occurred in Henry's time; a charter was granted to dig at Newcastle. 7. Westminster Abbey was ancient in Henry's time. He began the rebuilding of it. 8. St. Paul's, said to have been originally built in 610, was rebuilt by Henry. 9. The Tower was begun by William I. as a fortress, to aid him in taking the city of London. Wild beasts were first

kept there in Henry's time. 10. Most of the houses in London were of wood, thatched with straw. 11. The strand was a long beach open to the river. 12. Westminster Hall (built by William II.) was first used for courts of law in 1224. 13. Where St. James's palace stands, there was a hospital for lepers.

It is difficult to form any clear opinion on manners, morals, modes of life, and daily intercourse. There was, probably, a barbarous sort of splendor among the wealthy, and very humble and dependent condition among the lower classes. London appears to have had trade and commerce, and is spoken of as a place of very considerable riches. The *Hanse* towns are first mentioned about the middle of this century. In 1267 a treaty was made in England with the merchants of Lubeck. Hanse is thought (by Macpherson) to mean a town having corporate rights of self-government. There were merchants from Lucca, Florence, and Sienna, settled in London, who were Henry's creditors to a large amount. A knight, whose lands produced £150 a year, was considered very rich. Flanders depended on wool from England to carry on their manufacturing. At the coronation of Edward there was a great display of silks and stuffs embroidered with gold, brought from the Italian cities. Edward I. hung two hundred and eighty Jews of both sexes, in London, in one day. In his time, donations and conveyances in *mortmain* were prohibited; that is, the giving or conveying of lands to *perpetual* societies, as monasteries, abbeys, nunneries. The collection of the customs was frequently farmed, or sold to foreign merchants, (Italians,) to anticipate payments. In 1284 there were merchants from Norway in London. Robberies were frequent throughout England. In 1292 Roger Bacon flourished. He invented something very like telescopes and spectacles. He affirmed "that chariots may be made to go without horses; that machines may be made by which men may mount up in the air; others by which he may walk in the bottom of the sea; others by which one man may counteract the force of one thousand." If he had any such knowledge, he did not show how it could be used. (Macpherson, vol. i. p. 452.)

CHAPTER XVII.

Edward I.—Conquest of Wales—Wars with Scotland—War with France—William Wallace—Internal Administration—Confirmation of Charters—Commerce—Edward II.—Battle of Bannockburn.

THE reign of Edward I., surnamed Longshanks, is an important element in English history. He was born at Winchester, (sixty-five miles south-west from London,) June 17, 1239; crowned November 16, 1272; died July 7, 1307, aged sixty-nine, reigned thirty-five years. He married Elenor, daughter of Ferdinand III., king of Castile, in 1254, who died in 1290. His second wife was Margaret, daughter of Philip the Bold, king of France, who survived him. His marriage with Elenor was a case of singular affection and constancy among princes. Elenor died in Lincolnshire, 165 miles north of London. Her remains were carried to Westminster Abbey. At the twelve resting-places on the way, monumental crosses were erected, some of which are standing at the present day. The name, Longshanks, refers to Edward's uncommon length of lower limbs; but this peculiarity did not prevent personal dignity nor corporeal action, for which he was renowned.

The conquest of Wales, and repeated attempts to subjugate Scotland, and the confirmation of the charters and laws, are the principal events in Edward's reign. The baronial contentions, the wars on the continent, and ecclesiastical contentions, are less prominent in this reign than in several of preceding time.

Hume, Hallam, and McIntosh, concur in opinion that the consolidation of the elements of the English constitution is to be found in this reign. The imbecility and perfidy of John and Henry had made the effect of their confirmations questionable. But the character of Edward rendered a confirmation by him conclusive, though even he attempted evasions. He was the ablest man of his time, whether in civil or military capacities. He was his own minister, and had no need of any counsel but such as was indispensable to carry his own will into effect. The character of the age must be his apology for some barbarous deeds.

Edward left England with a high reputation when he undertook the crusade to Palestine at the request of St. Louis, king of France. His father having died while he was absent,

he returned leisurely, having no fears as to his succession, and spent a whole year in France. This was the age of chivalry, and so gallant a knight could command attention and find attractions on the continent.

The first measure of Edward was to subdue Wales. This ancient Celtic nation had preserved its original character in the mountainous regions held by them, from a time beyond memory or record. Edward assumed that their prince, **Lewellyn**, was his vassal, and summoned him to appear at London, and do homage to his superior lord, and thereby acknowledge the tenure of his kingdom. **Lewellyn** refused. Edward conquered him and his country, and treated him as a traitor, according to the forms of that barbarous age. **Lewellyn's** head was severed from his body, and exposed to the public view over the gates of London, and the body quartered, and portions of it sent to different parts of the kingdom. There is no room for details of this odious warfare against Wales. In a word, it was the exercise of force and fraud to the utmost, against a valiant and patriotic people, defending to their utmost, life, home, and all that time had endeared and consecrated. Wales was finally subdued in 1283, and has, ever since, been part of the English dominions. To reconcile the people of Wales to English rule, Edward affected to give them a native ruler, by causing his queen to be resident at **Caernarvon** castle, when his second son, **Edward**, (who became successor, from the death of **Alphonso**, the oldest,) was born. Hence the title of the Prince of Wales.

The conquest of Wales opened the way to an attempt to conquer Scotland, and subject the whole island to the English crown. This object engaged Edward during the residue of his life, and he closed his career in his last effort to accomplish it. There is space only to mention the events of this long struggle, in the order in which they occurred.

In the sketches of Scotland there was occasion to observe, that when the crown of Scotland fell to the grand-daughter of **Alexander III.**, called the Maid of Norway, an agreement was made that this princess should marry Edward's son. This agreement failed; the Maid of Norway having died in September, 1290, on her way to Scotland, at the age of six years, five of which she had been queen of Scotland.

Edward then appears to have sought other modes of subduing this country. He endeavored to prove that Scotland was a fief or appendage of the English crown. To carry this object into effect, he engaged in settling the contested right to

the crown between Baliol and Bruce. He decided plausibly enough in favor of Baliol, but annexing the condition, that the kingdom of Scotland was held as a fief of his crown. This relation being established, such servitude was exacted of John Baliol, the king, as to force the Scots to resist. In 1295, Edward marched a powerful army into Scotland and took several castles, penetrating as far as the foot of the highlands, in the valley of the Forth. John surrendered his crown to Edward, who then moved to the northeast, as far as Aberdeen, without opposition. The ancient town of Scone, on the river Tay, distant from Edinburgh about 35 miles, northwardly, was the place in which the kings of Scotland had been immemorially crowned. In this ceremony the kings were seated on a sacred stone, of which it was believed, that wherever this stone was placed, the Scottish nation would govern. Edward carried away this stone, and destroyed all he could find of the annual records of Scotland. He appointed governors, and departed into England.

In 1296, a war arose with France. The French king, Philip IV. had possessed himself of Edward's province of Guienne, by a policy not unlike that of Edward towards Scotland. Edward proposed to send an army to Guienne, under the command of Humphrey Bohan, Earl of Hereford, then holding the high office of constable; and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareschal of England.* Meanwhile, Edward intended to join the duke of Flanders, (then at war with France,) on the northeast, and make a powerful diversion in that quarter. The constable refused to go on this service. An altercation arose, and Edward said,—“Sir Earl, by God, you shall either go or hang.” The constable replied,—“By God, Sir king, I will neither go nor hang.” The constable and mareschal, with thirty other barons, left the presence of the king, and the expedition to Guienne was given up. The ablest monarch who had hitherto held the British throne, did not think it expedient to resent this refusal to obey. Other persons were appointed to these offices. While the king was engaged on the continent, the Scots made a new effort to throw off the yoke. Edward made peace with France, married the French king's sister himself, and married his son to the French king's daughter. These things done, he returned to the great object of his reign, the conquest of Scotland.

* This office, called afterwards Earl Marshal, was one of high civil distinction, and sometimes this earl was also a military chief.

At this time, 1298, appeared the celebrated William Wallace, who may be considered as the preserver of the independence of Scotland. McIntosh ranks him with Vasa, with the two Williams of Orange, with Kosiusko, with Washington. The rank of Wallace was only that of knight. He was called of Ellerslie, in the county of Renfrewshire, in the south of Scotland.

Wallace's magnanimity and devotion to his country rallied the spirit of Scotland, and under his guidance the English were again driven out. Edward being now at peace with all others, he was able to turn his whole force upon this unfortunate country. The gallant Wallace, by an odious act of perfidy in his pretended friend, John Monteith, was betrayed into the power of Edward, who carried him in chains to London, and caused him to be executed as a traitor, on the 23d of August, 1305. Wallace nobly answered to the charge of treason, that he was no subject of Edward, nor could commit treason against him; that his supposed crime was nothing else than defending his native land against unjust and unprovoked invasion, undertaken with design to conquer it.

The spirit of Wallace survived him. His indignant countrymen considered themselves bound to avenge what they regarded as a murder. Robert Bruce, (the grandson of the first Robert,) who was a prisoner of Edward, in England, escaped, and eluded pursuit by having his horses' shoes inverted. He placed himself at the head of his countrymen, was crowned, and the Scots once more drove the English from their land.

The exasperated Edward gathered a powerful army, and was leading it to Scotland to take terrifying vengeance on persons whom he assumed to regard as revolted subjects, when a power, mightier than any that he could exercise, and which places kings and the meanest of his subjects on equality, arrested his career. He died near Carlisle, the 7th of July, 1306. He commanded his son to persevere in the conquest of Scotland. Knowing the terror which the Scots felt at his name and power, he is said to have ordered that his bones should be preserved and carried in the van of the invading army. Froissart is quoted by McIntosh for the reason: He believed that as long as his bones should be carried against the Scots, that people never would be victorious. But the successor of Edward had not the power, nor the will to follow the splendid career of his father.

By some writers Edward is called the English Justinian. His claim to be considered as a law maker is far superior to

of his power could sometimes be made useful. He, therefore, continued to pay the 1000 marks which John bound himself to pay. The amount was sometimes in arrear, but paid up whenever an act of the pope was desired.

Edward was the first of the English kings who understood the utility of commerce. He established encouragement and protection both for English and foreign merchants. A very vexatious and disorderly state of society arose from the absence of regular employment in mechanical arts. Perhaps Edward perceived that society would grow better as useful occupation increased, and that this was a motive in promoting commerce. Meanwhile he authorized a commission to inquire into and to punish felonies; and the duties so created were so severely performed, that he was compelled to arrest its progress.

The barbarous language which the Normans introduced had prevailed in England for two hundred and forty years. It was spoken at court, and used in parliament, and in judicial proceedings. But on solemn occasions, elsewhere, the Latin was used; and this was the only language in all written proceedings of the clergy. Yet the old Saxon English had not been forgotten, nor neglected.

Edward II was born 25th of April, 1284; became king 7th July, 1307, aged 23. He was deposed 25th Jan., 1327, and murdered at Berkely castle, in September of the same year. He married Isabella, daughter of Philip the fair, king of France, who was the mother of Edward III. This unfortunate prince had no other use for the power and wealth which the accident of birth had given him, than to gratify favorites.

The events of his reign turned entirely on his passionate attachment to a Gascony youth, named Piers Gaveston; and after this person was very unceremoniously put to death, then on Gaveston's successors in favor, the family of Le De Spenser. This exceedingly weak and offensive conduct produced an insurrection, which the queen Isabella headed, and in which the first lords in the kingdom joined. The details of this contention would show nothing more than the extreme folly of an individual who happened to be a king on the one hand; and, on the other, the violent measures of his wife and subjects, to get rid of those whom he saw fit to honor, and finally, of himself. He was undoubtedly murdered, and it is said by forcing a hot iron into his body through a tube, that no external mark of violence might appear. The popular feeling seems to have governed Parliament. This assembly declared him to be deposed, and connived at his murder.

In 1314, Edward made one attempt to subdue Scotland. He led 100,000 men, and met the king of Scotland, Bruce, at Bannockburn, who had only 30,000 men. On the 25th of June the battle was fought which has its historical name from that place. The army of Edward was defeated, with an appalling loss in killed and taken, besides the loss of all the treasure of the army. This victory secured the independence of Scotland, which was formally acknowledged by treaty.

Isabella, the queen, made herself very remarkable by her connexion with a young Welsh nobleman, called Roger Mortimer, which was asserted by her friends to be only one of political character, arising out of the peculiar condition of the country. The ten years of Edward's reign are full of remarkable vicissitudes and adventures, in the lives of individuals. The details may be found in Hume's fourteenth chapter. None of them are important for our present purpose. Edward III. succeeded his father before that misplaced individual was put to death. The course of succession shows hitherto, an alternation somewhat remarkable, a powerful king succeeded by an imbecile one; and he by a powerful one, and he again by a weak one, in several instances.

The condition of society in the time of Edward II. is as well stated in Hume's fourteenth chapter as in any other work. It was still an age of barbarism. It could not have been otherwise. The whole landed property of the country was held by great lords, who had, in their retinue, numerous dependants, ever ready to do their will. England is justly described by one writer as a multitude of little kingdoms, and the whole kingdom one great manor. The disorderly state of society is easily accounted for, by the fact, that there was little of learning, literature, commerce or mechanical arts, and no religion, though there was an abundance of superstition, and of monkish ceremonies. A people thus destitute of regular occupation, must have been ready, at all times, for sedition, turbulence, violence and crime. Famine, disease, and robberies, added to the calamities arising from Edward's incapacity, and perversion of power.

CHAPTER XVIII

Edward III.—War with France—Battle of Crecy—Edward, the Black Prince—Ich Dien—Order of the Garter—Battle of Poitiers—King of France, captive—Peace with France—New War with France—Death of the Black Prince—Death of Edward III.

EDWARD III., born on the 13th Nov., 1312, came to the crown on the deposition of his father, on the 25th January, 1327; reigned fifty years, and died on the 21st of June, 1377, at the age of 65. He married Philippa, the third daughter of William, count of Hainault, in 1329. The children of this marriage were many, and they will be mentioned in the explanation of the table of successive kings.*

While Edward's minority continued, Isabella, his mother, and Roger Mortimer, her aid, and constant associate governed the kingdom, but in such manner as to excite universal indignation. A conspiracy was formed. The castle of Nottingham was the place of the queen's abode, and also of Mortimer. The gates were locked every night, and the keys carried to the queen. But Sir William Eland, the governor, admitted the conspirators who were employed by the revolted barons; Mortimer was hanged, and the queen reduced to private life. In these transactions the usual course of revenge and sacrifice of life occurred, and some persons of high distinction were involved. Edward having taken the government into his own hands, his principal object, up to the year 1337, was the conquest of Scotland, in which he was unsuccessful; and equally so in attempting to place a pretender of the Baliol family on the Scottish throne.

In this year, 1337, began a new course of warfare between France and England, the consequences of which were severely felt through the next hundred years. Edward III. conceived himself to be entitled to the crown of France. If not, he made claim to it, as a justification of his belligerent attempt to obtain it. It has ever been a principle in the royal succession in France, that a female cannot inherit the crown. This principle comes down from a very early time, and was adopted in France from an ancient tribe called the Salian Franks, who are supposed to have come from beyond the Rhine. This exclusion of females is called the *salique* law. When Louis X. (called Hutin) died, he had no son. His brother, Philip the long, succeeded him. Philip dying without male issue, his

* See chap. XX.

brother, Charles the fair, came to the crown. Isabella, sister of these three kings, was Edward's mother. He claimed the crown as her heir. By the salique law, Philip de Valois, cousin of these kings, was entitled, and was crowned. Edward formed divers alliances with dukes and princes in Flanders, and on the Rhine, to invade France from that quarter. He went over and spent a great deal of money, and wasted much time, and accomplished nothing.

Edward's next plan was to attack France through his province of Guienne, on the Garonne, in the South of France. A contest had arisen between Charles, of Blois, nephew of the king of France, and the count of Mountfort, in which each of them claimed the dukedom of Brittany. The former was sustained by the king of France, who was at this time (1342) Philip VI. Edward became the ally of the latter, and landed a powerful army in Brittany. The military events which occurred in the next three years, comprise battles, sieges, and calamities, with varying success. Being in a country where provisions were very difficult to be had, either there or from England, Edward was often in great want, and was, at length, compelled to retreat, followed by an army thrice as numerous as his own, and led on by the king of France. The course of the retreat was northwardly, along the English channel, across the river Somme, between Abbeville and the sea, and thence in the same course, and very near the sea. Finding a battle inevitable, Edward posted himself near the village of Crecy, (probably 8 or 10 miles north of Abbeville, and 60 south of Calais,) and here was fought the memorable battle of that name, on the 25th of August, 1346. For the details of this battle, the 15th chapter of Hume must be read. This was the first battle, in which Edward, the Black Prince (so called from his armor) was engaged, and the first in which cannon were used. The cannon were used only by the English. Edward was then only fifteen years of age. The kings of France, of Bohemia, and of Majorca, were in this battle; and the two latter were slain; and also 1200 French knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, and 30,000 of inferior rank. The English lost one esquire, three knights, and very few of inferior rank; and many prisoners of high rank were taken by them. A remarkable fact, stated by Hume, is the presence of the king of Bohemia in this battle, as he was blind from old age. "He ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side, to the horses of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation." This king's motto

in his armorial bearings was the two German words *Ich dien*, I serve. The Black Prince, who was then the prince of Wales, adopted these words in memory of the battle, which have ever since been used by those of that dignity.

The result of this long warfare was the capture of Calais, after a siege of nearly a whole year, which the English retained for centuries. While this warfare was going on, the Scots renewed the war against England on the northern frontier. Philippa, Edward's queen, took the field, and defeated the Scots, and took their king, David Bruce, prisoner, and brought him to London. Philippa appears to have performed all the duties of an able general, except that of being actually engaged in battle. Meanwhile, Edward had taken Calais, and Philippa appeared in the festivals which that event occasioned.

The highest order of knighthood in England, that of the garter, undoubtedly originated at Calais in 1349. Hume says "the vulgar story" that the king's mistress having dropped her garter, he took it up, and called out,—"*Honi soit que mal y pense*, (Evil to him who evil thinks,) is not supported by any ancient authority." It may also be added, that no authority, ancient or modern, accounts for it, in any other way. McIntosh credits the commonly supposed origin, and refers it to the age of chivalry.

Edward's costly and fruitless war with France was again and again renewed, after truces; and he attempted anew the conquest of that country, by gathering a powerful force in the north, around Calais, while his son, the black prince, attempted to penetrate in the south, from Guienne towards Paris. In 1356, Philip de Valois, king of France, had been succeeded by king John, a person of great virtue and integrity, but not equally distinguished by his talents. Edward had to encounter the new king with a host of young and valiant nobles. The whole force of Edward is supposed not to have exceeded twelve thousand. In the month of September, of this year, prince Edward had penetrated as far as the southern banks of the Loire, which is half the distance from Bordeaux to Paris. The bridges over this river having been broken down, and his provisions failing, Edward found it necessary to retreat towards Bordeaux, which he did so leisurely, that king John, with an army of 60,000 men, had time, by forced marches, to overtake him.

This battle of Poitiers (19th Sept., 1356) is one of the most remarkable in history. Prince Edward was now about 26 years of age. He was in an enemy's country, and was re-

treating before an army nearly four times more numerous than his own, and led on by the king himself, having most of the noble spirits, and experienced warriors of his kingdom to support him. The cardinal of Perigord was with the king, and this prelate endeavored to effect an arrangement which would prevent a battle. Edward was so sensible of his peril, that he offered, as the price of being permitted to retreat, to surrender all his conquests, and to stipulate not to serve against France for seven years. John demanded that Edward should surrender himself prisoner, with a hundred of his attendants. Edward refused, and added, that England should never pay the price of his ransom. Battle was now inevitable, but was delayed till next morning.

The prince so posted his small army, that it could be approached only through a long and narrow lane, lined on both sides by hedges. The French force were attacked by the bowmen of the prince from the sides of the lane, having the hedges for a defence. The French experienced a destructive slaughter, and were unable to do any harm to their assailants. Such as survived and passed through the lane, found Edward and his forces at the end of it. Meanwhile 600 men, whom Edward had detached, by a circuitous march in the preceding night, fell on the rear of the French, in the midst of the conflict. One of those sudden and irretrievable misfortunes, not uncommon as armies were composed in the middle ages, befell John and his followers. The unexpected, and unaccountable recoil of the French through the lane upon their own main body, threw the whole into confusion, except the third division, commanded by the king in person. This, though much more numerous than the English army, was attacked, and the principal officers slain, with those who valiantly defended the king, so that there remained to the unfortunate monarch no alternative but to seek death, or to surrender. He was conducted, unhurt, as a prisoner to Edward.

There is not, in the whole range of history, a case of more noble magnanimity, than in the conduct of Edward towards his fallen enemy. John was treated in the camp of his conqueror with all the honors of royalty, the conqueror himself assuming no higher relation than that of attendant on his captive. A truce of two years followed, and Edward conducted John to London. While John, dressed "in royal apparel, was mounted on a white steed," (as they passed through the crowded streets of the city,) the prince rode by his side in modest attire, on a black palfrey," and some accounts say, with his head uncovered.

h people perceived that they had purchased glory price, and could retain it only by cost still greater. ar of thirty-three years' duration, which had for its bject the crowning of Edward as king of France, a peace in 1670, whereby all but Bordeaux, Bay-Calais, were given up to France. 8th of June, 1376, Edward, the Black Prince, died, y-sixth year. Edward was a most extraordinary at age, or for any age. All historians of these times ascribing to him a character made up of every and of every virtue; and no one attributes to him, occasion, a single fault or blemish. ther, Edward, seems to have lived too long, as his son seems to have died too soon. In one year after, 1377,) king Edward died. His end was a mournful as great purposes, the addition of Scotland and of to his dominions, had been defeated. Scotland was dependent than ever, and nearly all had been lost in The nobles, the people, all England, were weary of d, and Edward was weary of them. He resigned him- the dominion of a female named Alice Pierce, whose was so absolute as to call for the interposition of parlia- and the king was obliged to remove her from court. last hour, Edward was deserted by all his friends, and family connexions; in short, by every one but Alice e, who is said to have closed his eyes with one hand, she stole, with the other, from his finger, the royal ring.

CHAPTER XIX.

Richard II.—War with Scotland—Wat Tyler Insurrection—Richard's internal Administration—Troubled state of the Kingdom—Richard goes to Ireland—Henry IV. usurps the Crown—Richard deposed and murdered—Internal state of the Kingdom—Distinguished Authors.

THE reign of Richard II., son of Edward the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III., began in June, 1377, and ended in September, 1399. These twenty-two years were years of greater misery in England than any equal space of time discloses in English history. Richard was weak and wicked; his nobles were turbulent, perfidious, and ready for any acts, however criminal; judges were corrupt; parliaments were the

John had one miserable consolation. He found the king of Scotland a prisoner, for such he had been eleven years, but was soon after released on a promised ransom of one hundred thousand marks.

For some years following these events, the state of France was truly deplorable. In the sketches of that country's history it will be shown how such a state of things arose.

Edward III., availing himself of the internal disorders of France, undertook another invasion in the autumn of 1359, and entertained the hope that he could cause himself to be crowned at Rheims,* where that ceremony had always been performed as to kings of France. This enterprise failed, and several causes concurred to bring about a peace, which was effected May 8, 1360. It is material to notice here, that Edward gave up certain provinces in the north, which had been long held by kings of England, reserving *Calais* and some territory around that place; while, in the south of France, several provinces around Guienne were added to the English dominions. But the most material part of the contract was, that John was to pay £1,500,000 sterling for his ransom. John gave forty hostages for performance. But he did not, and could not pay this enormous sum. About four years afterwards he voluntarily returned to England. On the 8th of April, 1364, John, not having been able to redeem himself, died a prisoner at London.

Prince Edward had returned to the government of his provinces in the south of France. In 1367 he was induced to engage in a domestic quarrel between Peter, king of Castile, surnamed the Cruel, and his natural brother, Henry of Transtamare. He engaged on the side of Peter, and replaced him on the throne; but this was an unprofitable and costly enterprise, and produced an insurrection in Edward's own dominions, from the burthens which he was obliged to impose.

New quarrels arose between France and England, and English armies were again seen traversing the territories of France. Edward the king was now old, and Edward the prince so impaired in health as to be incapable of any public service. England had become impatient under these long, costly, and unprofitable wars. The nation had been gratified by the splendid success of the king and of his son, as warriors. The fame of England had been elevated to a high rank; but

* A city 90 miles north-east of Paris, and 190 south-east of Calais.

the English people perceived that they had purchased glory at a great price, and could retain it only by cost still greater. Thus, a war of thirty-three years' duration, which had for its original object the crowning of Edward as king of France, ended by a peace in 1670, whereby all but Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais, were given up to France.

On the 8th of June, 1376, Edward, the Black Prince, died, in his forty-sixth year. Edward was a most extraordinary man for that age, or for any age. All historians of these times concur in ascribing to him a character made up of every excellence and of every virtue; and no one attributes to him, on any occasion, a single fault or blemish.

The father, Edward, seems to have lived too long, as his excellent son seems to have died too soon. In one year after, (June, 1377,) king Edward died. His end was a mournful one. His great purposes, the addition of Scotland and of France to his dominions, had been defeated. Scotland was more independent than ever, and nearly all had been lost in France. The nobles, the people, all England, were weary of Edward, and Edward was weary of them. He resigned himself to the dominion of a female named Alice Pierce, whose power was so absolute as to call for the interposition of parliament, and the king was obliged to remove her from court. At the last hour, Edward was deserted by all his friends, and even family connexions; in short, by every one but Alice Pierce, who is said to have closed his eyes with one hand, while she stole, with the other, from his finger, the royal ring.

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THE reign of Richard II., son of Edward the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III., began in June, 1377, and ended in September, 1399. These twenty-two years were years of greater misery in England than any equal space of time discloses in English history. Richard was weak and wicked; his nobles were turbulent, perfidious, and ready for any acts, however criminal; judges were corrupt; parliaments were the

submissive agents of the ruling faction; the people were oppressed and impotent. There was scarcity of food, and unusual sickness. Both Hume and McIntosh consider the materials of history fewer and less to be depended upon, in these twenty-two years, than at any time since the conquest. The numerous crimes perpetrated by those who were contending for power under this imbecile king, and those committed by himself, contain very little that can come into this brief summary.

The wars with Scotland and France were still in being, though not pursued with vigor by any party. John of Gaunt, (third son of Edward III.,) uncle of Richard, was regent, the king being only about eleven years old. But a council of nine were associated in the regency.

In 1381, a tax of three groats on every head had been laid, and the collection of this tax had been committed to persons who were interested to gather it. This was (for other reasons to be presently mentioned) a time of great popular excitement. In the county of Essex a tax-gatherer entered the shop of a mechanic to collect this tax, and demanded payment, among others, for a daughter, who was present. The mechanic said that the daughter was under that age which the statute had fixed as taxable. The tax-gatherer, taking hold of the daughter to produce indecent proof to the contrary, the father struck him dead. A general insurrection followed, and spread over many counties. The leaders assumed the names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller. This was avowedly a war of the lower classes against the nobility and gentry.

Richard was passing near Smithfield, in London, when he was only sixteen, and there met Wat Tyler at the head of a numerous body of his associates. It is supposed that Wat Tyler intended personal violence to the king, from some act done while talking with the king, and therefore he was struck down by Walworth, mayor of London, and instantly killed. Richard's manly conduct on this occasion saved his life, and raised him greatly in the national esteem. The multitude seeing that their leader had fallen, prepared for vengeance, when Richard, ordering his attendants to halt, went alone to Wat Tyler's followers and said,—“What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king; I will be your leader.” The multitude, overawed, followed him. He led them away from the city into the fields, and, meanwhile, an armed force had come to sustain him. But he forbade any violence, and

ordered the mutineers to disperse, with assurances that their wrongs should be remedied. This seems to have been the only magnanimous act of Richard's life.

The invasion of Scotland by Richard, and the attempt to invade England by the French, must be passed over. They are only the renewal of familiar scenes. The occurrences in the conducting of the government, present only a course of events also familiar, and these can only be briefly mentioned. The duke of Gloucester, who was son of Edward III., and uncle of Richard, exercised the powers of regent in the absence of John of Gaunt, an older uncle, who was absent, vainly attempting to obtain the crown of Castile, in right of his wife. Gloucester's dictatorial and imperious temper gave great offence to Richard. To free himself from his uncle, Richard confided himself entirely to Robert de Vere, an insinuating youth of dissolute manners, who was then earl of Oxford, and whom Richard raised to the dignity of marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland, titles before unknown. The king could be approached only through this young man, and all acts of the king were known through him. Michael de la Pole, of humble origin, was made earl of Suffolk, and was in high favor with the king's favorite. Meanwhile, Gloucester and his associates assumed to exercise all the royal authority. The king invited Tresilian, chief justice of the king's bench; Belknappe, chief justice of the common pleas; Cary, chief baron of the exchequer, and some other eminent lawyers, to meet him at Nottingham, where were present also the bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, and the earl of Suffolk. These lawyers certified that the commission of regency, then in force, was a treasonable usurpation, and that those who assumed to execute that commission deserved death. All the parties who thus advised the king were accused before parliament by the regency, most of them were condemned and executed.

Notwithstanding these measures, in 1389, when Richard was twenty-three years old, he appears to have thrown off his subjection, and to have made a truce of twenty-five years with France and Scotland, and to have agreed to marry Isabella, (then seven years old,) daughter of the king of France.

But increasing years did not bring increasing wisdom to Richard. He spent his time in low and frivolous pursuits, and in company with very low persons, who could minister to his vulgar propensities. Richard's uncle Gloucester, disgusted by these things, spoke contemptuously of Richard and of his

government, and was preparing very serious measures against him. Richard, apprised of this new combination, caused his uncle to be arrested and hurried over to Calais, where Gloucester was undoubtedly murdered, by Richard's order, in the year 1398. Some others were banished, and others pardoned. The residue of Richard's reign, which ended in September, 1399, is filled up with contentions and violence, either between himself and his nobles, or between themselves. Of these events it is only necessary to mention one. Among the malcontents was Henry, earl of Derby, the son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, uncle of the king. This earl of Derby was made duke of Hereford, and, on the death of his father, became duke of Lancaster. He was the son of Blanche, descended from Henry III., as shown in the explanation of descent of the crown. While Henry was known under the name of Hereford, a controversy arose between him and the duke of Norfolk. Hereford said in parliament that Norfolk had spoken to him, in a private conversation, of an intention to subvert the king's government. Norfolk gave Hereford the lie. A time was appointed for these parties to meet, in presence of the king at Coventry, and there to test the truth by the issue of battle. At the moment of commencing, the king's herald interposed and forbade the combat. The king banished Norfolk for life, and Hereford for four years. The king assured Hereford that, in case of any new accession to him, (in allusion to the dukedom of Lancaster,) his absence should not impair his right. Hereford went over to France. John of Gaunt died in February, 1399. Richard was afraid to strengthen the hands of his cousin Hereford, by permitting him to succeed to the dukedom of Lancaster; and, to prevent it, and without the least pretence of right, usurped that dukedom to himself.

In the spring of this year, 1399, Richard was so ignorant of the public disposition towards him, and also of the exceeding feebleness of his hold on the royal authority, that he collected his most effective force, and went over to Ireland, to quell a revolt which had arisen there. The new duke of Lancaster, availing himself of Richard's absence, came over from France, with some armed followers, avowing his purpose to be nothing more than to possess himself of his rights as duke of Lancaster. His presence proved to be more welcome than he expected. He soon found himself at the head of sixty thousand armed followers. The king hastened back from Ireland, but all England was in revolt against him. He was

taken prisoner. A parliament was assembled, and he was solemnly deposed (as incompetent to govern) by act of parliament. When this act was passed, the duke of Lancaster was standing near the empty throne. The following is Hume's account (chap. xvii.) of the manner in which the duke transformed himself into a king. "The duke stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the forehead and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ, he pronounced these words: 'In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this rewme of Ynglande and the crown, with all the membres and the appurtenances; also I that am descendit by right line of the blode coming fro the gude king Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of kyn and of my frendes to recover it; the which rewme was in poynt to be ondone by defaut of governance and undoing of the gude lawes.' " *

Henry (first, earl of Derby, then duke of Hereford, then duke of Lancaster, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and of Blanche, a descendant of Henry III.) thus assumed the crown of England by the name of Henry IV., the first of the house of Lancaster.

The deposed king was consigned to the care of certain commissioners, by order of parliament. Being now a useless and very inconvenient personage, measures were taken to make him harmless. He is supposed to have been treated with great indignity, then with cruelty, and, finally, to have been starved to death in the castle of Pomfret. Other accounts say that Sir Piers Exton and his guards killed Richard with their halberts, at this castle. However he came to his death, he died at the age of thirty-four, in 1399, leaving no issue. It will be seen, by the explanation of the table of succession, that the next heir to the throne was Edmund, (then in prison,) son of Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, who was the son of Philippa, who was daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, who was second son (John of Gaunt was the third) of Edward III.

The principles of English liberty were understood by some persons in the last half of the fourteenth century, but the condition of society was such that they could not be carried into effect. The provisions of the great charter were recognized and confirmed more than twenty times by Edward III. This does not show that these provisions had been respected, but

* To understand this, the explanation of the table of succession to the crown must be looked at. See beginning of Chapter XX.

that they had been repeatedly violated. The wars in which Edward was continually engaged on the continent, compelled him to find means as he could. He imposed taxes in the most arbitrary manner, and seized the shipping and goods of his subjects for his own use. Parliament was obliged to tolerate this despotism in the king, that there might be a power competent to control the still more arbitrary will of the nobles. Thefts, robberies, and other aggravated crimes were very common, and were connived at, if not committed by the nobles themselves. The king of Cyprus having made a visit to England, he and his train were assailed and robbed on the highway, in the day-time, and no redress could be had. The changes which had occurred in the land-tenures since the feudal system was introduced, had made that system almost inoperative. In the continental wars, which required a much longer time of service than that system allowed, Edward had to enlist men and pay them, and encourage them with the hope of plunder. Hence these wars were exceedingly distressing to the conquered. When, therefore, Englishmen go back to the time of the Edwards for the principles of the English constitution, it is not to be understood that these principles were then enforced. When it is said that this was the time in which the popular representation in the House of Commons began, it is not to be understood that the House of Commons did, or could control the arbitrary character of the government; but that this branch of parliament existed, and was destined to be formed into a conservative power. Up to the end of the fourteenth century, the English government was still a very barbarous one, and its respective parts very little adapted to operate together for the common security and welfare.

This was the period when the administration of justice began to assume a regular and systematic form. Where the parties were disconnected from the government, justice was to be had as certainly as at any subsequent time. It is some evidence of the respect in which the judicial tribunals were held, that, in the thirty-sixth year of Edward III. (1363) the pleadings were ordered to be in English, though the language spoken by courtiers, around the king, continued to be, for some years afterwards, the old Norman French. The statute of treason, which was passed in Edward's twenty-fifth year, (1352,) has remained unchanged, and was duly respected by the courts of law, but was often disregarded by the parliament, down to the time of the revolution in 1688. This statute provides that no acts shall be deemed high treason but these :

1. Conspiring to compass the death of the king. 2. Levying war against the king. 3. Adhering to the king's enemies. When, in Richard II.'s time, the faction of the nobles which controlled parliament, wished to dispose of the faction which surrounded the king, this statute was no obstacle to any man's condemnation; nor were the provisions of the great charter, so often confirmed at the request of parliament, in the least degree regarded by that assembly. If the Englishmen of these days were the founders of what was afterwards known as *constitutional liberty*, they bestowed on other generations blessings which they never enjoyed themselves. Yet, the social and political condition of Englishmen was better in the time of Richard and his grandfather, than that of neighboring nations. The king, the lords, and the commons were, respectively, checks on each other, and all three of them were checks on the covetousness and insolence of the pope and prelates.

In a separate chapter, on the condition of the church, there will be occasion to remark on the power and influence of the Roman church at this time. It had one-third of the real estate of the kingdom, and more than one-third of the income. There was a great abundance of what was called religion, but no more of the spirit and practice of Christianity than there was among the Celts, who inhabited England before Christianity was revealed. At this time lived *John Wickliffe*; born in Yorkshire, 1324, died in 1384. He is called *the morning-star of the Reformation*. As early as 1375, at least one hundred and forty years before Martin Luther was known, Wickliffe publicly accused the pope of Rome of simony, covetousness, ambition and tyranny, and styled him Anti-christ. The influence of Wickliffe's writings may have had some influence in the decision of parliament, that the one thousand marks which king John bound himself to pay, should be no longer paid to the pope.

This was the age of Chaucer, the first, in time, of English poets, and hardly second to any in merit. He died in 1400, at the age of seventy-two. He was a follower of Wickliffe, and both himself and Wickliffe were protected by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. The writings of Chaucer, which were exceedingly popular, especially his *Canterbury tales*, had a great influence in banishing the use of the French, and in restoring the ancient Saxon.

The commerce of England was very limited. The first commercial adventures to the Baltic and the Mediterranean are said to have been in the middle of the fourteenth century

The only exports, wool, skins, hides, leather, tin, butter, lead; the imports, linen, fine cloth, silks, and wine. This low condition of commerce is not consistent with the degree of luxury which is said to have prevailed. Silks, velvet, and personal ornaments of great value, were in use. Shoes were worn with long carved projections in front, and the end of these connected with, and supported at the knee, by means of gold chains or silken strings. The extravagant length of these shoes attracted the notice of parliament, and an act was passed to restrict the projection to four inches. Richard's household comprised ten thousand persons, and the number of his cooks was three hundred. Sir John Arundel had fifty-two suits of cloth ornamented with gold.

The architecture of these days is surprising, considering the ignorance and general barbarism of the age. Windsor castle, erected by the third Edward, was the noblest structure northwardly of the Alps. He ordered every county to send him a certain number of workmen, but it does not appear whether the cost was thrown upon the counties. Westminster Hall was repaired by Richard II. and is still regarded as one of the grandest single rooms in the world. McIntosh speaks of the grandeur and beauty of the cathedral churches of this age, and which are, hitherto, unrivalled. It is probable that these splendid structures were not of English origin, but rose under the influence of the Roman church. They are called Gothic, as being a different order of building from the Grecian and Roman.

Before the year 1400, a new impulse had been given to learning, and thirty thousand students are said to have been gathered at Oxford at one time. Hume says they were all employed in learning bad Latin, and worse logic. He might have added the still worse employment of learning the doctrines of the church of Rome, under the name of religion. All learning was now disguised or debased by the refinements in logic introduced in the preceding century, by Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus.

Ladies, before this time, rode on horseback, as the other sex do. Side-saddles were now introduced, as used by Anne, queen of Bohemia. But it is also said that ladies rode on side-saddles in the time of Henry III.

Among the eminent men of the fourteenth century, were,—

1336. Pilatio Leontius, of Thessalonica, who was the first of those who taught the Greek language in Italy. Petrarch and Boccaccio were his pupils, though Petrarch says, in one of his letters, that he was not a proficient in Greek.

1343. Francis Petrarch, born at Arezzo, near Florence, in 1304, died in 1374. Most distinguished by his poems and letters.

1350. John Froissart, a Frenchman, born at Valenciennes, north-east of Paris, near Belgium, in 1333. He wrote a chronicle of events in his own time, now found in several editions. He is often quoted. One edition is in four large, thick octavos. He was, at one time, secretary to Edward III.'s queen.

1359. John Boccaccio, (Boccace,) an Italian, though born in Paris in 1313; died 1375; author of the Decameron.

1380. Matthew, of Westminster, an historical writer.

1384. John Wickliffe, "the morning-star of the reformation," born in 1324, at the village of Wickliffe in Yorkshire; became an eminent theological writer and opponent of the Roman church, died in 1384.

1389. Geoffrey Chaucer, born in London, 1328; patronised by John of Gaunt; author of Canterbury tales. He held various lucrative offices, and was employed on foreign missions. He was a partisan of Wickliffe; died in 1400.

1400. Emanuel Chrysoloras, of Athens; fled into Italy on the coming of the Turks; taught the *belles-lettres* at Florence, Venice, and other Italian cities; a man of eminent learning.

CHAPTER XX.

Henry IV.—Origin of the two Roses—Rebellions against Henry IV.—Wickliffe the Reformer—Henry V.—Conquests in France—Henry VI.

THE assumption of the crown by Henry IV., the first of the Lancastrian kings, led to the civil warfare usually called the war of the red and white roses. The claims to the throne depended on *heirship*, and can only be understood by stating the succession of kings.

William, Norman Conqueror,	1066 to 1087
William (Rufus) II., son of William,	1087 " 1100
Henry I., (beau-clerc,) son of William I.,	1100 " 1135
Stephen, grandson of William I.,	1135 " 1154
Henry II., (Plantagenet,) great-grandson of Wm. I.,	1154 " 1189
Richard I., (Cour-de-Lion,) son of Henry II.,	1189 " 1199
John, (Lackland,) son of Henry II.,	1199 " 1216

Henry III., son of John,	1216 to 1272
Edward I., (Longshanks,) son of Henry III.,	1272 " 1307
Edward II., (Prince of Wales,) son of Edw. I.,	1307 " 1327
Edward III., son of Edward II.,	1327 " 1377
Richard II., son of Edward the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III.,	1377 " 1400
Henry IV., first of <i>Lancastrian</i> kings,	1400 " 1413
Henry V., son of Henry IV.,	1413 " 1422
Henry VI., son of Henry V.,	1422 " 1471
Edward IV., first king of the house of <i>York</i> ,	1471 " 1483
Edward V., son of Edward IV., never crowned,	1483 " 1483
Richard III., brother of Edward IV.,	1483 " 1485
Henry VII., first king of the house of <i>Tudor</i> ,	1485 " 1509

The Red Rose. Henry IV., who usurped the crown when Richard II. was deposed, in 1389, went far back to found his right. He pretended that Henry III., who died in 1272, had a son *older* than Edward I., named Edmund, and who was thrust aside on account of his personal deformity, to make way for Edward I. He thus traced his descent: Edmund the *Lame*, duke of Lancaster, and oldest son, in fact, of Henry III., had a son named Henry; and this Henry had a son of the same name, who was father of the princess Blanche. Blanche married John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, third son of Edward III. John of Gaunt died the same year that Richard II. was deposed, (1399,) leaving a son Henry by Blanche: that this Henry was the heir to the crown as the lineal descendant of Edmund the *Lame*, the (pretended) oldest son of Henry III.: that, being himself this Henry, the son of Blanche, he was entitled to the crown, and he assumed it under the name of Henry IV. His emblem was the *red rose*. There is no foundation for the assumed fact, that Edmund the *Lame* was the oldest son of Henry III.; and, therefore, Henry IV. was an usurper. He and his successors, Henry V. and Henry VI., held the throne seventy-three years, till 1472, when Edward IV. obtained it.

The White Rose. Edward III., who died in 1377, had four sons: 1. Edward the Black Prince. He died one year before his father, leaving a son, Richard II. 2. Lionel, duke of Clarence. He died nine years before his father, leaving Philippa, a daughter, who married Mortimer, earl of March. They had a son, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, presumptive heir of the crown, on failure of the issue of Edward the

Black Prince. 3. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. 4. Edmund, duke of York. When Richard II. died, Roger Mortimer was true heir to the crown, as Richard had no child. Henry IV. usurped the crown to the exclusion of Roger. On the decease of Roger, without issue, his sister Ann was heiress, claiming under Lionel, duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. Ann married Richard, duke of Cambridge, who was son of Edmund, duke of York, fourth son of Edward III. Their son was Richard, duke of York, who was entitled to the crown through his mother, Ann, heiress of the house of Clarence. Richard's son Edward, duke of York, asserted this right on the dethronement of Henry VI., and caused himself to be crowned as Edward IV. His emblem was the *white rose*. If the crown had descended to him without the Lancastrian usurpation having intervened, he would have been rightfully on the throne. But the three Henrys having had the crown for seventy-three years, with the consent of the nation, the house of Lancaster had acquired a prescriptive right, at least, if time can ever give it. Whatever may have been the original right of Edward IV., he may be considered as having lost it, and there was ground for regarding him as an usurper. The pretensions of both were questionable, and divided the nation into two nearly equal parties; the one maintaining that the house of York, the other that the house of Lancaster was entitled.

Edward IV. (white rose) died in 1483, leaving Edward and Richard, both very young, and a daughter, Elizabeth. Richard, duke of Gloucester, murdered the two sons, his nephews, and assumed the crown as Richard III. At this time, Richard and Elizabeth were the only remnants of the house of York. If her father, Edward IV., was entitled to the crown, Elizabeth was the lawful heiress.

Henry VI., the last of the Lancastrian kings, had an only son, whom Edward IV. caused to be killed. He was a youth, and left no child. A claimant of that house appeared in Henry, earl of Richmond, who thus derived his descent: The common ancestor of himself and of Henry VI. was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. The descent through John of Gaunt's son Henry, having ended in the son of Henry VI., the descendants of John's next son were entitled. He was a legitimated son, John of Beaufort, who was made capable of inheriting in 1410. John of Beaufort had a son John, duke of Somerset, whose daughter Margaret married, 1. John de la Pole. 2. Edmund Tudor. 3. Thomas Stanley. Henry,

earl of Richmond, was the son of Edmund Tudor and Margaret, and claimed to be heir to the crown under John of Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. When Richard III. had crowned himself, Henry appeared as claimant, the last of the *red rose*. Their pretensions were settled on the 23d of August, 1485, at the battle of Bosworth. Richard was slain, and Henry proclaimed as Henry VII., the first of the house of *Tudor*. Henry reluctantly married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., who was the last of the *white rose*. The two roses were blended in Henry VIII., issue of that marriage.*

This statement of claims may explain the desolating wars of the two roses, which are next to be considered.

Henry IV., the first of the Lancastrians, came to the crown under circumstances well adapted to make it an uncomfortable weight upon his brow. Young Mortimer, the true heir, was still alive, though in prison. Richard II. had been deposed and had been murdered, at least with the approbation of Henry IV., if not by his command. The great lords were much divided in opinion; some of them in favor of this usurpation, and some irreconcilably opposed. The whole of Henry's reign (which began when he was thirty-two years old, in 1399, 1400, and ended in 1413, when he was forty-six) was passed in struggles to keep himself on the throne. At the first parliament, the peers broke out in violent animosities; forty gauntlets were thrown on the floor, and *liar* and *traitor* resounded through the hall. A combination was formed almost immediately after the coronation, and an attempt made to surprise and capture Henry at Windsor Castle. Civil war ensued, and noble heads began to fall under the hand of the executioner. Very disgraceful scenes occurred, which may be so readily imagined from what has already been seen of English history as to make it unnecessary to state them.

Henry sought to strengthen himself by courting the church. For the first time, in England, (1401,) the civil power was yielded to the ecclesiastics, to carry their sentences into effect. William Sautré, rector of a church in London, was the first Englishman burnt at the stake for religious opinions. The French had taken great offence at the murder of Richard II., he having been affianced to a French princess at the time of

* Edmund Tudor's father was Owen Tudor, of an ancient Welsh family, and his mother was Catherine of France, widow of Henry V.

his decease, though she was then only six years of age. Owen Glendour, of Wales, favored the cause of Richard, and rose in arms. The Scots, taking advantage of the troubled state of England, renewed their invasion. The celebrated family of Piercy, having the earl of Northumberland for its chief, had rendered essential service to Henry IV. As usual, in estimating debts of gratitude, the parties disagreed, and the Piercys, with their numerous and powerful connexions, appeared as rebels. Between these rebels and Henry, on the 21st of July, 1403, was fought the battle of Shrewsbury. (one hundred and fifty miles north-west from London, on the borders of Wales.) Perhaps no conflict ever occurred, which better deserves the name of *battle*. There were about twelve thousand on a side. They were of the same nation, armed alike, hostile to the highest degree, and contending for every thing most valued on both sides. The fall of the famous Harry Piercy decided the fortune of the day. Henry was conqueror. The usual consequences of victory followed: Public execution of rebels, and forfeiture of estates and titles of nobility.

In 1405, and in 1407, Henry had similar scenes to go through to maintain himself on the throne; and he at length succeeded in subduing his domestic enemies. In this latter year, the youngest son of Robert III., king of Scotland, and who was afterwards James I. (of Scotland) was taken, while on his way to France, and brought into England. Henry kept him prisoner many years, but made some compensation for this unfair measure, by causing James to be well educated.

The house of commons was greatly strengthened for a time, by the submission which Henry found it necessary to manifest towards them. But having assured himself of his tenure of the kingdom, Parliament was made to know that royal prerogatives were not intended to be surrendered. In 1412, Henry obtained an act of parliament to settle the crown on his heirs. The most remarkable event of this reign was a proposal of the house of commons to seize on all the property held by the clergy; much the same measure which Henry VIII. carried into effect rather more than 100 years afterwards. But the king would not consent to this, and expressed himself to be much dissatisfied with the proposal. To quiet the church, and give assurance of his sincerity, he caused one of the followers of Wickliffe, (they had now the name of *Lollards*,*) to be

* Said to be so called from a German named Lollard; also from *lolium*, meaning tares; i. e. tares sowed in the church by the evil one.

burned before the parliament was dissolved. Henry's health declined, and he died at Westminster, on the 20th of March, 1413. This person was able, brave, discreet. But the internal welfare of England was in no respect advanced during his reign.

The account given by Shakspeare of Henry V., as "prince Hal," is conformable to historical accounts of the early life of this king. Having come to the crown in 1413, at the age of 25, on the death of his father, he abandoned his early associates, and appears to have felt, thought, and acted, as became his station. He released the true heir to the crown, his cousin, Mortimer earl of March, from prison, and a mutual friendship was ever afterwards maintained between them. He caused the remains of Richard II. to be brought to Westminster, with regal ceremonies. The Piercys, who had long been exiles in Scotland, were restored to their estates, and rank.

Whether Henry thought himself entitled to the crown of France, or supposed the divided and miserable condition of that country would open for him the way to it, or whether he intended only to keep his restless nobility occupied, and take the chances of fortune, he resolved on an invasion. He assembled a great council at Westminster, on the 15th April, 1415, and informed them that he was about to attempt "the recovery of his inheritance." He landed in Normandy, and, after taking some towns, and gaining valuable plunder, he found it necessary to make his way to Calais under circumstances strongly resembling those of Edward III., at Crecy, in 1346, and nearly over the same ground. At a place called Azincourt by the French, and Agincourt by the English, on the 28th of October, 1415, Henry fought the memorable battle of that name. The French outnumbered the English, three or four times; but the victory fell to the English, and was not less ruinous to the French, than the battle of Crecy, or Poitiers. The wretched condition of France so favored the projects of Henry, that on the 21st of May, 1420, he concluded a treaty, the terms of which were dictated by himself; and he married Catherine, the youngest daughter of Charles VI., king of France. The whole of Henry's reign was devoted to his objects in France, and he had reason to believe, that the claim of the Plantagenets to the crown, was about to be satisfied in his own person. The treaty provided that the crown should go to him, and his heirs, on the death of the imbecile Charles VI., who was then the nominal king; and that Henry should, in the mean time, be the regent, or king in fact. These ambitious purposes were

brought to a sudden and mournful termination by the death of Henry, on the 21st of August, 1422, at Vincennes, near Paris, at the age of thirty-four. The disease of Henry was an internal malady, which the improved state of science, at the present day, would treat as a light matter, but which, at that time, was deemed incurable. Henry prepared for his death with composure and good sense, as to himself, and with foresight and wisdom, as to his kingdom. His remains were taken to London for burial. Among those who followed as mourners, were the earl of March, the true heir to the crown of England, and the still captive king of Scotland, James I.

Henry's splendid career was highly gratifying to his subjects, and they appear to have granted facilities with unusual complacency. The real benefit of his achievements may be found in the fact, that he kept his turbulent nobles too busy in France, to permit leisure for cabals, and insurrection, at home. Henry is described as handsome, affable, amiable, and able, a good soldier and statesman. The events of his reign turn entirely on the internal state of France, which belong to the history of that country. England seems to have made no advance, in any beneficial respect, in the reign of Henry V. The only circumstance which deserves a special notice relates to the disciples of Wickliffe, now much increased, and distinguished by the name of Lollards.

Henry appears to have been disinclined to severity, and to the shedding of blood; but the clergy persuaded him that the Lollards were a very dangerous faction, and ought to be suppressed. Sir John Oldcastle (called lord Cobham) was pointed out as the head of this sect. He was known to the king, and had been known to his father, as a man of talents, as a soldier, and as of good character. Henry refused to have Cobham prosecuted, until he had first spoken to him, and attempted a conversion. The attempt was made, and with the most friendly intentions on the part of the king; but Cobham was immovable. Henry then gave him up to the bishops, who condemned him to be burnt. He was committed to the tower, but escaped the day before the sentence was to have been executed. He then combined with the religious malcontents, and actually committed treason, having plotted to seize the person of the king, at Windsor, (January, 1414.) He was defeated in this enterprise by the king's unexpected removal to another place. Four years afterwards, Cobham was taken and executed as a traitor. The discontent with the Roman clergy had extended to great numbers in England, and was preparing

the way for the great change which another century was to produce.

The son of Henry V. by Catherine of France, (a lady of great celebrity,) was born in England, and was less than nine months old when his father died, (1422.) With a minor king, or a feeble one, England was certain to be miserable. Under this infant Henry VI. there were two kingdoms to govern, France, as well as England. Henry V. had two brothers, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. The government was assigned to John, under the name of protector, or guardian; and in his absence to Humphrey. A council was also assigned them, whose advice and approbation were essential to all important measures. The presence of John, duke of Bedford, was indispensable in France. He is represented to have been a very able, just, and worthy man. Humphrey seems to have had a worthy character. The custody of the young monarch's person was confided to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, one of the legitimate sons of John of Gaunt, and, consequently, a great uncle of Henry VI.

There had long been a sympathetic alliance between France and Scotland against England. As the affairs of France made it very certain that hostilities would be renewed with England, the protector (Bedford) caused the young king of Scotland to be sent home, on an agreed ransom, and with an English queen, in the person of a daughter of the earl of Somerset, a cousin of Henry VI. (1423.)

From this time till 1450, the historians of England narrate the events which occurred in France, in all of which the government of England was involved. But, on the part of England, it was only an unprofitable, and very costly effort to retain the dominion which Henry V. had acquired. These events belong, therefore, to the history of France, and will be noticed in that connexion. It is sufficient here to observe, that these English concerns in France took place while Henry VI. was called king of France as well as king of England; and that the end of them was the expulsion of the English from France in 1451, leaving Calais only, which was a great expense to England, and useful in no respect, but as an avenue into France.

CHAPTER XXI.

Henry VI.—Principal actors in this reign—Margaret of Anjou—internal dissensions—Jack Cade—Duke of York regent—Commencement of civil wars—Warwick the king-maker—Edward IV.

THE son of Henry V., nine months old when his father died, became king of England, and was to be king of France when Charles VI. died, which event soon occurred. He was crowned in England while an infant, and in France before he was ten years old, by the name of Henry VI. He was utterly incompetent, from his birth to his death, at the age of fifty, to exercise the power which his station vested in him; and had not common sense enough to perform the duties of the humblest private station. The life-time of Henry was, at first, a bitter and malicious contention among individuals for the exercise of the royal authority in his name; and the last half of his life was devoted to bloody conflicts for the crown, which the accident of birth had placed on his head.

The principal actors in these scenes were,—

1. Henry Beaufort, (son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, third son of Edward III.) At this time he was bishop of Winchester, and held the rank of cardinal. He was uncle to Henry's father, and grand uncle to Henry. The office of governor, or guardian of the young king, was given to him. This person appears to have been destitute of all the virtues and qualities which are expected in the professors of Christianity, and to have exercised the talents, and to have exhibited the vices, which are expected in aspiring and selfish politicians.

2. John Beaufort, duke of Bedford, was the brother next in age to Henry V. He was a warrior, a statesman, an able and a worthy man. Parliament made him protector. He was twice married, but left no issue; his second widow married Owen Tudor, who was the grandfather of Henry VII. The duke of Bedford died in 1435, in France.

3. Humphrey Beaufort, duke of Gloucester, next brother to John. He was regent in England in John's absence, who spent most of his time in France. Gloucester was called "the good," "the virtuous." He was educated at Oxford; favored learning; commenced the great library now known as the Bodleian. He was twice married. He was murdered in prison, in 1447.

4. The earl of Suffolk, grandson of the merchant de la Pole, who lent money to Edward III., and son of him who was a favorite of Richard II. This person was a confidential agent of the queen, next to be mentioned.

5. Margaret of Anjou, a French princess, daughter of Regnier, or Renè, count of Anjou, and who was a titular king of Sicily and Naples. She married Henry VI. in the year 1445; assumed the government of the kingdom, and was the ablest person of her time, in peace and war. She did everything but head the armies, in battle, which she actually led into the field. A French historian describes her as "the most unhappy of queens, wives, and mothers."

6. Richard, the duke of York, was son of Richard, earl of Cambridge, and of Anne, heiress of Clarence, and as such, claiming the crown, adversely to the Lancastrian princes. He married Ann Cecil Nevil, daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland. The son of this marriage was Edward, earl of March, Edward IV.

7. Richard, duke of Salisbury, was a son of Ralph, earl of Westmoreland, and brother-in-law of the duke of York. He married the heiress of Thomas Montecute, earl of Salisbury, (killed at Orleans, 1428,) and thereby took the title of Salisbury. Husbands might assume titles which had descended to females.

8. Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was the last male descendant of a very ancient and rich house. His daughter, the heiress of his fortunes and title, married Richard Nevil, son of the earl of Salisbury, who thereby took the title of Warwick. This person was the first among the great men of his time, and known by the name of *king-maker*. So numerous were his estates, and such his opulence, that thirty thousand persons are supposed to have been daily maintained at his charge.

9. Many persons are spoken of in the civil wars, (between 1450 and 1485) under the name of dukes of Somerset. These dukes were all derived from the third son of Edward III. (who was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster,) and Catherine Swynford. By act of parliament, the offspring of this connexion were legitimated. The family name of this race was Beaufort, given to them by their father; one of his inferior titles.

10. The earls of Northumberland were the ancient family of Piercy. They were of Danish origin in the ninth century, and came from Normandy with William, in 1066. This family had eighty-six manors in York, and thirty-two in Lin-

coln. In 1414, Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, was released from confinement in Scotland, where he had long been as a hostage, and was restored to his family estate and title. The Percy family were active agents in all the wars of England, civil and foreign.

11. Catherine was the widow of Henry V., and daughter of Charles VI., king of France. After the death of Henry, she gave great offence by marrying Owen Tudor of Wales, who was descended (as was said) from the royal house of Wales; but of whom, it was also said, that he was the son of a brewer. This marriage produced several children, one of whom, Edmund Tudor, married the daughter of John, duke of Somerset, and of Margaret Beauchamp; and the son of this marriage was Henry, earl of Richmond, Henry VII. The Somersets were descendants of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, as before remarked. When Edmund Tudor married Margaret, she was the widow of John de la Pole; and being again a widow, she married Thomas Stanley, who was the earl of Derby in Henry VII.'s time; and consequently Henry's father-in-law.

12 When John, duke of Bedford, died, he left a very young widow, Jacqueline of Luxembourg, who married a private gentleman in England, Thomas Woodville. Elizabeth, a daughter of this marriage, became the wife of Sir John Gray. She afterwards became the wife of Edward IV. Her ambition and arrogance were among the causes of the public afflictions. Her father, her sons, and relations, were ennobled, enriched, and honored in such manner as to give great offence to the ancient families.

13. The Clifford family were very ancient, and are traced back to the seventh century. This family was allied by marriages with the earls of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Dorset, and Pembroke. Walter de Clifford was the father of fair Rosamond, and from him descended the lords of Westmoreland, and the earls of Cumberland. The seat of this noble family was Clifford Castle on the Wye, once a place of extraordinary grandeur, now an imposing ruin.

14. George, duke of Clarence, was a younger brother of Edward IV. and of Richard III. He joined Warwick in a rebellion against Edward IV., and married Warwick's daughter. He afterwards deserted Warwick, and made his peace with his brother Edward; but this peace was not of long duration. Edward condemned him, and would show him no grace,

but in permitting him to choose his mode of dying—which was, drowning in a butt of Malmsey wine.

From the year 1422, when Henry V. died, to the year 1445, when his son Henry VI. married Margaret of Anjou, the affairs of England have two aspects; the intrigues at home for power, and the attempts to retain the conquests which Henry V. had made in France.

The bishop of Winchester, and his nephew, the duke of Somerset, were the head of the court party, as connected with the young king. "The good duke of Gloucester," the king's uncle, was the regent of the kingdom, and head of an opponent party. What caused the bitter enmity between these parties, is not disclosed; but the former had resolved on the destruction of the latter. They accused Elinor Cobham, the wife of Gloucester, of sorcery. The precise charge was, that she had a small image, made of wax, in the likeness of the king; and that, with the aid of a priest and a witch, she caused the imbecility of the king, by a slow melting of this wax before a fire; and with the design to destroy the king, and open the way for her husband to the throne. Elinor was tried, convicted, sentenced to do public penance, and then imprisoned for life. This was in 1441. This unfortunate lady disappeared, and is no more mentioned. Such an accusation, such a trial, conviction and punishment, disclose the true state of intelligence and morals.

In 1445, the earl of Suffolk, a tool of the bishop of Winchester, negotiated a marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou. Instead of acquiring riches, territory, or dominion, as was common in such contracts, Suffolk secretly agreed to cede a province of France, then held by England. It was for this service, that the negotiator obtained his title of duke of Suffolk.

Margaret cordially joined the party of Winchester, Somerset, and Suffolk, imparting to it the strength of her regal authority. The union of these persons soon proved fatal to "the good duke of Gloucester." A parliament was convened at their suggestion, at St. Edmundsbury, seventy miles north-east of London, which Gloucester attended. He was there suddenly accused, arrested, and thrown into prison. The next morning he was found dead. The manner of his death can only be conjectured; but that he was put to death by the queen's party, seems not to have been doubted.

Suspicion of the duke of Suffolk was so strong, and the popular dissatisfaction so great, that he was accused by the Commons. When the trial was about to proceed, the king

assembled the lords, and in their presence took on himself to banish Suffolk for five years. He soon departed for the continent, but was forcibly taken on the sea, and brought back, near the mouth of the Thames, and his head severed from his body on a block, in a small boat, with a rusty sword. Among the charges against Suffolk was that of intending to marry his son to the daughter of Somerset, and, in her right, to claim the throne.

In the summer of the year 1450, the formidable insurrection occurred which was led by *Jack Cade*. This person is represented to have fled over to France to escape public punishment, and to have returned, and to have excited the people to rise. The number was great enough to intimidate the king, who retired to Kenilworth castle in Warwickshire, one hundred and one miles north-west from London. The insurgents marched triumphantly through London. Their leader assumed the name of John Mortimer, the family which had pretensions to the throne after the death of Richard II., though this Mortimer was beheaded in the time of Henry V. Lord Say was arrested and put to death by this mob. He was in the office of treasurer, and accidentally fell into their power in London. After some days, a general pardon was offered by proclamation, excepting the leader, Cade. A price was set on his head: he was met in Sussex by a gentleman named Iden, and slain by him.

It is doubtful whether this insurrection was occasioned by a sense of grievances and a clamor for reform in the administration of public affairs, or was excited by the York party to try the public sentiment concerning the tenure of the crown by the Lancastrians. There are some facts which might support either opinion.

In 1451, the duke of York, who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, came thence to England. In the following year the House of Commons petitioned the king to remove from his person and councils, the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, Sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, and others, and to forbid them from coming within twelve miles of the court.

The duke of York raised an army of ten thousand men, and marched towards London, demanding a reform of government and the dismissal of Somerset. London closed its gates. York retreated into Kent. The king came there with a superior army, in which were York's friends Warwick, Salisbury, and others. A pacific conference occurred, and York retired to his seat at Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

In 1454, was born Edward, prince of Wales; and in the same year the king fell into a state of utter imbecility. Parliament ordered that Richard, duke of York, should be lieutenant of the kingdom. This office he accepted on condition that his powers should be precisely defined. Somerset was sent prisoner to the tower.

In the same year the king so far recovered, that his personal friends required of him to resume his power. York now found it necessary to protect himself, but without claiming the crown or demanding any thing but reform. He assembled his forces, and approached London. On the 23d of May, 1454, the *first* of the battles between York and Lancaster was fought at St. Alban's, about thirty miles north of London, where the Yorkists, without suffering any material loss, slew the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, (oldest son of the duke of Buckingham,) lord Clifford, and some others of distinction, with five thousand not named. The king fell into the hands of the duke of York. A parliament indemnified the duke for this transaction, and confirmed his authority as regent.

In 1456, the indefatigable queen Margaret suddenly produced her husband to the House of Lords, and caused him to declare that he resumed his royal authority. He did so, and the court retired to Coventry, near the centre of the kingdom, about one hundred miles northwardly from London. At this time the earls of Salisbury and Warwick appear on the side of York, who retired again to his castle at Wigmore, Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire, and Warwick to Calais, of which place the government had been committed to him immediately after the battle of St. Alban's.

A very natural but futile attempt was made at reconciliation. This was, probably, a measure of the church, suggested by the archbishop of Canterbury. Some time in 1458, all the parties were invited to London, to effect a general amity; and to give to this effort the appearance of solemnity and sincerity, a procession was formed to St. Paul's, in couples, each couple composed of one leader of the adverse parties. York led queen Margaret, and then came the others, paired in like manner. Such efforts changed no one's feelings; the matter to be settled admitted of no rule but that of force.

The opportunity soon occurred. A controversy arose in 1459 between two inferiors of the opposite parties, which brought the principals and all their followers into conflict on the 23d of September of that year. While the earl of Salisbury (a parti-

son of the duke of York) was leading his force to join the duke, he was overtaken by lord Dudley, leading a superior force on the side of the king. The parties encountered at Blore-heath, about fifty miles south-east of Liverpool, and Salisbury, by an ingenious stratagem, obtained a victory, and reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow, near the border of Wales. This was the *second* battle in the war of the roses.

Warwick brought over from Calais a body of hired troops, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop. Sir Andrew deserted to king Henry with these troops. York fled to Ireland, and Warwick to Calais.

In the following year, Warwick landed in Kent, having with him the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Marche, (oldest son of Richard, duke of York,) and being met there by many of the York party, he went to London, increasing his numbers as he went, and soon was able to move onward to meet the royal party, which came from Coventry to meet him. The *third* battle was fought at Northampton (about seventy miles north-west from London, on the 10th of July, 1460. The perfidy of lord Gray of Ruthven, who deserted, with his forces, to the Yorkists, gave them the victory. Henry was again prisoner. On the king's side, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucie were killed.

On the 7th of October, a parliament was summoned, and the duke of York having returned from Ireland, openly asserted his right to the throne. The matter was quietly debated, the right admitted, but postponed to the death of Henry, the duke to be, meanwhile, regent of the kingdom.

Historical records give a very imperfect account of the deep and searching interests which a change of dynasty, from Lancaster back to York, must necessarily bring into operation. The titles and estates, which had been gradually strengthening through more than two generations, were to be suddenly seized upon, and bestowed on ancient claimants or new favorites. Whatever may have been the motives, the duke of York acquiesced in the proposed compromise. He sent to the queen, requiring her presence in London. This active and intelligent female had, meanwhile, obtained from Scotland and in the north, an army of twenty thousand, and came to bring her own answer. The duke, supposing this armament could be no more than an insurrection, proceeded with five thousand men to the north. He found at Wakefield (about sixty miles

north-east of Liverpool) that his force was too small to meet that of the queen. He threw himself into Sandal castle, intending to await the coming of his son, the earl of March, with a force from the borders of Wales; but feeling himself disgraced in thus sheltering himself from a woman, he came forth, and the battle of Wakefield was fought on the 24th of December, 1460. The duke was killed. The earl of Salisbury was taken and beheaded. The earl of Rutland, a youth of fourteen, youngest son of York, was killed after the battle by the hand of lord Clifford, to avenge his father's death at St. Alban's. The head of York was adorned with a paper crown, by Margaret's orders, and placed on the gates of the city of York, together with Salisbury's head. This was the *fourth* battle of the roses. The duke of York fell at the age of fifty. He probably did not leave a better man than himself in the kingdom. His surviving children were Edward, George, and Richard; Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

Edward, who was earl of March, now duke of York, was coming from the borders of Wales. The queen sent a division of her army, under the king's half-brother, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, to meet Edward. The parties met at Mortimer's cross, Herefordshire, near the borders of Wales, on the 2d of February, 1461. The queen's party was defeated, with the loss of four thousand. Sir Owen Tudor (grandfather of Henry VII.) was taken and beheaded. This was the *fifth* battle.

The queen had better fortune at the *sixth* battle, fought at St. Alban's, (the second, in this controversy, at that place,) on the 17th of the same month of February. Here the earl of Warwick appeared, with a numerous force from London, assured of victory; but another case of treachery arose on his side. Lovelace, who led a large body of Yorkists, withdrew in the midst of the conflict. The Yorkists were vanquished, and the king fell again into the possession of the queen. But this heroine finding herself between the young duke of York, who was coming from the west, and the city of London, well known to be favorably disposed to her enemy, withdrew towards the north. The duke, less scrupulous than his father, led his army to the city, and there caused himself to be proclaimed as Edward IV., March 5, 1461.

CHAPTER XXII.

Reign of Edward IV.—Continuations of the Wars between the two Roses—Edward's Queen, Elizabeth Woodville—Rebellions—Edward's Flight—His Restoration—Death of Warwick—Queen Margaret captive—Death of Henry VI.

EDWARD IV. was twenty years old. He was handsome, and devoted to pleasure, but capable of energetic action, and insensible to any restraints arising from mercy or a sense of justice. He was well adapted to the cruel and bloody efforts necessary to secure his seat upon the throne. The public feeling had become familiar with scenes of violence. It excited no emotion to see a London citizen put to death for saying he would make his son heir to the crown, meaning the sign over his own shop-door. It was about this time that the symbol of the two roses first appeared. The whole nation was nearly equally divided into two vindictive parties. Both could not exist, and nothing but violence could destroy either.

Margaret had acquired an army of sixty thousand in Yorkshire. Edward and the earl of Warwick led an army of forty thousand against her. On the 29th of March, 1461, the *seventh* battle was fought at Toton, a short distance from Wakefield, near the city of York. This was the severest battle of the war; thirty-six thousand men having fallen on the side of the queen. Among the slain of this party were the earl of Westmoreland, Sir John Nevil, his brother, the earl of Northumberland, lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire (now of the king's party) was made prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's order. The heads of the late duke Richard and the earl of Salisbury, which the queen had placed over the gate of York immediately after the battle of Wakefield, were taken down and buried, and that of Devonshire put up. The king and queen, who were at the city of York awaiting the issue of this battle, fled into Scotland. Among their companions were the duke of Exeter, who had married king Edward's sister, and Henry, duke of Somerset. Edward supposed he should best promote his own interest by returning to London.

A parliament was held in November, and Edward experienced the benefit of his own decisive energy. Parliament was ready to annul every act of the Lancastrian kings as mere usurpation, and to reverse every attainder and forfeiture.

It is now obvious why these battles occurred, and why they were so severely contested. Parliament proceeded to declare the king and queen, and all their adherents of the nobility and gentry, *attainted*, and all the titles and estates of these attainted persons to be forfeited. But as to those who were within Edward's power, attaint and forfeiture were followed by execution. John, earl of Oxford, and his son, Aubrey de Vere, and three others, were so condemned and executed.

Between this time and May, 1464, Margaret had gone over to France, and prevailed on the cautious Louis XI. to furnish her with two thousand men, on the promise of surrendering Calais, if she recovered the throne. On the 15th of May, the queen again tried her fortune at the battle of Hexham, and was defeated. This battle was the *eighth*. Hexham is within sixty miles of Scotland. The duke of Somerset, the lords Roos and Hungerford, Sir Humphrey Nevil, and others, were either killed in battle or beheaded afterwards. Such modes of vengeance indicate the desperate character of the war, far more ferocious than war between different nations.

Margaret was compelled to hide herself and her son Edward (now about ten years old) in a forest. Here she was assailed and robbed, and while the robbers were contending for the spoils, she escaped, and soon after encountered another robber carrying a drawn sword. She approached him boldly, and addressed him,—“My friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son!” From whatever motive, the confidence was accepted. She was concealed some time in the forest, aided to reach the sea-coast, and escaped to France. Her husband, Henry, was secreted in the north for more than a year, then taken and imprisoned in the tower.

There was now comparative tranquillity. The Lancastrians were terrified and silent. Edward abandoned himself to pleasure. The fortunes of England took a new and unexpected turn from a mere accident. The princess Jaqueline of Luxembourg, widow of John, duke of Bedford, regent of France, (who died in 1435,) married a private gentleman, Thomas Woodville. Their daughter Elizabeth married Sir John Gray, who was in the second battle of St. Alban's, on the queen's side, and was there killed. The king (Edward IV.) happening to be near the abode of Jaqueline, stopped to visit her; saw Elizabeth, became enamored, and raised her to the throne. These things happened while the king's friend Warwick was engaged in negotiating a marriage, under a special commission from Edward, between him and the prin-

cess Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France. This alliance was thought, by Warwick, necessary to Edward's security. It was not only prevented, but Warwick perceived that the power which he had exercised was impaired, and might soon be lost under the influence of new favorites. Edward felt too heavily the weight of obligation to Warwick, and was not disinclined to be freed from a burthen. This appears to be the point of time when an alienation began, and which prolonged the wars of the roses, and, consequently, the afflictions which seemed to have subsided. It may have been difficult for Edward to bear Warwick's pretensions, and impossible to reconcile these with the powers which the new queen assumed to exercise. The rich, noble, powerful Warwick, had only to choose between a life of insignificance and an attempt to make his power and his indignation felt on the throne itself.

The queen had a father, a brother, three sisters, and also, by her former marriage, a son. All of them were raised to high dignity by titles, marriages, or offices; nor only so, in effecting her object, the queen wounded the pride of the whole family of Nevil, of which Warwick was one. The ancient nobility were generally disgusted by the queen's arrogance in advancing her relations. Even the family of York were unable to conceal their displeasure.

George, duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, was among the malcontents of this time. Warwick perceiving this, effected a marriage between Clarence and his eldest daughter. This lady was one of two who were to inherit Warwick's immense fortune. This alliance occurred in 1466.

From this time till 1469, Edward appears to have been attempting to strengthen himself against France, by an alliance with Charles, duke of Burgundy, to whom he gave his sister Margaret in marriage. Some other arrangements were made, to like purpose, with the duke of Brittany. Warwick retained his government of Calais during these years, and was not otherwise employed by the king.

In 1469 there was a numerous insurrection in the north. It does not appear to have been political in its commencement. Lord Montague, who was the military chief in the north and brother of Warwick, attempted to suppress the insurgents. The leader was seized and executed. Sir Henry Nevil, son of Lord Latimer, associated himself with the rebels, as did Sir John Coniers. Herbert, earl of Pembroke, (successor of Jasper Tudor in that title,) and Stafford, earl of Devonshire, were

sent against them by the king. There was a battle at Banbury. Nevil took Pembroke and beheaded him. The king thinking the earl of Devonshire blameable, beheaded him. The rebels sent a party to Grafton, surprised the queen's father, earl Rivers, and her brother John, and executed them. This fact leads to a surmise that Warwick was not ignorant that such insurrection was intended.

In 1470 another rebellion occurred, in Lincoln, with a force of thirty thousand. Sir Robert Welles, son of lord Welles, (who seems to have abjured all part in it,) was their leader. The king fought a battle with them, defeated them, and beheaded lord Welles and his son.

These insurrections are not accounted for. They show an exceedingly irritated condition of society, probably arising from the insecurity of property and life, and this from incessant revolutions and their consequences; or they may have been excited by the malcontents, even by Warwick himself.

Warwick, and his son-in-law Clarence, came from Calais to aid the king, and had commissions to levy troops. But, suddenly, both Warwick and Clarence came out against the king, and used their commissions to levy troops for themselves. There may have been some connexion between these persons and Sir Robert Welles. Hearing of his defeat, they retired to the north, where they are supposed to have expected the aid of lord Stanley, who married Warwick's sister, and of the marquis Montague, brother of Warwick. Neither of these persons appeared, and Warwick and Clarence fled. They arrived at Calais, but the commandant of that fortress would not admit them, preferring to adhere to the king. Doubtless, Warwick's office of governor of Calais had been revoked. He and his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, were compelled to seek safety in France. Both Warwick and Clarence now appear as Lancastrians, negotiating with Margaret and the king of France to dethrone Edward, and replace Henry. Warwick married his youngest daughter to Margaret's son, the prince of Wales, who was yet a boy, and settled the English crown on them and their issue, and in default of such issue, on Clarence, and his heirs.

Edward had notice of these measures, considered them contemptible, and desired nothing more earnestly than that Warwick should venture to England. He did venture thither, soon found himself at the head of sixty thousand men, and Edward approached him at Nottingham, in September, 1470. In the night before the expected day of battle, some of War-

wick's party took arms, and proceeded with the Lancastrian war cry towards Edward's quarters, who was advised by his chamberlain, lord Hastings, to fly. He did so, and was hastily conveyed over to the continent, and with so little preparation, that he paid for his passage with his robe lined with sable. Thus, in eleven days from landing, Warwick was master of the kingdom.

The proud Warwick hastened to London, released the same Henry whom he had ignominiously committed to the tower, and convoked a parliament. This assembly restored Henry; reversed all that the York party had done; restored the Lancastrians, and provided for the entire execution of the treaty which Warwick had made with Margaret, in Paris. The leaders of the Yorkists fled. Some of them, who had been dukes, were little better than common beggars on the continent.

The toils of Margaret were now to be rewarded. She was about to see her enemies prostrated; herself and family restored to the dignity and honor of which they had been unjustly and cruelly deprived. The fugitive Lancastrians gathered around her, to grace her triumphal return. Necessary preparations, and adverse winds, prevented her departure, and she did not reach England till the 11th of April, 1471. She arrived at the very moment to learn that Edward had returned, Warwick was slain, Edward again king, and her poor husband, Henry, again his captive.

It appears that Edward was aided by his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. He found his way to York, with some followers. He moved southwardly, becoming daily stronger; designedly avoided Warwick, who had gone out to meet him; came to London; was well received there, and recognised as king. Many reasons are assigned why the citizens of London welcomed him; but not one creditable to him, or to them. The king had now become strong enough to return upon Warwick. They met at Barnet, about twenty-five miles north of London.

On the 11th of April, 1471, the conflict was had, and Warwick's party were vanquished, and himself slain. These events were produced, in part, by the perfidy of Clarence, and of other supposed friends of Warwick; and, in part, by accidents which often settle the result of battles, and which no wisdom can foresee or prevent. Montague, the brother of Warwick, was also slain.

On the same day of the battle, Margaret landed at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire, on the south coast of England. Over-

whelmed by this reverse, for the first time, she gave way to her fate, and sought a neighboring sanctuary for herself and son. Reassured by her companions and friends, she proceeded northwardly to Tewksbury, in Worcestershire, between the cities of Worcester and Gloucester, where the battle of that name (Tewksbury) was fought on the 11th of May, 1471. Her party was totally defeated. The earl of Devonshire, and lord Warloc, were killed in the field. The duke of Somerset, and others, beheaded. The queen and her son were taken. The son was brought to Edward's presence, who demanded of him why he dared enter England. The youth (then about eighteen) answered, "to claim my inheritance." Edward struck him in the face, which was construed into an order to dispatch him. He was hurried into an adjoining room, and that deed was done; some say by Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. Margaret was consigned to the tower. Her husband, Henry VI., died in the same place, soon after this battle. There is no evidence that he was murdered, and, according to the moral sense of that day, it is of little importance whether he was, or was not.

After the battle of Tewksbury, no Lancastrians remained, who could disturb Edward, except Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to Henry VI., and his nephew, the earl of Richmond. Both these persons were then in Wales, where Edward could not pursue them with a military force. He attempted to get possession of them by fraud, and to cause them to be murdered. They retired to France, and were driven into a port in Brittany. They intended to go to Paris, but the duke of Brittany found it expedient to forbid their departure. Edward was careful to have them well guarded there. The young earl of Richmond remained there until he returned to England to wear its crown.

Edward lived about eleven years after he had slain in battle, silenced by the axe, or put to flight, every one who could assert a claim to the throne. He had also taken a cruel vengeance on many of those persons who had united with his adversaries. He attended next to schemes of ambition, in the affairs of France, and the countries which border upon France. In these measures he had to contend with the most cunning and most unprincipled man of the age, Louis XI.; and found no better fruits from his exertions, than the painful assurance of having been duped, without the possibility of obtaining his objects, or gratifying his revenge.

The private life of Edward was exceedingly odious. He

was the handsomest and most profligate man of his time. He **had** popularity, and perhaps good will, with many of his subjects, who were inclined to judge lightly of his vices. He **was** brave and able in battle; prompt and effective in council; **but** perfidious and cruel as a victor. The causes of his death, **at** the age of forty-two, are variously stated. His own vices **were** undoubtedly the true causes, whatever character disease **may** have taken at the close. (April 9th, 1483.)

This profligate life of Edward was a subject of notice, after **his** death, in the case of Jane Shore, who is destined, through the attractions of the drama, to be long remembered. McIntosh has done something to mitigate opinion, in quoting the words of a contemporary writer, Sir Thomas More:—" Proper **she** was and fair, yet delighted not men so much in her beauty, **as** in her pleasant behavior; for a proper wit had she, and **could** both read well, and write: ready and quick of answer, **neither** mute nor babbling; many mistresses the king had, but **her** he loved, whose favor, to say the truth, she never abused **to** any man's hurt, but often employed to many a man's relief"

While Edward lived, he could suppress the bitterness of feeling which had arisen, and which proved more inveterate even than that of the two roses; but when this influence was lost, all restraint on hatreds was lost. Elizabeth Woodville **had** always known how to preserve, and to exercise her power over her husband; and she had used it to honor and illustrate all her own family, to the utmost of royal favor. The ancient nobility had looked on this arrogance with smothered enmity so long, that the opportunity to show it, and humble the Woodvilles, was a welcome event. These feelings accorded well with the designs of Richard, duke of Gloucester, who had been careful to keep on good terms with all around him. The long expected day had come to develop these designs. These, and the execution of them, give to Richard the highest place among the cool and deliberate villains, who have, at any time, appeared on earth.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Richard III.—Principal actors in his time—Murder of Edward's two sons—Richard's attempt to marry Edward's daughter Elizabeth—Earl of Richmond—Battle of Bosworth—Henry VII.

RICHARD, duke of Gloucester, has not been brought but little into view in the preceding events. He was employed by Edward in an expedition undertaken against Scotland, and then held a high military rank. He was on the borders of Scotland when his brother Edward died. This person becomes the principal character in the tragic scenes of the time. Edward had removed from the earth his Lancastrian foes, only to give place to the passions of his own brother, which were satisfied with nothing short of the destruction of every member of Edward's family, who stood between him and the throne. The persons who are known as agents from the 9th of April, 1483, (Edward's decease,) to the 22d of August, 1485, when the duke of Gloucester (as Richard III.) was slain, and the earl of Richmond, (as Henry VII.) became king, were these:—

1. Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV., whose origin and family connexion have been already stated.

2. Edward V., son of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, born 4th of November, 1470; murdered in the tower, June, 1483.

3. Richard, duke of York, younger brother of Edward V., murdered at the same time in the tower.

4. Elizabeth, born February, 1466, married Henry VII., January, 1486.

5. Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother of Edward IV., usurped the crown as Richard III. Killed at Bosworth, August, 1485, supposed to have been then thirty-eight years old. "Of small stature, humpbacked, harsh, disagreeable countenance, and one arm shrivelled and decayed." (Hume.)

6. The earl of Rivers, one of the Woodvilles, brother of the queen; supposed to have been in middle age in 1483; much distinguished for his learning and accomplishments. He introduced printing in England, by commending Caxton to the patronage of Edward IV. (between 1471—1483.) The earl was murdered at Pomfret castle, June, 1483, by order of Richard III.

7. Sir Richard Gray, son of the queen by her first marriage, murdered at Pomfret castle, with earl Rivers.

8. The marquis of Dorset, was another son of the queen by her former marriage, and brother of Sir Richard Gray.

9. The duke of Buckingham was descended from the sixth son of Edward III., who was Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, brother of Edward, the Black Prince, and of John of Gaunt. The descent was through Thomas's daughter Ann, who married Thomas, earl of Stafford. Their son was Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, who was killed in 1460. The son of this duke died of his wounds received at the first battle of St. Albans, 1455. The son of the last mentioned duke was the present Henry, duke of Buckingham, and husband of the queen's sister Catherine Woodville. He was beheaded by Richard III. in 1483. Buckingham was one of the first men of his time, by family, by riches, and by personal qualities. He was among the number of those who were displeased with the arrogance of his sister-in-law, the queen; took part with Richard, and then against him.

10. Among the adherents to the queen, was lord Lyle, her brother-in-law.

11. The duke of Norfolk. Thomas de Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, was created duke of Norfolk, in 1398. (He was grandson of Thomas Plantagenet, second son of Edward I.) Sir John Howard married the heiress of John de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. This nobleman adhered to Richard III., and commanded the van at Bosworth, and was killed there. His title of duke of Norfolk was recognised by Richard, the day of the coronation.

12. The Stanley family were ancient and opulent, and were distinguished as far back as the time of Henry III. In 1456, Sir Thomas Stanley was summoned to parliament. His son Thomas was a leader in the battle of Bosworth, and appeared on Richard's side, but declared for Richmond, and settled the fortune of the day. He was created earl of Derby in 1485, and was husband of Catherine, the mother of Henry VII.

13. Sir William Stanley was brother of the earl of Derby; beheaded by Henry VII.

14. Lord Hastings had been among the personal friends of Edward IV., but appeared among the principal advisers of Richard III. Being suspected by Richard, he was beheaded in 1483, in the tower.

15. The earl of Oxford. Robert de Vere, a favorite of Richard II., was created earl of Oxford. At the battle of

Barnet, Warwick's right wing was commanded by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford. The earl escaped, and fled into Wales.

16. Lord Ferrers, in Richard's army, killed at Bosworth.

17. Sir Richard Radcliffe, " " " " "

18. Sir Robert Piercy, " " " " "

19. Sir Robt. Brakenbury, " " " " "

20. Sir William Catesby, " " taken and beheaded.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, came from the north towards London, immediately on hearing of his brother's death. Edward, now king by the name of Edward V., was at Ludlow castle, on the borders of Wales, when his father died. He was on his way to London, under the care of his uncle, the earl of Rivers. On the same day that Richard arrived at Northampton, young Edward arrived at Stony Stratford, about ten miles south of that place. The duke of Buckingham had come to Northampton to meet Richard. Earl Rivers left Edward at Stony Stratford, and went over with Sir Richard Gray to Northampton to see Richard, who had assumed the character of protector. The next day (April 30, 1483) Richard, Buckingham, Rivers, and Gray rode together to Edward at Stony Stratford. When they arrived, Rivers, Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan were suddenly arrested by Richard's order, and sent to Pomfret castle, about 25 miles south of the city of York. The charge was, that they had taught the young king to distrust Richard the protector. Richard took on himself to conduct Edward to London. The queen, hearing of these things, foresaw the coming ills, and fled at midnight with her other son and daughter, into Westminster abbey. This was unavailing, as Richard contrived to possess himself of both sons, Edward and Richard, and lodged them in the tower. He pretended that this measure was necessary to their safety.

On the 13th of June, Richard called a council at the tower to consult on the coronation. He appeared, at first, to be in very good humor. He retired for an hour, and returning with a countenance indicative of the highest displeasure, made bare his shrivelled arm, (which every one present knew to have been so from his youth,) and demanded what should be done to the sorceress who had so afflicted him? This inquiry is supposed by some historians to allude to the queen; by others, to Jane Shore, with whom Hastings was supposed to have had an intimacy. Richard then striking violently on the table, armed men rushed into the room, and seized the lords whom Richard desired to secure. Hastings was taken down to the yard, and his head severed from his body on a log; the others were

confined in different apartments. On the same day, the duke of Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who were confined at Pomfret castle, in the north, were murdered by Richard's order. Richard Radcliffe had been commissioned to perform this deed, to which Hastings advised. His own execution took place at the very hour when the prisoners at Pomfret castle were murdered.

The sudden change of Richard towards Hastings is thus accounted for. Hastings had introduced one Catesby to Richard as a person capable of being useful. Richard employed this man to sound Hastings; he did so, and reported that Hastings hated the queen, and desired to deprive her of all power; but that he was affectionately attached to Edward's children. Richard thereupon concerted the meeting in the tower, that he might seize and murder Hastings.

Richard, to open his way to the crown, had not only to murder his nephews, but to impress the public mind with the belief that they were illegitimate. Lest this measure should not fully answer his purpose, he conceived the project (which gives him a place apart from all other men that ever lived) of blasting the fame of his own mother. He attempted to have it believed that his brother Edward was the offspring of adultery, and himself the only lawful issue of his mother's marriage. In the execution of these horrible designs, he caused Jane Shore to be accused as the mistress of his brother, and condemned to penance. This unfortunate woman was thus made to suffer, and finally to die in a ditch, the location of which is known by the name of a street in London. He also caused a certain Dr. Shaw to preach a sermon, on the 15th of June, from the text,—“Bastard ships shall not thrive.” The object of this sermon was to prove the illegitimacy of Edward's children. Richard expected that the people assembled there, would be moved to proclaim him. Having failed in this, he obtained, through his creatures, a collection of persons, who were asked, by Buckingham, whether they would have Richard for king. The faint response was deemed sufficient for him to assume the rank of king, and to style himself the third Richard.

At what time, in what manner, and by what hand Richard caused his two nephews to be murdered in the tower, is not certainly known. Robert Brakenbury, the constable of the tower, is supposed to have refused to murder them; but surrendered his keys, for one night, to Sir James Tyrrel; and under his direction the act was done, by smothering them in

the bed in which they were sleeping. Three persons, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, were selected by Tyrrel, as the immediate agents in the murder.

Richard discerned the necessity of strengthening himself, and seems to have had but two modes of doing this; rewards, honors, riches, to accomplices in iniquity, and peace-offerings to those whom he dreaded. But within three months a plan had been laid to bring over the young earl of Richmond from France, and marry him to Elizabeth, (Edward's oldest daughter,) and to assert his claim to the crown. The same Buckingham, (who seems to have had from Richard all he asked, and to have had little modesty in asking,) headed this combination against Richard, assisted by the marquis of Dorset, and the bishop of Ely. Within five months of the day when Buckingham invited the rabble to accept Richard for their king, he was brought before Richard as a conspirator and traitor, and immediately beheaded, without the ceremony of a trial. The marquis and the bishop escaped to the continent. Several others, less fortunate, were executed.

Another mode occurred to Richard of retaining his hold on the crown; a marriage with the known lawful heiress, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward. There were two obstacles; one that Richard had a wife living, the other that the marriage would be incestuous. He removed the first by poisoning his wife. The second obstacle required the consent of Edward's widow. Richard had murdered her brother, her son, (Lord Gray,) and her two sons, (the young princes,) and now proposed to become the husband of her daughter. The mother of Elizabeth must have understood Richard to say,—“It is true that the crown which your deceased husband wore, rightfully descended to your son. I despoiled him, and placed the crown on my own head. That your son might not demand that of which I had robbed him, nor his brother, who would be next entitled, I have put them both to death. Your daughters are entitled next after your sons. If they were all murdered, I should be the lawful successor of your husband. As your daughter Elizabeth is now entitled, let me marry her, make her a queen, and thus secure the crown to myself.” Whether fear, ambition, the hope of triumph over the old nobility, (her well-known enemies,) or other motive, influenced the queen, she consented to give her daughter to the most detestable of men, in person and heart. But the opinion of the public pronounced a judgment on this proposal which even the audacious Richard could not resist. - Debased as that age was, moral sen-

timent enough remained to declare a union between Richard and Elizabeth, inadmissible. Debased and daring as Richard was, he felt that such a union would call forth an expression of horror of him, and of his dominion, which might cost him the throne and his life.

Whether a domestic insurrection or an invasion by the young earl of Richmond, would happen, or both, was a matter that commanded Richard's attention. He prepared to meet his dangers by force. Richmond being of Welsh descent, and expecting the aid of his countrymen, landed at Milford-Haven (the extreme west point of Wales) on the 7th of August, 1485. He brought with him only two thousand men. Richard had posted himself in the central part of his kingdom, at Nottingham, and thence moved westwardly, on hearing of Richmond's landing. The place of meeting on the 22d of August was Bosworth, northwest from London, and midway between that city and Liverpool. Richmond's army had increased to six thousand. Richard had double that number, including those which lord Stanley and his brother William led, amounting to one half of his force.

The earl of Oxford, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Savage, and the earl of Pembroke, were leaders on Richmond's side. The duke of Norfolk, lord Stanley, and Sir William Stanley were leaders on Richard's side. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, and soon after his brother also, declared for Richmond. Richard's case was now desperate. He had a single chance, that of slaying Richmond with his own hand. He sought Richmond and found him, but, at the same moment, Sir William Stanley came up with his troops and surrounded Richard, who died, fighting bravely to the last. There fell also in this battle most of Richard's associates in crime: the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, Sir Robert Brakenbury. Sir William Catesby was taken and beheaded. Richard's body was found, thrown over a horse, carried to Leicester, and buried there. Richard was, probably, between thirty-eight and forty on the day of this battle.

It is said, by one historian, that Richmond did not manifest much inclination to come within the reach of Richard's sword, but rather put himself in a defensive attitude when he saw Richard approach. He had not, probably, seen Richard before, but could not doubt when he saw him, for Richard intended to survive that battle as king, or die in it as king. He wore his crown. After he fell, a common soldier brought

the crown to Sir William Stanley, who placed it on Richmond's head, and saluted him as Henry VII.

From the time of Henry VI.'s marriage with Margaret of Anjou, to the death of Richard III., (forty years,) all the princes of the houses of York and Lancaster perished on the field or at the block, besides a great number of the principal nobles of the kingdom, and an unknown number of inferior nobles, gentry, and private persons. The loss, independently of rank, was a serious one to the nation, to say nothing of the distresses which accompanied this loss. The whole population of England is supposed not to have exceeded three millions.

In Richard's short reign there was but one session of parliament. Considering the disturbed state of the kingdom, the acts of this session are remarkable. There were fifteen acts, seven of them were for the regulation of commerce and manufactures. Prior to this session, all laws were written in barbarous Latin or French, both unintelligible to the mass of the people. In this, and all future parliaments, the laws were enacted in English. The acts of Richard's parliament were the first that were printed. (Macpherson, vol. i. p. 704.)

Henry VII. began his reign on the field of Bosworth. If he claimed the crown as a Lancastrian, there were descendants from John of Gaunt (the son of Edward III.) in Spain, who had better claims than his. He could not claim from the house of York by marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV.; that union had not taken place. There was a son of George, duke of Clarence, (called Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick,) who might have been thought to have a better right even than Elizabeth, though only nephew of Edward IV. The claim of conquest was inadmissible. Richmond had conquered an usurper, not the nation. One condition of supporting Richmond was, that he should marry Elizabeth, which he did, but with delay and apparent reluctance, on the 14th of January, 1486. Henry's policy and feeling were entirely Lancastrian, and his repugnance to the Yorkists hardly veiled, and never overcome, even as to his wife. Henry's life was devoted to two objects, gathering riches and securing himself on the throne.

Margaret, the sister of Edward IV., had married the duke of Burgundy. This lady is supposed to have invented the plan of causing one Lambert Symnel to personate Edward Plantagenet, (above named,) and to claim the crown. This

Edward was then safely in the tower, and Henry ordered him to be led through the streets of London, on horseback, to show that Symnel was an impostor. But the supporters of Symnel gathered an army in the west, which penetrated to the middle of the kingdom, where it was met and vanquished. Symnel was taken, and made a turnspit in the king's kitchen.

Six years afterwards (1493) another pretender appeared, Perkin Warbeck, claiming to be Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV. This person is supposed to have been moved to this adventure by the same Margaret sister of Edward IV., duchess of Burgundy. He pursued his purpose six years, and was sometimes well sustained in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. He was at length taken, or surrendered himself, and imprisoned in the tower in 1499. The son of George, duke of Clarence, called the earl of Warwick, nephew of Edward IV., had been a prisoner there for fifteen years. His offence was, that he was one of the house of York. He had lived without any companion, without any instruction, and without the power of instructing himself, as his apartment was too dark to discern letters. Yet this unfortunate boy was accused and executed for treason. When Perkin Warbeck was imprisoned in the same place, he was charged with having plotted with the simple Warwick to escape. In the close of 1499, both these young persons were executed. McIntosh gives a mournful and disgraceful solution to this apparent act of barbarity. Henry desired to marry his son Arthur, prince of Wales, to Catherine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The marriage contract was delayed for the reason that Ferdinand thought Henry insecure, while any one of the house of York existed. Perkin Warbeck was thereupon used, though uninformed himself of the purpose or consequences, to draw Warwick into the commission of some act which might apparently forfeit his life. This could not be done without forfeiting his own life, and both were executed. This criminal measure may have accomplished Henry's purpose. Arthur married Catherine, but died within six months afterwards.

Sir James McIntosh refers to Lord Bacon as an authority for the fact, that the destruction of Warwick, the last of the male Plantagenets, was an indispensable condition of the marriage of Arthur and Catherine. This fact seems to have been known to Catherine; for, when she had become the wife of Arthur's brother, (Henry VIII.) and the latter had resolved on a divorce, Catherine said,—“The divorce is a judgment of God, for that my former marriage was made in blood!”

The government of Henry seems to have been sufficiently unpopular to make many persons of high rank desire some other state of things. Many believed Warbeck to be the son of Edward IV., and were inclined favorably to him. Among others, Sir William Stanley, the same person who decided the fate of the battle of Bosworth, was accused, condemned, and executed. Many others were executed on like charges. Stanley was own brother to the earl of Derby, who was the husband of the king's mother. But Henry is charged with desiring the death of Stanley as a traitor, rather because the great estates and riches of that nobleman would be forfeited, than to punish his offence. Henry's conduct, in this matter, would stamp a private character, in these days, with infamy.

Henry involved himself, to some extent, in the conflicts and politics of the continent. No event arose from these causes material to be noticed. An important event happened in Henry's time in relation to Scotland. The destructive wars which had been carried on for centuries between the north and south parts of the island, were terminated by the marriage of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth Tudor, with James IV., king of Scotland. From this marriage the house of Stuart came to the crown of England in the person of James I., when the house of Tudor became extinct by the death of Elizabeth, the grand-daughter of Henry.

The reign of Henry was, on the whole, fortunate for England. Though the king's strongest passion was avarice, and though this passion was indulged by him to excess, yet the nation had repose, after long and ruinous convulsions. They endured the most arbitrary dominion which had been experienced since the time of king John, when the great charter was extorted. But the fear of bringing on civil convulsions again, and the terror which Henry's severe government had diffused, preserved the country in peace.

Henry had two principal counsellors, John Morton and Richard Fox, on whom he bestowed the highest offices of church and state; and two unprincipled and obedient lawyers, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, whom he employed to rob his subjects under the forms of civil and criminal process. The sole object was to accumulate money for money's sake, and not to expend it, either for the public or himself. He seems to have been destitute of passions and affections, absorbed in himself, and valuing himself only as tenant of a throne and as a gatherer of riches. One case will be sufficient to show the character of the monarch and the man.

The earl of Oxford resided at his castle at Henningham: the king visited the earl at that place. There was a law in force which made it penal for the great lords to retain in their service numerous followers in livery and badges, for the purpose of employing them in quarrels and in petty wars, offensive and defensive. This law discloses the fact, that the great lords strengthened themselves by enlisting these dependants in their train, giving them the appearance of domestic servants. The king had been faithfully served by the earl of Oxford in the cabinet and the field, and a friendly relation existed between them. On this occasion, Oxford had spared no exertion to do honor to his guest. The visit being paid, and the king about departing, he saw that Oxford had formed a long line of men, dressed in rich liveries, for him to pass through. The king said to Oxford,—“These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, on each side of me are, surely, your menial servants.” Oxford said no, they were only retained by him to perform extraordinary service. The king replied,—“I thank you for your good cheer, but my laws must not be broken before my face. My attorney must talk with you.” Empson and Dudley were set to work, and the affair cost the earl fifteen thousand marks, (nearly forty-five thousand dollars.)

Henry devoted many of the latter years of his life to forming alliances with royal families, by marrying his children. He hoped, by these means, to strengthen his family on the throne. This was the object in marrying Arthur to Catherine of Arragon, and Elizabeth to James IV. of Scotland. The king's character was shown in the first of these marriages. He was to have two hundred thousand crowns with Catherine. Half was paid. Before the other half was due, Arthur died. Henry was thereby liable to be deprived of the second half, and to be obliged to restore the first; but he avoided both by getting a papal dispensation for the marriage of his son (Henry VIII.) with the widow of his brother.

In the fifty-second year of his age, Henry perceived that his days were soon to be numbered. Remorse came upon him for his severe and rapacious exercise of power. He did some acts in the spirit of contrition and atonement, and ordered more by his will. But his profligate successor had other uses for the treasure which Henry accumulated. His death occurred the 22d of April, 1509, at Richmond, (his favorite abode,) without drawing a sigh or a tear, probably, from any survivor. McIntosh says,—“His good qualities were useful, but low; his vices were mean, and no person in history, of so much under-

standing and courage, is so near being despised." This writer is more gracious to *king* Henry, than is consistent with the truth; and less severe upon him as a *man*, than is consistent with justice.

In the fifteenth century the aftermentioned persons flourished in the years placed against their names :—

1415. John Van Eyk, founder of the Flemish school, discovered the use of oil in mixing paints.

John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who were burnt by order of the council of Constance.

1420. Gasparini, of Bergamo, author of the first book printed in France. 1490.

1439. Moustrelet, who continued Froissart's chronicles.

1440. Lawrence Valla, renewed in Italy the beauties of the Latin language.

1449. Ulugh Beigh, grandson of Tamerlane the Great, author of learned works.

1450. Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of king's bench, author of a valuable work on the laws of England. (*De laudibus Legum Angliæ.*)

1458. Finiguerra, of Florence, first produced prints by engraving on copper. Eneas Sylvius, (pope pius II.) a writer often quoted, historian, &c. Thomas A Kempis, celebrated divine and writer.

1470. Thomas Littleton, English lawyer; lord Coke commented on his work. Antony, of Palermo, sold his house to buy a manuscript of Livy.

1481. Rodolphus Agrocola, who first introduced the study of Greek, in Germany.

1490. William Caxton, first printer in England.

1498. Philip de Comines, biographer of Louis XI.

1500. Leonardo de Vinci, of Florence, said to be the first who reduced the art of painting to fixed principles. He expired in the arms of Francis I., of France.

In this century, there were many others who distinguished themselves as historians, poets, grammarians, translators, teachers, &c., showing that the cultivation of the mind had now become an object of attention in Europe. That one, among them all, most known at this day, was Nicholas Machiavel, of Florence, born 1469, died 1527, in poverty, though he had been high in office. He wrote History of Florence—Discourses on Living—On the Art Military—and his famous work entitled the Prince. The latter gave him a bad name, but some persons consider it a satire on tyranny.

In the last half of this century, printing was invented, and came into use in many parts of Europe. Great changes had been made in warfare, from the common use of gun-powder, and small fire-arms. The passage by sea to Eastern Asia had been discovered, around the Cape of Good Hope. The western continent had been discovered. From these, and other causes, great revolutions occurred in the following century.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPAIN.

Early Population—Gothic Kingdom—Introduction of the Catholic Religion—Northern Kingdoms of Spain—Invasion of the Moors—Wars between the Northern Kingdoms and the Moors.

SPAIN is the most westwardly country of Europe, except Ireland. It is situated between the degrees of thirty-six and forty-four, north latitude, and the degrees of three and ten, east longitude from Greenwich. Its extent from north to south is 540 miles; from east to west it is 560 miles. Its superficial surface contains 225,600 square miles, including Portugal. On the north-east it is separated from France by the Pyrenees; on all other parts it is bounded by the sea. It is, therefore, often called the Peninsula. Its surface is remarkable for the lofty ranges of mountains, and for the elevated plains which are placed between these ranges. There are five ranges, which begin in the Pyrenees, and traverse Spain westwardly and southwardly. From these ranges, spurs extend and meet, and thus form the location of these plains. The plain on which Madrid, the capital, stands, is two thousand feet above the level of the sea, nearly surrounded by mountains. The plain of La Mancha, south of that, is still higher, probably the highest in Europe. In ancient days there were gold mines in some of these regions, and some metals are still obtained from them. There are five great rivers, which run from the north-east to the south-west, and one to the south-east. The valleys through which these rivers run are fertile, and some of them delightful. Some of the mountains are more than a third higher than any in the United States; that is, between ten and eleven thousand feet. The great rivers have many tributaries; they are at least one hundred and fifty in

number, but, from the mountainous form of the country, none but the great rivers are navigable. It has been suggested that the singular formation of Spain, in having territories severed from each other by mountains difficult to pass, may have occasioned the variety of political and moral character which has been noticed, from time to time, in this country. From the variety of climates, the qualities of the soil, and natural riches, Spain might be powerful; but despotism and the church have overshadowed it.

Some writers suppose that Spain and Portugal were first possessed by a people called Iberians, a branch of the ancient Kimmerian race, while others consider the Celts as the original people, who were descended from that race. Long before the Christian era, the Phœnicians (from Tyre and Sidon) had found their way to Spain, and after them the Carthaginians, and both had colonies there. The Greeks, undoubtedly, colonized the south-eastern shore of Spain, and there are relics of Grecian ceremonies which time and revolutions have failed to obliterate. About 219 years B. C. the memorable siege of the city of Saguntum (then in alliance with Rome) was carried on by Hannibal, and the city conquered. It stood where Murviedro now stands, on the south-east coast of Spain, near the middle of Valencia. It cost the Romans a vigorous warfare of more than two hundred years to conquer the native people of Spain—accomplished by Agrippa in the year 8 B. C., in the time of Augustus. This country continued to be a Roman province about four hundred years; and was regarded as one of the most valuable appendages of the empire.—Its *Hesperian* name was given by the Greeks, signifying western, while its Spanish name is thought to be of Phœnician origin, signifying the land of rabbits. These animals must have been very abundant, to have given a name to a country, then and still distinguishable from most others by many qualities more likely to have suggested a name.

At the commencement of the fifth century, the Gothic invaders had reached Spain. The Roman empire was then yielding every where, from its own imbecility and the force and numbers of the barbarians. The tribes who possessed themselves of Spain about this time, were the Suevi, Alans, and Vandals. From the latter, that beautiful portion in the west of Spain now called Andalusia, has its name. In 419, the Visigoths, under Wallia, founded their kingdom, and drove the Vandals into Africa. Euric, in 484, extended his kingdom still further, expelled the Romans, and established a code

of written laws. In the beginning of the sixth century, all of the Peninsula, except the small kingdom now called Galicia, in the north-west corner of Spain, then held by the Suevi, had submitted to the Visigoths, and was then ruled by Alaric, son of the first king of this people, whom historians call the Great Euric. The kingdom of Alaric included a large portion of the south of France, as well as most of Spain. All of France not held by the Burgundians, (along the Rhone and between it and the Alps,) was held by the founder of the French monarchy, Clovis.

In 527, Clovis and the Visigoth king Alaric, fought a battle, in which great numbers were engaged. The result enabled Clovis to extend his empire to the Pyrenees. Clovis led his numerous hosts from Paris south-westwardly, through Orleans and Tours, and crossed the Loire at the latter place, and in his way towards Poitiers, near to which Alaric had advanced from the south, with his hosts. The Vienne, a tributary branch of the Loire, having been suddenly increased by rains, was found to be impassable. In this difficulty, and when delay was more perilous than battle, a white stag, of extraordinary size and beauty, suddenly appeared and passed the river, in view of the Franks, and thereby disclosed a ford, of which Clovis availed himself, and came unexpectedly on his foe. Clovis killed Alaric with his own hand, and (Gibbon says) "the victorious Frank was saved by the goodness of his cuirass and the vigor of his horse, from the spears of two desperate Goths, who furiously rode against him to avenge the death of their sovereign." With regard to the stag, it should be mentioned that the historians of those days were monks, and that Clovis had recently become a convert. This tremendous battle was fought about ten miles south-west of Poitiers, and is sometimes called the battle of Vouillé, from the name of the neighboring village.

In 585, the Suevi in Galicia were subdued by the Visigoths, and thus the whole of the Peninsula became Gothic. In 586, the Catholic religion was introduced, and with it monks, priests, and bishops, and they introduced the Latin language, already much corrupted, as the language of worship. The Visigoths had become converts to Christianity before they conquered Spain; but, like many other barbarian tribes, they were not of Nicene or Catholic faith, but were Arians. At this time, the king of the Visigoths was named Leovigild, an Arian. Herminigild, his son, had become a devout Catholic, and revolted against his father. After many

unsuccessful attempts, on the part of the son, to obtain the dominion, and, on the part of the father, to bring the son to a sense of his duties, the father ordered the son to be put to death, in the tower of Seville. The second son, Recared, succeeded to the throne, and, being a Catholic, established that form of Christianity in Spain, and connected it with the royal authority. In the whole space of the seventh century, the history of this country teaches nothing which was not common to most other countries. There were the usual contentions for the exercise of a despotic power, and, consequently, a proportionate amount of crimes and sufferings. There were, also, all the oppressions and miseries which religious contentions produce when the clerical authority is either sustained or opposed by the power of a temporal despot. It may be worth while to mention some few circumstances, rather as amusement than instruction.

In 656, the throne being vacant, the electors were embarrassed in choosing a king. At length Wamba, a nobleman, was chosen. He said he knew better than any one else did what he was, and what he was not qualified for; and that he was not qualified to be a king. Whereupon, one of the electors said to him,—“Whoever persists in refusing to contribute to the good of the country, is as much an enemy of the state as he who attempts to hurt it;” and then laying his hand on his sword, threatened to run it through Wamba’s body if he did not accept. Though Wamba well deserved his place, he was too good a king for his time. A conspiracy was formed, and he was removed in a singular manner. An ecclesiastic could not be a king. Wamba was suddenly converted into one of this order. A sleeping potion was given to him, and, while he was insensible, he was clothed like a monk, and his head shaved. When his senses returned, it was declared that he had renounced the world, and, consequently, his kingdom. This ingenious measure is ascribed to Erviga, who was elected king, or who took the crown on the deposition of Wamba, in 683.

The next Visigoth king, but one, was called Witiza. He is represented to have been a barbarian. An event occurred in his time which produced most important and enduring consequences, and which has some resemblance to a striking event in Roman history. A revolution was effected in Rome, and the Tarquins and royalty banished by the people, in consequence of an outrage committed by one of the Tarquins on Lucretia, daughter of Brutus, and wife of Collatinus. A sim-

ilar act of Witiza, in relation to a daughter of count Julien, caused the introduction of the Moors into Spain, and the subjection of it to their dominion for eight hundred years. The enraged and inconsolable father sought revenge. The Arabians had conquered and converted the Moors, on the opposite coast of Africa, the inhabitants of the ancient Mauritania of the Romans. Musa ruled here as the lieutenant of the Arabian caliph, whose seat of empire was at Damascus. Count Julien invited Musa to invade Spain. Gibbon discredits this fact. A one-eyed chief, called Tarik, commanded an army which took the high land now called Gibraltar, a name derived from Gabel el Tarik, the mountain of Tarik. This Moorish army was met in 711, near Cadiz, by a Visigoth army, led by king Witiza, amounting to one hundred thousand men. The Moors had twelve thousand. A battle of seven days' duration ensued. The king was slain, and his army defeated. Within a few months the whole of Spain was conquered, except a few fortified cities and a territory in the mountains, in the north, next the sea, to which the surviving warriors of the Goths retired. Here the spirit of patriotism, liberty, and vengeance was nourished. Hence it came forth to engage in the warfare which continued through centuries.

The victorious Tarik was called to severe account by Musa, for the treasures he had gathered, and was reviled, scourged, and imprisoned. While Musa, now ruling in Spain, was meditating the conquest of Europe, he was suddenly arrested, and commanded to appear before the caliph. He was accused (as Gibbon relates) of vanity and falsehood, fined two hundred thousand pieces of gold, publicly whipped, condemned to stand a whole day before the palace gate unsheltered from the sun, and finally dismissed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Meanwhile, Spain was suffering all the miseries which the merciless Moors could inflict. Count Julien was avenged, if the degradation of his country could satisfy him.

If the Moors would not have invaded Spain unless count Julien had invited them to come, (which is improbable,) he made the first move in a long train of events important to Spain and to Europe. The conquest and tenure of so large a portion of the west of Christian Europe by infidels, is a disastrous occurrence. But the Moors (or, properly, the Arabians) will be found to have aided, essentially, in dissipating the barbarism in which Europe was involved.

The northern part of Spain, to which the unconquered Goths had retired, was a very small territory next to the sea ;

mountainous, and difficult of access. The first of this people who embodied a force against the Moors, was a chief named Pelayo. The kingdom of Oviedo arose here, and was known by that name until the name of Leon was given to it. Leon soon comprised about one quarter part of the peninsula, and was bounded on the west by the Atlantic, north by the Bay of Biscay, eastwardly by the Pyrenees, and southwardly by the territory held by the Moors. In the ninth century, the small kingdom of Navarre arose, eastwardly of Leon, comprising a territory bounded north-eastwardly on France, and extending half the distance across from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, and consisting of the mountains and vallies in the north-east corner of Spain. This kingdom gave, for centuries, part of the title of kings of France, long after it ceased to be subject to these kings. South-eastwardly of Navarre, the kingdom of Arragon arose before the end of the eleventh century, and extended from Navarre to the Mediterranean. About the same time, the former kingdom of Oviedo had taken the name of Leon and Castile. In the thirteenth century, Leon and Castile extended over a larger portion of the peninsula. In 1074, the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Navarre, and Arragon, covered about one third of the northern part of Spain. The Moors held the residue.

These several kingdoms arose, as other kingdoms have been seen to arise elsewhere in Europe, by the necessity of having military chiefs, who became kings by choice, or usurpation. Being such, they must have nobles and chiefs. The desire of dominion introduced civil contentions, violence, cruelties, and crimes. It is only necessary to substitute Spanish names of places and persons, and the same course of action and suffering would be found here, which occurred, from like causes, in France, Italy, and throughout Europe. Sometimes a marriage would unite two of these kingdoms in the same king and queen. Sometimes the death of a king would occasion a partition of his dominions among his sons, and then would follow the usual course of warfare, until some one, by fraud, perfidy, or violence, became sole monarch. Such were the contentions which history exhibits in the north of Spain, among the descendants of the Visigoths, for centuries. Sometimes one kingdom, and sometimes another, would contend against the Moors; and, when their own feuds and warfare would permit, they united successfully against the common enemy, and pushed their conquests to the south.

There was one circumstance among these Gothic Spaniards,

which distinguished them from the French and the Germans. The vassalage, or slavery, common in France and Germany, arising out of the order of society, which finally rivetted the feudal system, does not appear to have existed in Spain. This may have been so, for the reason, that the Spaniards had a common interest in their unceasing warfare with the Moors, and a high sense of patriotism in carrying it on. The people of Spain and of France were both of Celtic origin, intermingled with Romans, at the time of the barbarian conquests; and a similar state of society might have been expected in both countries. The Spaniards were greatly the superiors of the Franks.

The Moors, as they are usually called, though first called Arabians, and then Saracens, had occupied the south and middle of Spain for three centuries, in the year 1000. Their progress and their interior government, require a brief notice, because this people have impressed themselves so deeply on the affairs of Europe, that the impression still remains. Their settlement in Spain was at first only a colonial relation to the eastern caliphate established in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Moors in Spain—Their Riches and Magnificence—Their Learning—Their Decline.

WHEN we come to that part of the globe in which Mohammed, or Mahomet appeared, there will be found the proper notice of this remarkable person, of the religion which he established, and of his followers. At present, they are only to be noticed as they appeared in Spain. At the time of their conquest of this country, the throne of the caliphs was at Damascus, which is sixty miles east from the east shore of the Mediterranean, and one hundred and thirty north by east from Jerusalem. In the eighth century, the reigning family were the Abassides, who had supplanted the Ommaiades. Haroun Al Raschid was caliph for some years before his death, in 800. He devoted himself to the cultivation of science in his dominions, by inviting learned men to his court, and by causing the philosophical and literary works of the Greeks to be translated into Arabic, and copies of them to be greatly multiplied,

The same course was followed by his successors, and Bagdad (which had become the seat of empire) was renowned for its science and learning, while Europe, with the exception of Spain, (from the like course of the Arabians there,) was sunk in the grossest ignorance and barbarism.

When Abul Abbas (from whom the name of the Abbassides is derived,) overthrew the dynasty of the Ommiades, (so called from Omwiyah) he attempted to destroy all of the latter race. A young prince, of the name of Abdalrahman, was the only one who escaped. He fled through Egypt, and along the northern coast of Africa, and was joyfully received in Spain, where he founded the caliphate of that country, which continued more than two hundred and fifty years. His seat of empire was at Cordova, on the Guadalquiver, in lower Andalusia. This was an ancient town of the Romans, and is said to exhibit, to the present day, that it was so; and also that it was afterwards Arabian, or Moorish. In splendid Cordova, the commerce, luxury, and learning of the East, were rivalled, if not surpassed. It is credited by respectable historians, (see Hallam's *Mid. Ages*, vol. i. p. 306,) that Cordova contained, at one period, two hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, and nine hundred public baths; that there were twelve thousand towns and villages on the banks of the river. The revenues of the caliphs were annually equal to twenty-five millions of dollars. There are still relics of the splendid edifices of the Moors, but their mosques have been transformed into churches. Magnificent Cordova has become comparatively an insignificant city, and its population is now computed at about thirty-five thousand only. Gibbon relates, that the third, and the greatest of the Abdalrahman race, constructed, three miles from Cordova, the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra, in honor of his favorite sultana. Twenty-five years, and three millions sterling, were required in this work. Here were seen one thousand and two hundred pillars of Spanish, African, Greek, and Italian marble, erected by artists brought from Constantinople. One of the fountains in the garden was replenished, not with water, but with purest quicksilver. The prince's household comprised six thousand and three hundred persons, and his guard twelve thousand, whose belts and cimeters were studded with gold. But there was found, in the closet of the deceased caliph, this memorial of his life: "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory, or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, respected by my allies. Riches and honor, power and pleasure, have waited on my call; nor does

any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation, I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot; they amount to *fourteen*. O man! place not thy confidence in this present world!"

Compared with other nations of that time, the Arabians were very superior in intellectual attainments. They had translations from the Greek, especially the works of Aristotle. They plunged into metaphysical philosophy, and the scholastic learning, which afterwards flourished in Europe, is supposed to have been derived from Aristotle, through them. The Arabian learning was cultivated in Spain. The academy at Cordova was attended, in the eleventh century, by young German, French, and English pupils. There were many other academies and elementary schools. In the science of quantity and numbers, they had sure guides in the Greek translations. In astronomy, they had gone as far as any of their predecessors. The common arithmetical figures are attributed to them; but these, probably, came from Egyptians. Gibbon says that Arabians admit Algebra to have been derived to them from the Grecian Diophantus. In medicine, they knew far more than any of their contemporaries. They invented distillation. But they absurdly misapplied their knowledge in attempting to find the *philosopher's stone*, by which base metals might be converted into gold; and in finding the *elixir of life*, by which to secure immortality on earth. In works of imagination, they had oriental luxuriance. Romance and poetical composition were familiar to them. They did not attempt dramatic writing. Almanac, algebra, alcohol, azimuth, zenith, nadir, alembic, and many other familiar words, are of Arabian origin.

The refinements of the Arabians, and their luxurious enjoyments, were either those of sensuality, or of fervent fancy. Their magnificence was that of a people who fell far short of civilization. Wise sayings, and moral precepts were abundant among them; but they had not the only substantial ground-work of real refinement, *the spirit of Christianity*. Nor had they its necessary consequence, the elevation of *woman* to the proper rank of equal, companion, and friend of the other sex. But it will appear, in the history of the Arabians, that woman was not, among them, the degraded being which she has ever been among the Turks, who are the ruling Mahometans of the present day. Though secluded from the public gaze, there was a spirit of respectful deference towards women.

The same fact is found in India, in all ages, where a truly chivalrous spirit exists in regard to the other sex. That degradation of woman in the East, which makes her a miserable slave, or a gilded toy, is, probably, of Turkish or Tartar origin. It is found wherever Turks or Tartars have acquired dominion. The Arabians of Spain, however, knew nothing of the happiness which is expressed by the comprehensive word *home*; nothing of that exaltation of the mind and heart, which belongs to the domestic relations of the Christian. Yet it is seen that in the long course of ages, the invasion of Spain by the Moors, was destined to kindle anew the light of learning in Western Europe; and, in another long space of time, to bring forth that refinement to which the Arabians were strangers. Thus it may be found, that the invasion of Spain by the Moors, though at first, the mere violence of the strongest, and prompted by the love of power and of conquest, may have been intended to aid in recovering Europe from its deplorable barbarism.

The Spanish caliphate continued in splendor until about the year 1030. Then the natural causes of change, which are seen in all earthly things, were operative, and the unity of power gave way. The territories of the Moors were broken into many petty kingdoms. Insurrections, tumults, violence, and crimes, followed, as elsewhere in the world, and from these causes, the strength which the Moors had maintained when united, gradually declined. Meanwhile the descendants of the Visigoths in the north, were growing stronger and stronger from the union of numbers, and the direction of their force by skilful minds; and were thus enabled successfully to assail their invaders, and to force them further and further towards the south.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Gothic Kingdoms—Wars with the Moors—Spirit of Freedom—Cortes—Justiza—The Cid—Peter the Cruel—Ferdinand and Isabella—Conquest of Granada.

WITHIN the Gothic kingdoms of the north of Spain, the elements of history, from the year 1000 to 1450, are the contests for the crown; the attempts of the nobles to control the crown; and the efforts of the crown to subdue the nobles.

Sudden revolutions, extraordinary reverses, bloody battles, every form of cruelty and crime, may be found in the course of these years. The most prolific and recurring cause of calamity, was the custom of making partition of a kingdom among the sons of a dying monarch. It always happened that wars arose and continued, until one of the number had subdued the others, and prepared the way to reproduce the like calamities, in a succeeding generation. To give these details would be useless. On the frontiers of these kingdoms, there was the ever-enduring contest with the Moors. The battles between these enemies were numerous and well fought; but the mode of conducting them, and the immediate agents in each, are not now objects of instruction or interest.

The result of these 450 years, (from 1000 to 1450,) was the gradual enlargement of the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, which embraced all others, and opened the way for the union of these two, and thus finally established one monarchy throughout the peninsula.

Without intending to enter into the details of civil wars, battles, insurrections, rebellions, and crimes, there are some facts in Spanish history, in those 450 years, which are well worthy of notice. They show a state of society unlike any other at that time existing in Europe. This was founded in a knowledge of the principles of civil freedom, in a firm resolution to preserve them. Certainly, the Spaniards had a surprising intelligence (for that age) in the means of effecting their object. How these facts, so unlike any elsewhere in Europe, at the same time, can be accounted for, is now only to be conjectured. There are no means of knowing what the real state of the Gothic Spaniards was, before the Moors overwhelmed them, in 711. Whether those who fled to the mountains carried with them principles of civil liberty, and cultivated them there;—or whether these principles were called forth by their struggles with the Moors, and the equality of those who were engaged in these struggles, each one contending for himself, and necessarily each one for the whole,—is not to be known. Several writers intimate, that the proud Castilian spirit and honor, (which are still spoken of as existing,) arose from the self-dependence of each man, in doing his own part to resist the Moors, and to drive them back. By this is meant, that the Gothic Spaniards, who were, by inheritance and necessity, the irreconcilable foes of the Moors, fought for themselves, and not as the vassals of some lord, in whose quarrel they had engaged, from obligation, reluctantly performed.

The liability to Moorish invasion required the defence of castles, and the protection of fortified cities. The intercourse of men in cities, during the middle ages, promoted sentiments of liberty, and these were strengthened by the facility of uniting to protect and enforce them. As such population increased in number and wealth, they were serviceable to kings in humbling the nobility, and were capable of resisting the tyranny of nobles, when exerted against themselves. From such causes it arose, that there was a firmer and more rational spirit of liberty, in the north of Spain, than any where else in Europe. It was especially so in the cities, because they were erected on territories wrested from the Moors, and had, originally, grants of privileges connected with the duty of maintaining these cities against the Moors.

As a further aid in resisting the Moors, and in support of the ever-cherished hope of expelling them, military orders of knighthood were established in Spain. Those of Calatrava, St. Jago, and Alcantara, were the most distinguished. The members of these institutions took a prominent part in the wars of the Peninsula. They were established between the years 1150 and 1200; probably imitations of the military orders established about the same time, in Palestine, by the Crusaders. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, (1210,) the king, Alfonso IX., defeated the Moors in a battle at Banos di Tolosa, and slew 180,000. This is so extraordinary an event, before the use of gunpowder, it is proper to remark, that it is credited by Hallam. (Middle Ages, vol. 1. p. 305.) In 1236, the splendid city of Cordova was wrested by Ferdinand from the Moors, and soon after, Seville.

Peculiar institutions to preserve liberty. There were great national councils in these Spanish kingdoms. They consisted of the nobles, spiritual persons, and the deputies from the cities. It is doubtful whether these great councils, including the third estate, are not of earlier date by 150 years, than similar councils in England. These assemblies were called *Cortes*, and the third estate (or commons) were a constituent part, as early as 1169. They exercised an important power. Their assent was indispensable to taxation; and they had a controlling power over expenditure. In 1258, the cortes informed their Monarch that his daily expenditure, *for his table*, ought not to exceed a certain sum.

In the time of Alfonso X., king of Castille and Leon, (about the year 1250,) a law existed to this effect:—"The duty of subjects towards their king, enjoins them not to permit him,

knowingly, to endanger his salvation, nor to incur dishonor, or inconvenience, in his person or family, nor to produce mischief to his kingdom. And this may be fulfilled two ways—one by good advice, showing him the reason wherefore he ought not to act thus; the other by deeds, seeking means to prevent his going on to his own ruin, and putting a stop to those who give him ill counsel; for, inasmuch as his errors are of worse consequence than those of other men, it is the bounden duty of subjects to prevent his committing them."

This law was in force soon after the time that magna charta was wrested from king John. It asserts as decided a power over the royal will as that eminent recognition of liberty does.

In the kingdom of Arragon, the spirit of liberty was still more emphatic in the 13th century. In 1283, Peter the third, was compelled to grant the law of "general privilege," which goes further than magna charta. It also recites, that the privileges therein spoken of, are,—“The ancient liberties of their country.” The people of this kingdom established the right of maintaining their privileges by force of arms; the recognition of this right was called “The privilege of union.” This privilege was lost at the battle of Epila, in 1348, between the king and his nobles, in which the former triumphed.

A more remarkable fact in the government of Arragon, was the existence of an officer called the *justiza*. How ancient this officer was, is unknown. Hallam says, he cannot be traced further back than 1118. After the privilege of union was abolished, this officer appears to have had an increased power. We have not room to mention all the powers of this officer. It is a most extraordinary and unaccountable fact, that in this benighted period of the world, a power should have been established which has been the boast of free governments in the most enlightened of modern times. The *justiza* had power, not only over persons, but over tribunals, and even over the monarch himself. Peter IV. removed his son John from the regency of Arragon, while Peter was absent. John asserted the ancient right of the heir apparent to that regency, in case of the king's absence. The *justiza* confirmed the right, replaced John, and the king submitted. Afterwards, the same John forbade the *justiza* to pronounce sentence in a certain case, but to come forthwith before the king in council. The *justiza* came, and the king's chancellor began to reason with him on the propriety of suspending sentence. The *justiza* answered, that the case was clear, and sentence had already been pronounced.

The king then expressed himself most angrily; but the justiza calmly replied, that he was responsible to the cortes, not to the king, if he had done wrong. (John was king from 1387 to 1395.)

As liberty, in social life, is a quality which belongs either to very rude society, or is the acquisition of a high degree of civil refinement, it is difficult to account for this degree of liberty among the Gothic Spaniards; much more so, to account for the modes, which they had invented, of preserving it. Sismondi, in his work on the literature of the south of Europe, chap. XXIII., derives this spirit of liberty from the original Gothic character. It is common to stigmatize ignorance and barbarism as *Gothic*; but the Goths of Spain were the least ignorant and barbarous of all who invaded the west. Sismondi even goes so far as to derive from them, the noble self-respect, and the personal dignity, so well known under the name of *Castilian*.

The history of these Gothic kingdoms present remarkable characters, some of whom were of extraordinary merit, and some not excelled by the vicious and the criminal of any age. First, among the worthy of these days, should be placed Don Rodrigo Ruy Diar, count of Rivar, called by the Moors *El mio Cid*, (my lord,) and by his king and countrymen, *Compeador*, (hero without an equal.) This person was born in 1026, and died in 1099. He was called "The model of the heroic virtues;" "The flower of Spanish chivalry." He served Francis I., and Alfonso I., kings of Castile and Leon. His victories over the Moors—his magnanimity under all circumstances—his misfortunes, no less than his grandeur, gave him an extraordinary celebrity. The history of the Cid is the subject of the oldest Castilian poem, composed about the end of the 12th century, (more than 200 years before Chaucer was born.) There are said to be more than an hundred ballads extant in honor of the Cid. Corneille, the father of French tragedy, wrote a play about the year 1636, of which the Cid was the subject. Southey has presented the full history of this eminent person in a work entitled the chronicle of the Cid. Our limits do not permit much further notice of this hero, nor does his life specially connect itself with the events of the present day. But for the benefit of the curious in the history of extraordinary men, it may be remarked, that the private life of the Cid was as interesting as his public life was illustrious. He died at Valencia, and his body was carried to Castile, attended by his widow Exemene. He was buried at the Convent of St. Peter, of Cardena; and there, also, reposes his

widow. History condescends to record, that Babieca, the renowned horse of the Cid, was buried with suitable honors, under the trees before the convent.

The person to be most contrasted with the Cid, in those 500 years, was Peter the Cruel, king of Castile and Leon. He was killed in 1368, at the age of 34. Perhaps this man may be selected as the most cruel and odious of all who are mentioned in history. Yet, it so happened that when Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III., of England, was lord of Guienne, (south of France,) he was induced to aid Peter to recover the throne from which he had been expelled; an exploit which Edward was sorry afterwards to have accomplished. John of Gaunt, one of the sons of Edward the third, of England, married a daughter of Peter the Cruel, and made some pretensions to the crown of Castile in her right.

The kings and the people, in the North of Spain, were fully employed in the period now under review, with the Moors on the one hand, and their interior convulsions on the other. They exhibited, in their Moorish warfare, great courage and perseverance, and in their warfare among themselves, the revengeful cruelty of that age. But the names of agents, the achievements and the sufferings contain no instruction for the present age. About the middle of the fifteenth century we approach persons and events which deserve a special notice.

John II., king of Castile, died in 1454. He had two daughters, Joanna and Isabella, and a son Henry, who succeeded him, by the name of Henry IV. While Henry was alive, Isabella had married (in 1469) Ferdinand, son of John II., king of Arragon. When Isabella's brother Henry died, leaving an infant daughter, Isabella was raised to the throne in preference to her niece, and became queen of Castile in 1474. Isabella did not permit her husband to take the royal authority out of her hands. In 1479, John of Arragon, Ferdinand's father, died, and thereupon Ferdinand became king of Arragon. At this time, the whole of Spain, excepting that part which the Moors still retained, and this was only Granada, along the Mediterranean, had been united with Castile, or with Arragon, so that the union of Ferdinand and Isabella, and their succession to the two crowns made them the joint sovereigns of Spain. But the Castilians were careful, in raising Isabella to the throne, in the place of her niece, to guard against coming under the dominion of Arragon, when her husband, Ferdinand, should have succeeded his father.

In virtue of a compromise, the names of Ferdinand and Isabella were to appear jointly, in all cases where the royal au-

thority was to be expressed, as well as on the coin; Ferdinand being first named, from the superior dignity of the sex; but the arms of Castile were placed first, in acknowledgment of the superior dignity of that kingdom. Isabella retained to herself the appointment of all civil officers in her kingdom; spiritual appointments were made in the name of herself and husband. When the two were together, government was conducted by both, jointly. When they were in different provinces, either exercised the whole authority alone.

It is one of the most remarkable facts in history, that Ferdinand and Isabella continued, so far as records disclose, a perfect unanimity throughout the thirty-five years of their married life. He had his own kingdom of Arragon to manage, and to act with her in the management of Castile. It would seem to be inevitable, that discord would arise almost daily. The case is more remarkable, because Ferdinand is represented to have been ambitious, and quite a stranger to the magnanimous feelings and principles, which constituted the glory of chivalry. That this royal pair moved on so long and so harmoniously is attributed, by historians, to the admirable qualities of Isabella, who had the rare excellence of being able to preserve respect and affection as a wife, while she never sacrificed her rights as a queen. Ferdinand was born in March, 1452, and was married to Isabella when he was seventeen years of age. Isabella was two years older, having been born in 1450.

Although the feudal system does not appear to have been established in Spain, yet here, as in other parts of Europe, the landed estate was held by the great lords, and by the church; and here, as elsewhere, the great lords exercised powers within their own territories, and used force, as to each other, inconsistent with the public peace. There was another cause of public disturbance, in the robberies which occurred, by numerous bands, in various parts of the kingdoms. Some of the nobles were either concerned in these robberies, or gave protection in their castles to those who were. The preference of Isabella to her niece, for queen, had raised some malcontents. When, in 1467, Isabella assumed the sovereignty, her first object was to tranquillize her kingdom. This was done promptly, and, in some cases, with exemplary severity. New disturbances having arisen in 1486, Ferdinand and Isabella revived the *Hermidad*. This was, originally, a brotherhood, formed of inhabitants of cities in Castile and Leon, about 200 years before, for the purpose of controlling the insolence and rapacity of the nobles. Very severe and summary justice overtook delinquents

and offenders under this fraternal association ; and it seemed to the king and queen a suitable instrument for their present purposes. A mounted military force, having with them civil judges, were able to bring the nobles to submission, to prevent the robbery of defenceless villages, and make the highways safe from attack. Internal tranquillity being established, these able sovereigns had leisure to contemplate and effect great purposes, and to connect their names with memorable events.

In 1480, the whole of Spain, excepting the kingdom of Portugal, in the southwest corner of the peninsula, and the kingdom of Granada, along the south-east shore, on the Mediterranean, were under the dominion of Ferdinand and Isabella. The Moors, during a conflict of nearly 800 years, (711—1480) had been driven from the North until Granada only was left to them. 'This territory may have been about 200 miles in length, and 50 in breadth.

It was the most fertile and cultivated part of the whole peninsula. The city of Granada is supposed to have had a population of 200,000, and all other parts were very populous, from the concentration of the Moors. Within this territory were no less than seventy walled towns. A free communication between Granada and Africa permitted a great increase of strength, Ferdinand and Isabella prepared themselves to make a final effort for the recovery of Spain, and the expulsion of the Moors. A war of ten years' duration followed, and, probably, the most bravely and obstinately contested of any that occurred in these eight centuries. The last blow was given on the second of January, 1492, and the whole of Spain had submitted to the joint sovereigns, except the little kingdom of Navarre, in the Pyrenees. Many of the Moors were permitted to remain as subjects, and all who preferred to withdraw into Africa, were aided to depart. The conquest of Granada is a fine subject for the historian and the poet. It raised Spain to be one of the most respected powers in Europe. During the joint lives of Ferdinand and Isabella, its grandeur was continually increasing, partly from the good sense and harmony of these two persons, and partly from fortunate circumstances. The name of *Most Catholic* was conferred on Ferdinand, on his triumph over the Moors, by pope Innocent VIII. and confirmed by Alexander VI., and has ever since been borne by Spanish monarchs. There is "a chronicle of the conquest of Granada, from the manuscript of Fray Antonio Agapida ;" for which the public are indebted to the labors of Washington Irving. We regret

that our limits do not allow extracts from this interesting compilation.

While Ferdinand and Isabella were engaged in the conquest of Granada, Louis XI. of France died, (1484,) having possession of Navarre, which Ferdinand claimed. On the succession of Charles VIII., this was surrendered to Ferdinand, that Charles might not leave an enemy behind him, as he was about to engage in the conquest of Naples. A treaty of peace was made, and Charles proceeded to Italy. But the crafty Ferdinand having perceived that the opportunity had arisen to humble Charles, and possess himself of Naples, sent into Italy an army under the command of Gonsalvez of Cordova, known by the surname of the Great Captain. Louis XII. having succeeded Charles, Ferdinand made a secret treaty with the new French king to divide the kingdom of Naples between them. But, before the end of 1505, Ferdinand had expelled the French and become sole possessor, and was soon after recognized as king of the Two Sicilies. The policy of Ferdinand was one of the causes of the wars which agitated all Europe in the sixteenth century, and is hereafter to be considered.

Ferdinand disinclined to aid Columbus. The aid given by Isabella, on her own authority and power, is so familiarly known that it is unnecessary to enter into details. To those who have yet to learn them it is unnecessary to do more than refer to the fact, and to the admirable history of Washington Irving. Ferdinand alone would not have sustained Columbus. Isabella is that one of the two on whom the enterprise depended. Ambitious and able as she may have been, she was no less bigoted in her religion, and is supposed to have thought much more of the glory of making Christians in the new world, than of extending her dominion over it. The sovereigns of Spain embraced in their views few of the great consequences which arose out of the departure of Columbus from the port of Palos, near the mouth of the Tinto, and sixty miles north-west of Cadiz, on the 3d of August, 1492, on his bold and perilous enterprise. The expulsion of the Moors, the success of Columbus, the prosperity of Spain, and the consideration demanded, and accorded by other nations, placed Ferdinand and Isabella in the most fortunate condition of royal life. The reformation of morals and the enforcement of religious duties, deeply engaged Isabella's attention. She was aided by Francisco Ximenes, (born in 1437, died in 1517,) one of the ablest of men in any age. He was archbishop of To-

ledo and a cardinal, and prime minister of Spain for many years. This person will be again in view in another period of Spanish affairs, and is mentioned now only as the agent of Isabella in establishing a severe discipline over Jews, Moors, and heretics. Ferdinand was equally devoted to the same pursuits. In 1484 he established the Inquisition in his kingdom of Arragon. It was thence extended throughout Spain, and continued in force more than three centuries. No country in Europe has been under an ecclesiastical tyranny more odious and merciless, or more disgraceful to human nature, than Spain. The opinions and feelings of Isabella on the subject of religion, were the fault of the age, and not of herself. With Ferdinand, religion may have been as much a matter of policy as of principle.

With all that great talents, good intentions, and fortunate circumstances could bestow on a sovereign queen, Isabella was one of the most miserable of women. Her son, Don Juan, and her daughter, queen of Portugal, died in her life-time. Her second daughter, Jeanne, (or Joan,) married Philip, son of Maximilian, emperor of Germany. Unfortunately, Philip was not disposed to remain at the Spanish court, nor to take away with him his doating wife. While Isabella was mourning the loss of her son and daughter, the wife of Philip, from grief of her husband's absence, became insane. These afflictions, with some bodily infirmities, brought Isabella to the tomb on the 26th of November, 1504, at the age of fifty-four.

If a reasonable allowance be made for the period of time when Isabella appeared, she would be considered (if of the other sex) one of the most useful kings that ever wore a crown. As to her personal qualities, she is represented to have been well instructed, of commanding figure, attractive countenance, and gracious deportment. As to her talents, historical facts are the best proofs. Isabella and Ferdinand were jointly conquerors of Granada; it was annexed to the kingdom of Castile. In the Chronicle of Agapida, the presence and the agency of Isabella are described. She controlled the nobles without driving them to rebellion. She made it the duty and the interest of the well-disposed part of her subjects to suppress and extirpate the powerful banditti which infested her empire. With more ability, more success, and less commotion than occurred in any other country, she established a regular royal authority on the overthrow of baronial barbarism. The unfortunate Joan was made the heir of Isabella. Ferdinand survived his wife twelve years. It is apparent, from his policy

after her death, that the magnanimity of the joint reign flowed from her, and that she often controlled the cunning and deceitful purposes of her husband.

It is difficult to weigh justly the good and evil which any powerful monarch may have done; more difficult to decide to what degree of commendation he is entitled, and to what degree of reproach to be subjected, for the transactions of his reign. The English, the French, and the Neapolitans called Ferdinand perfidious; the people of the church called him pious; his own countrymen called him prudent and wise. It seems to those who judge of him after so many years, that he was injudicious and cruel in expelling the Jews and Moors because they would not submit to baptism. The numbers expelled amounted to many thousands, and they were among the richest, most intelligent, and useful of his subjects. But, in so judging, one easily overlooks the power of the church at that time. One cannot deny to him praise for the effect of his internal government, if he hesitates to praise him for the means which he used. He controlled the power of the nobles—he reformed and gave force to the laws—he diminished the burthens to which his subjects were liable—corrected clerical abuses, and punished unworthy magistrates.

In his exterior relations, Ferdinand lived at a time when the politics of Europe were governed by intrigues and frauds in a degree never surpassed. But, one writer gives him the eulogy of having held in his own hand the thread of all the intrigues of all the courts of Europe. He used his intelligence well; for, with a force much inferior to that of several other powers, he acquired Sicily, Naples, Oran, and some other places on the coast of Africa, and he extended the Spanish empire over a new world. He is charged, however, with great injustice to the Great Captain, (Gonsalvez,) and also to Columbus. But he has left many examples of clemency and generosity. While Isabella lived, they two together constituted the ablest and the worthiest of all the monarchs of their age; and, after her death, Ferdinand had no equal as an able politician, an exact minister of his own affairs, and as an enlightened reformer. Whatever the Spanish monarchy could claim to be among the powers of Europe, after Isabella's death, it was made to be by Ferdinand.

Though Isabella extorted a promise from her husband, that he would not marry again, he did marry, from policy rather than choice, Germaine de Foix, sister of Louis XII. of France. From causes, stated by historians, his mind and body fell into

decay, and his close of life was sad and melancholy, (25th of January, 1516, aged sixty-four.)

He made his daughter Jane, or Joan, his heiress, and after her, Charles, her son, afterwards Charles V. Thus Spain fell under the dominion of the house of Austria.

The Language and Literature of Spain.—This language is the result of a combination of German and Latin. (Sismondi, vol. ii. p. 104, chap. xxiii.) This was formed during the three centuries between the Gothic conquest of the Romans in Spain and the conquest of the Moors in 711. The Romans remained, and gradually intermingled with their conquerors, and the two were blended into one nation. The Spanish, the Italian, the French, and the Portuguese, which must have had a similar origin, (that is, the combination of the language of the barbarians with the Latin,) had been separated from each other by *speaking*, a long time before they became *written* languages. It is well known that provinces, and counties, and neighborhoods, in our own time, have dialects of their own. Different pronunciation, changes of letters, contractions, greater or less use of vowels, are natural consequences. When the rules of grammar come to be applied, the languages, though of common origin, become dissimilar and distinct. There is one language in the north-east of Spain, *the Basque*, which has no affinity to any northern language, nor to the Latin. Sismondi thinks it may have been of African origin. The Spanish was much influenced by the language of the Moors. Notwithstanding hostility continued through centuries, there was great intercourse between Goths and Moors.

Though Spain abounded in poetical works in the twelfth century, their language was still a rude one. Even the great poem of the Cid, which dates from 1207, is said by Sismondi to be almost absolutely barbarous in its versification and language. Yet, it is a lively and faithful picture of the manners of the age. (Vol. ii. p. 115.)* The early and even the modern literature of Spain, excepting always the immortal work of Cervantes, seems to be very little known beyond the limits in which they were produced, although the dramatic pieces of Spain outnumber those of all other nations. Whether national character is in any, and in what degree, a consequence of language, or language a consequence of national

* In the pages next following, Sismondi has made an analysis of this poem.

qualities, is a question which we do not remember to have seen discussed.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL lies along the western coast of the peninsula, the whole extent, (excepting Galicia in the north-west corner,) and is about four hundred miles in length, and of breadth between one hundred and one hundred and fifty miles. Its southern end bounds on the Atlantic. The whole of this territory was under the dominion of the Moors.

Alfonso VI. of Leon, and the first of that name in Castile, the two kingdoms being under his dominion, reigned from 1067 to 1109.

Henry of Besançon, who was of the royal blood of France, (son of Robert I.,) married a natural daughter of Alfonso, and, in 1095, he received from his father-in-law the government of Portugal from the Minho to the Tagus. Within this territory is Porto, or Oporto, from which the name of the country is derived. It is unsettled, whether Alfonso intended to confer a representative or an absolute power on Henry. It was, or was assumed to be, the latter; and Henry laid the foundation of a separate kingdom. The history of Portugal, from this time till the beginning of the fifteenth century, contains the usual succession of monarchs, a greater proportion of whom were military chiefs, and successful in their wars. These wars were waged either with the Moors or the Castilians. In the former, the territory of Portugal was gradually extended to the south, as the fruit of many severe conflicts.

About the year 1400, John of Gaunt, whose name so often occurs in English history, came to Portugal, in his way to Castile, to assert his claim to the crown of that kingdom, in right of his wife, the daughter of Peter the Cruel. At this time, Joam I. was king of Portugal, and was then at variance with the tenant of the Castilian throne, who was Henry III.

In 1403, Joam married Philippa, the daughter of John of

* It is regretted that a work now in the press, the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella," by William H. Prescott, could not have been read before these pages were put to press.

Gaunt, and had five sons by this marriage, all of whom proved to be persons of eminent worth and high military renown. In 1415, the king and his five sons engaged in an expedition against the Moors in Africa, and possessed himself of Ceuta, the strong fortress and city which is opposite to Gibraltar. This exploit excited the admiration of Europe. This king and his sons are the authors of that spirit of adventure and enterprise, which, in the course of the next hundred years, changed the commercial relations of the whole world, and raised Portugal to be the first of maritime nations.

Meanwhile, the internal history of Portugal is the usual exhibition of human nature, in that age. It discloses a series of odious crimes, and instances of wanton, capricious, cruel exercise of power; but instances, also, in greater number than in any other nation of this time, of magnanimity and virtue. It is foreign to our purpose to enter into any details which have no relation to the present state of the world.

In the reign of Joam II. the Portuguese continued their adventures to the coast of Africa; and between 1482 and 1486, had established a fort at Guinea. These enterprises were carried on under the immediate orders of the king, and not as private adventures. In 1487, Bartholomeo Diaz discovered the southern point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the Cape of Storms; but when king Joam heard that it was a promontory, and might be passed into an eastern ocean, he changed the name, doubtless in contemplation of future discoveries, and gave it the present name, O Cabo de boa Esperanca, or, the Cape of Good Hope. But this enterprising monarch did not live to see his hopes realized. He died in 1495. He left a very respectable reputation as a man and as a sovereign. His vices and follies were much fewer, and less strongly marked, than was usual among the crowned heads of this age.

The commercial grandeur of Portugal was thus begun, and was followed out by Manuel, successor of Joam. Five vessels were entrusted to the command of Vasco de Gama, who doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 20th day of November, 1497. Having passed as far eastwardly as the hither peninsula of India, he returned to Lisbon in September, 1499. The commercial, political, and religious measures of the Portuguese in the East, are to be noticed in sketches of the countries in which they occurred. They would properly belong to Portuguese history, if that were the only one to be considered. In these general views, it is most convenient to notice events in the respective territories in which they took place.

The language of Portugal is of the like origin with that of Spain; but, from causes referred to in noticing the latter, it has become a distinct one, no less than that of Italy. It was not until the sixteenth century, that any work in the Portuguese attracted general notice. The *Lusiad*, by Louis Camoens, first appeared in 1572, and is a work of genius, honored and admired by his countrymen. But its erratic and unfortunate author begged his bread, at the close of his life, and died in an alms-house. The literature of Portugal is examined by Sesmondi in his *Literature of the South*, from page 260, to the end, of vol. iv.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Holland—Belgium—Netherlands.

THE modern kingdom of Holland is bounded on the north and west by the Northern ocean, which separates it from Great Britain; eastwardly by Germany, southwardly by a line which is not marked by any geographical monuments, but settled by agreement, as the boundary between Holland and Belgium. The whole country is lower than the surface of the sea, and is defended from inundation by dikes, kept up at great expense. It was said by Butler, (the author of *Hudibras*,) in allusion to the depth of water required to float ships,—“Holland is a country which draws fifty feet of water.” The name of Holland, according to the historian Anquetil, is from the hollowness of the land, (Hollow Land.) In the history of the Netherlands by Grattan, (chap. iv.) it is said, “The district in which Dordrecht is situated formed an island just raised above the waters, and which was called Holland, or Holtland, which means wooded land, or, according to some, *hollow* land.” It is probable that the name of a particular place was extended to the country, as was the fact with Germany, Italy, and Asia.

The name of Belgium was probably that of a particular part; with the people of which the Romans first came in contact under Julius Cæsar, near the middle of the century before the Christian era. This kingdom is bounded northwardly on Holland, northwestwardly in the Northern ocean, eastwardly by Germany, southwardly by a conventional line, which is the boundary between this kingdom and France. This line

begins on the ocean, a little east of Dunkirk, and runs south-eastwardly to the river Moselle, and stops there, at a point in north latitude, $49^{\circ} 50'$. Holland and Belgium, and the country between the Moselle and the Rhine, have been usually treated of, politically and geographically, as one country, under the name of the Netherlands, or low lands.

The sources of the earliest history of the Netherlands are Cæsar's Commentaries; the elder Pliny's Remarks, who made a campaign in Germany about one hundred years after Cæsar; (Pliny was born in 23, and died in 79.) The works of Tacitus, who wrote about the end of the first century. The accounts of these writers are very general; and the difficulty of assigning the names of places, as used by them, to places now known, is insurmountable. Cæsar is considered the best authority in what he did, and in what he saw; but otherwise, in what he heard of. He describes three sorts of animals of Germany, which never existed there; one of them, an animal that had no joints in its legs, and if by any accident it was prostrated, it had no power to rise.

The Netherlands, when earliest known, were inhabited by several different tribes, who were called by different names. The forest of Ardennes extended westwardly from the Rhine to the Scheldt. Within this forest the Romans found a warlike people, whom they called the Belgæ. There were a people whom Cæsar calls Menapians, who inhabited the country about Antwerp, and thence westwardly to the ocean. Between the Rhine and the Meuse, were the Batavi, from whom the modern name of Batavians is derived. Around the east and north sides of the Zuyder Zee, were the Frisons, as it is supposed, who were neither conquered by the Romans, nor would they consent to become allies. Most of the people found in what is now Belgium, became subjects of the Romans, by force or consent. Many of their males entered the military service, and made excellent soldiers, especially as cavalry. The Menapians are mentioned as being a maritime and trading people in a rude way, dealing in fish and salt. The people of what is now called the kingdom of Holland, are spoken of as devoted to liberty, though dwelling in a wretched condition, in a land, where, (says Pliny,) "when the sea rises, they appear like navigators; when it retires, they seem as though they had been shipwrecked." (Grattan, 16.)

These ancient tribes of Belgium were exterminated, or lost, in the victorious invasion of the Salian Franks, about the middle of the third century. The Franks came from what is now

Westphalia, across the Rhine, and extended their conquests into France. The Frison race in Holland, defended by the nature of their country, and their own bravery, preserved their existence, and their independence.

From the time of the coming of the Franks in 250, to the time of Charlemagne, 800, history occupies itself in the wars of Saxons, Frisons, and Frenchmen; the latter under the names of Merovingians, and Carlovingians. Its details are few and uninteresting to those who have no taste for the field of battle, and the common barbarities of war. The more material facts, are the progress of society. Christianity had been introduced; there were, consequently, churches, monasteries, and ecclesiastical domains, and rich prelates, and all the subordinate classes of priesthood. The lowlands had been diked; the morasses turned into productive fields; very important towns had arisen, and society was divided, as elsewhere in Europe, into great landed proprietors, and dependent serfs or vassals. The abby of Nivelles, (twenty miles south of Brussels,) alone, is said (by Grattan) to have had fourteen thousand families of vassals. The whole of this country was comprised in the empire of Charlemagne; but it deserves to be remembered that the Frisons (who held the country now the northern part of the kingdom of Holland) preserved their social and civil rights in their interior government, though they were the subjects of that monarch.

When France and Germany ceased to be parts of one empire, by the treaty of Verdun, in 843, the kingdom of France extended to the mouth of the Scheldt. The residue of Belgium with Holland, became part of the German empire. The whole territory was held by feudal lords, and the names of counts of Flanders, of Lorraine, of Namur, of Ardenne, and many others, occur in history. The most potent territorial lords were the bishops. In 1018, a count of Friesland is mentioned as engaged in a war with the bishop of Utrecht. It afterwards appears, however, that the Frisons still preserved their independence, as the chronicler Froissart, in the year 1380, remarks of them that they were a most unreasonable people in refusing to submit themselves to great lords. (Grattan, 41.)

In the year 1100, the country called Belgium, from the sea to the Rhine, had taken the common course of all the other states of Europe, in being divided into principalities, dukedoms, counties, and petty sovereignties, the fortunes of which depended on wars, marriages, inheritances, and conquests. In all these respects the history of any one part of Europe is the history, substantially, of all others.

In 1098 began the Holy Wars, and these Belgic nobles took an active part in that delusion. Godfrey de Bouillon, of Lorraine, became king of Jerusalem before the end of the century. Whether from the absence of so many nobles, or from the awakening impulse of the crusades, or whatever other cause, the towns in Belgium, from about this time, advanced rapidly in manufactures and commerce. The wool of England was wrought into the finest cloths in Flanders; and great quantities of linen were made. The Flemmings owned vessels, and carried on a maritime commerce with distant countries as far as the Garonne in France, and to ports in Spain. The land was cultivated, for its products were now wanted. Industry, in various branches, created wealth; wealth required security; security demanded laws; and laws could only be made by those who perceived the utility of them. Equal and just laws are the proper evidence of the knowledge of civil liberty. The people of Flanders had great difficulties to contend with, in maintaining their hold on freedom. Within their territories they had the tyranny of their petty sovereigns; and on their southern border, the French, who were frequently involved in warfare with these sovereigns; and on the east, they had the German emperors, who claimed a sovereignty over all their sovereigns.

The contentions between France and Germany brought the military power of these two countries into conflict in the Netherlands. The knights and gentlemen of Brabant, arranged at that time on the side of the German emperor, suffered severely in the battle of Bouvines, fought between Otho IV. and Philip II., July, 1214. Otho, with one hundred and fifty thousand, was defeated by Philip, who had only fifty thousand. Bouvines is twenty miles south of Namur.

At this time, beginning of the thirteenth century, the Netherlands were settled, as to the principal towns and cities, and geographical names, nearly as that country has since been known. Bruges, the commercial city of the middle ages, is east of Ostend, fifteen miles. Ghent is thirty miles east of Bruges. Antwerp, on the Scheldt, is thirty miles north-east from Ghent; Brussels about the same distance south-east of Ghent, and about the same distance south of Antwerp. These three cities are at the points of a triangle. Namur is thirty-five miles south-east of Brussels. Luxemburgh is eighty miles south-east of Namur. The Moselle is fifteen miles south-east of Luxemburgh, and that river is the boundary of the Netherlands. Brussels is sixty miles north-east from the north-east boundary of France.

Along the coast north-east from the French boundary, was Flanders, to the Scheldt; then Zealand, composed of the islands formed where the great rivers empty; then Holland, between the Ocean, Utrecht, and the Zuyder Zee. Next to France, south-east of Flanders, was the duchy of Hainault; north-east of Hainault was Brabant, extending one hundred and ten miles to the Moselle. Next to France, and south-east of Brabant, was Namur; north-east of Namur, the duchy of Liege. Next to France, and south-east of Namur, was the great duchy of Luxemburgh; and north-east of that, the duchy of Juliers; north-east of that, the duchy of Cleves; north-east of Cleves, was Gelders; north of Gelders, Overysse, lying east of the Zuyder Zee. North of Overysse, was Ommerlande; and Friesland and Groningen occupied the seacoast on the north and west. The territorial subdivisions are too minute to be noticed.

In the two centuries, 1200 to 1400, Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, Utrecht, and Holland, became rich and powerful, through their industry; and had imbibed a spirit of liberty, which distinguished their inhabitants from all others in Europe, except those of the Hanse towns, and some Italian cities, where like effects had been produced from similar causes. The people insisted on having a share in legislation, and in the execution of the laws, and on bearing arms. They often asserted their rights against territorial sovereigns, and sometimes drove them out, or forced them to terms. Men of humble origin often arose as patriots and warriors, and secured to themselves a place in history. James d'Artevelde was one of these, in the years 1330 to 1345. He was called the brewer of Ghent. Whether that was his business, is doubtful. He was enrolled as a mechanic, to make him eligible, it is said, to office; a case very common in the republican cities of Italy. A weaver of Ghent commanded an army in aid of Edward III. in 1348, at the siege of Calais. Louis le Male was hereditary count of Flanders. He had been driven out by the patriotic citizens, who gloriously defeated him and his allies, the French. Philip, the duke of Burgundy, who was the sovereign of Burgundy in France, and son-in-law of Louis le Male, made a compromising peace, and was admitted to the succession of Louis, in 1348, as count of Flanders. The next year, in right of his wife, Philip acquired Brabant.

By a course of events, of which our limits will not permit a detailed account, (though as interesting as any of that period, in Europe) the whole of the Netherlands, except the country

north-east of the Zuyder Zee, was acquired by the dukes of Burgundy. This object was accomplished very near the middle of the fifteenth century. (1443—1467.) The Burgundy family was of royal origin. John, king of France, made his son, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Philip's son, John the Fearless, succeeded him. The son of John was Philip the Good, who little deserved that distinction. This Philip's son was Charles the Rash, (count of Charlerois in his father's life-time,) and his successor in 1467, as duke of Burgundy, and sovereign of the Netherlands, but a feudatory of the king of France, who was, at this time, the cunning and deceitful Louis XI.*

Charles the Rash had a territory little inferior to that of his former friend Louis, now his rival, and soon after, his implacable and malicious foe. Charles desired to be the equal of Louis, and to assume a royal rank. His project was, to rule from the Zuyder Zee, along the Rhine, and to the mouth of the Rhone; that is, from the North sea to the Mediterranean. He began by conquering Lorraine, which adjoined, and was situated south of Luxemburgh, part of his dominions, and having Franche Comtè south of it, part also, of the duke's dominions. Franche Comtè has Switzerland on the south-east. The sovereignty of Switzerland was claimed, at this time, by the duke of Austria, and Charles purchased the duke's claim, which gave no more than a pretension of conquest. Switzerland would be his, when he made it so by force. It is said of Charles that he had read the history of Hannibal, and aspired, like him, to cross the Alps, and perhaps annex Italy to his empire. He approached Switzerland with an army of forty thousand men, or sixty thousand, as accounts differ in this respect. The river Aar runs from the lake Neuchatel, north-east to the Rhine. Charles pursued the valley of the Aar to the southwest end of the lake, and besieged Granson, a strong town, situate near its border. The Swiss, hearing of his approach and purpose, sent ambassadors to him, who said, "You have little to gain with us. The gold on the bits of your bridles, and on the spurs of your knights, is worth more than all our land contains." In February, 1476, the siege of Granson began.

The fate of Charles in assailing Switzerland will be considered in notices of that country. In this place, it is only necessary to say, that he was utterly defeated by the Swiss, at

* The same whom Sir Walter Scott has introduced to so many readers.

Granson. Three months afterwards, Charles appeared with another army of thirty thousand men, and again met the Swiss at Morat, on a lake of the same name, east of the north-east end of lake Neuchatel, and twenty miles west from Berne. Here Charles was again defeated. He had a body of English knights in his army, commanded by the duke of Somerset. All of them were slain. Charles was so chagrined at this second defeat, that he resolved not to shave his beard, nor cut his nails, till he had subdued the Swiss. But his disasters encouraged his new subjects in Lorraine to revolt, and he was called thither to reduce them. In the following winter he fought a battle near the city of Nancy, in Lorraine, (about two hundred miles directly east of Paris,) where he perished miserably, at the age of forty-four. There are different accounts of his death; one is, that his body was found in a half-frozen pool, transfixed by a dart; and that he was known by the length of his beard and nails.

He left an only daughter, named Mary, who inherited his great domains. Mary married the archduke Maximilian, of Austria, who was afterwards emperor. This marriage decided the fortunes of Europe for centuries afterwards. Their son was Philip, who married Jane, the daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain. Their son was Charles V., who was king of Spain, and heir to the Netherlands, under his grandmother Mary. He was afterwards elected emperor of Germany. He was also monarch of no small part of Italy; and thus, excepting France and Switzerland, had an empire little less extensive than that of Charlemagne, seven hundred years before.

The history of the Netherlands from the accession of Charles V., forms an important portion of European history, to be hereafter considered.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FRANCE, FROM 500 TO THE REIGN OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.

IN the beginning of the sixth century, the territory of modern France was thus possessed:—The northern part had been conquered by the Franks, under Clovis; the south-western part, next to Spain, was held by Euric the Great, the Visigoth

king, whose seat of empire was Bordeaux, on the river Garonne; eastwardly of the Rhone, and between that and the Alps, and towards the Rhine was the Burgundian kingdom. Intermixed with all these were the descendants of the ancient Celts, and of that population which the Romans had introduced in the course of the preceding six centuries. From these materials, the present French nation is derived. It is the only country of Europe whose inhabitants claim an unbroken descent from the original barbarian conquerors. France has been held by Frenchmen only, at least since the time of Clovis; that is, no new people have, since that time, conquered and settled in France, except the Normans, under Rollo, in 911, who came from Norway, but who held only one province. The founder of the French kingdom, Clovis, has been before mentioned. He was of the Merovingian race, so called from an ancestor named Merovius. He led the Franks into France from a country somewhere on the east side of the lower Rhine. When he entered France, about the year 485, Syagrius, the last of the Roman provincial governors, maintained the semblance of royal authority at Soissons, sixty miles north-east of Paris. Clovis attacked and conquered this person, who fled south, to the Burgundians. They being threatened by Clovis, surrendered him, and he was put to death. This was the last of Roman authority in Gaul, in the year 486. The next object of Clovis was to attack the Visigoths. The battle of Poitiers or Vouillé, has been mentioned in the notices of Spain; the effect was to extend the French kingdom to the Pyrenees. Clovis had married Clotilda, a niece of the king of Burgundy. By her persuasion and that of her priests, he was induced to think of conversion. While in this state, he fought a battle with the German people called the Alemanni, who dwelt on the east side of the Upper Rhine. Being hard pressed, he vowed that, if he gained the victory, he would acknowledge conversion. A fortunate turn in the conflict qualified him to perform his vow. He and three thousand of his warriors were baptized. But his new religion did not make him a better monarch or a better man. He was only a barbarous chief, and hesitated at no crime, however atrocious, if adapted to his interest, convenience, or caprice. He died in 511, at the age of forty-five, having reigned thirty years, leaving four sons. He made Paris the seat of empire, and it has ever since been the capital of France. The kingdom of France was divided among the four sons of Clovis. In 525, Burgundy was conquered and added to the kingdom.

Throughout the whole of the sixth century, the events in France, of which historians give an account, consist of wars among the members of the same family, contending for sovereignty, with various fortune; and of rebellions, punishments, and terrible crimes, among relatives. Some females make a distinguished figure in this century. It is doubtful what credit is to be given to these accounts. If they are credible, the motives appear to have been such as might govern a depraved female heart. Two females are specially mentioned. Brunehaut, the wife of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, (one of the northern divisions of France,) is said to have been the murderess of ten kings and royal princes, which is only a part of her many crimes. At the same time, lived Fredegonde, wife of Chilperic, king of Soissons, (a north-eastern division of France,) who was distinguished in like manner. To become queen, she caused the removal of the existing queen, and the assassination of her successor. Having become queen herself by marrying Chilperic, she caused Brunehaut's husband to be assassinated. Next, she caused two sons of her husband, by his former wives, to be murdered, and then Chilperic himself. She thus became regent during her own son's minority. Yet she died a natural death, leaving the kingdom in a flourishing condition. Brunehaut, by some accounts, ended her life by having been fastened to the tail of a wild horse and dragged till she was dead. If these are facts, they are the best indications of the real condition of the country.

Very little, however, is known of the state of France at this time. There were no records, except among the priests. No other persons could write or read. Gregory, of Tours, is mentioned as having flourished in this century, (570.) He is called the earliest historian of France. He was a bishop, and contemporary with Fredegonde. He wrote eight books on the virtues and miracles of the saints. This may give some idea of the value of history from the same hand, mostly limited to the events of the French church. Gregory is often quoted by Gibbon, Hallam, and others, and is frequently mentioned by Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws.

It is believed, as Hallam intimates in his History of the Middle Ages, that there is not a fact, nor a person, of such importance as to be mentioned in French history, throughout the whole of the seventh century. It was one continued scene of family wars, contentions, and crimes. All is told in saying that a king of France reigns, and dies a natural death, or in battle, or by violence, and leaves his kingdom divided among

his sons. One of them, by some means, comes to be sole monarch, then dies, and a new division arises, and new contentions, new wars, and like consequences, as in the preceding generation. Intermingled with such scenes, will be found no small portion of oppression, suffering, and misery among the mass of people, and such influence on public and private life as an adroit priesthood could exercise over an ignorant and superstitious community.

In the eighth century, some events occur which deserve notice, because they led to some important changes. In the preceding century, the monarchs of France had become very insignificant persons. A new officer appeared under the name of mayor of the palace, who was, in fact, the real monarch. He commanded the military force, disposed of favors, places, revenues, keeping the king in the interior of the palace to be amused with trifles, and to be of no other public use than to exist, so that the mayors might act in the name of royal authority. This did not long satisfy the mayors. They naturally concluded, that as they had to do the work of kings, they might more conveniently do it in their own name and right. It happened, towards the close of the seventh century, (680,) that Pepin Heristal was the real sovereign of France, in the name of mayor of the palace. He transmitted his power to his son Charles, surnamed Martel, (the hammer,) from his renown in breaking down his foes. In this person's time, a very important event happened in the form of a battle. It is common to say, that if such an event had or had not happened, as the case may be, a very different state of things might have existed. This can, sometimes, be said with much certainty in public and private affairs. If such conjecture be admissible on any occasion, it would be in one event of Charles Martel's life. This requires some introductory remarks.

In the sketches of Spain, the Moors, Arabians, or Saracens, (usually called the Moors in Spanish history,) have been mentioned as the conquerors of that country. They assembled a very numerous army there, and invaded France. They are supposed to have intended to conquer all the west of Europe, and then to move towards the east, expecting that their countrymen, the Saracens, would enter Europe by the way of Constantinople, subduing all the east, until they united with the Moors. In the year 732, the Moorish army and that of Charles Martel met at a place supposed to be fifty miles south of the Loire, and one hundred east of the Atlantic shore, and between the city of Tours and Poitiers. In this battle, the

Moorish chief and three hundred thousand of his army were slain. If the victory had been to them, and France had been subdued, the supposition is, that Mahomedans and their religion might have been established in the west of Europe, and with them the same barbarism which now reigns over the once beautiful and populous regions from the waters that separate Europe and Asia to the confines of China. Charles Martel knew nothing of the consequences of his memorable victory; with him it was only the common question, *which of the two parties was the strongest*. But the friends of civilization and refinement, even of the present day, have cause to be grateful that Charles proved to be the victor. The followers of Mahomet were driven back to Spain, and are no more heard of in the west of Europe, except in that country which they held for some ages afterwards.

In what manner could Charles Martel have assembled, organized, and disciplined a military force in that age, capable of encountering and destroying three hundred thousand persons? If there be a want of accuracy as to the number slain, yet there must have been extraordinary armies, on both sides, for any age of the world. Nothing is known of the numbers who then inhabited France; but this is supposed to have been the fact, that every free male adult was liable to be a soldier, and was held to render military service. The feudal system, known afterwards in Europe, had not then been established; but all tenants of land were held to accompany some superior to the wars. The precise nature of this obligation has been lost in the lapse of time. It is probable that France was held by great landed proprietors, and that the whole population, with few exceptions, were required to arm themselves, and provide their own maintenance, when called to the field. One inducement, and a strong one, may have been the expectation of plunder. It is very certain, that in whatsoever other way these great armies may have been embodied, it was not in *standing* armies, as now practised. The exclusive occupation of a soldier, as now understood, was unknown, unless we consider the nobles, only, as having such occupation.

The power which Charles had acquired in the exercise of the royal authority, though under the name of mayor, enabled him to vest the like power in his son Pepin. At this time, 752, the nominal king of France was Childeric III. Pepin concluded to assume the title, as well as the authority of king, though with the consent "of the nation." Whether the nobles, and bishops, and great landholders are intended by the nation, or

whether it included some other portion of the whole people, is unknown. It is probable that the prelates were active agents in the plan of deposing Childeric, and crowning Pepin. It was effected by an appeal to the pope, who was then Zacharias. He assumed to declare that he who had the power of a king, should also have the title. The insignificant Childeric was conducted from the palace to a convent, and is no more heard of. With him ended the Merovingian race of kings, which had existed 267 years, from Clovis. With Pepin began the Carolingian race, in the year 752.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Reign of the Carolingians—Charlemagne.

CHARLES PEPIN'S reign began in 752, and ended in 768. There is but one event in his reign which had lasting consequences. He was invited by the pope to conduct an army to subdue the Lombards, of the north of Italy, who had become irreverent and troublesome. Pepin subdued them, and made a present of a part of their territories to the pope. The reign of Pepin's son and successor, Charlemagne, (a French termination of the Latin *magnus*, great,) is a brilliant period in the history of France. One of the principal causes of the miseries of France, both before and after the reign of this monarch, was the practice of dividing the dominions of a deceased king, among his sons. The partition was never satisfactory; and if it could have been, jealousies, rivalry, and causes of war were inevitable. Those who should have been the best friends, were ever the bitterest enemies. If they, only, had been the sufferers, there would be less cause for regret; but their warfare necessarily involved all their subjects, on both sides. Pepin divided his kingdom between his sons, Carloman and Charles, in 768. In three years Carloman died, and Charlemagne became sole monarch. He was one of the most remarkable men, and one of the most efficient monarchs known in history. He arose in an age of darkness, and shone with a glorious light over all Europe. He disappeared, and a darker night of ignorance, oppression, tyranny and crime, settled for ages over the Christian world. In the following remarks, on this reign, the work of Hallam, (*Middle Ages*), is taken as an authority,

among others; but especially the historical lectures of professor Guizot, read at Paris, in the year 1829.

Charlemagne will not be found to have been an Alfred, but rather a Napoleon, and, considering the state of the world when he lived, not his inferior. He became sole monarch of his paternal dominions at the age of 29; he reigned 43 years, and died in 814 at the age of 72. The French population was composed of nobles of different ranks; of freemen, of slaves, and of all the various classes of churchmen, from archbishops down to the lowest order of monks. The priesthood held in France, and in all countries in Europe, where Christianity was professed, rich territories and great personal property. Besides this, the few persons who could read and write were of this order. The nobles were rude, ignorant, and fit only for the conflict of arms; and when not so employed were easily allied in parties, against each other, or against the reigning prince. These nobles led to the wars the principal part of the efficient force, which was gathered from the lands over which they were lords. That part of the people who were slaves, were held to the land, and passed with the land, and were its cultivators. Knowledge of mechanical arts, internal commerce, workmanship, devoted to the luxuries of the noble and wealthy, cannot be described with any certainty. The benefits of commerce, with other countries, must have been known in a very limited degree, in that age, if at all. Hunting, gaming, and riotous feasting, must have held a high rank among their pleasures. The thousands who belonged to the church establishments were sustained from their church estates, and by the tributes which the Roman priesthood have always known how to extract from all other classes of society, where ignorance and superstition pass by the name of religion. Such may be the outline of the great community over which this really great man arose, to exercise a royal authority. Among the eminent who have appeared in the last 1000 years, Charles holds an elevated rank. As a man, he will be found to have had striking faults, not to use a more reproachful term; and as a monarch, great and well-used talents, considering the age in which he lived. The character of Charlemagne has been drawn by many different writers, some of whom were eminent—Gibbon, Montesquieu, Hallam, and Guizot, may be considered as among the most so. They concur in those points which are most material. An emperor, who was also an illustrious individual, must be estimated in relation to the age of the world—the power of a monarch over property, liberty, and life—the employments

of his subjects, whether in peace or war—the degree of intellectual and moral cultivation—the influence of a pure or perverted religion—the liabilities of one nation to aggressions from those around them. These are among the elements which necessarily enter into the estimate of character. As an individual, one is to be estimated as worthy or unworthy, according to the use which he made of his power. If he used it merely to gratify himself, regardless of the natural rights of all others; if he used it to secure the welfare of those who were compelled to obey him—if he sometimes appears in the former light, and sometimes in the latter, he is to be estimated accordingly. The delusions incident to princely rank are the usual apologies for errors in thinking too much of one's self, and too little of others. There are persons in the range of history, who were far more worthy than Charlemagne, whether considered as a monarch, or a man, after making every allowance for the circumstances in which he lived. Alfred, of England, and Louis IX., of France, were certainly better rulers, and better men than Charlemagne.

His empire was little less extensive than that over which Napoleon, and those whom he made kings, ruled at the beginning of this century. It included all France, all Germany, and the low countries, to the northern ocean; part of Spain, and nearly all Italy. At this time the nobles of the empire held large domains, and were disposed to combine, and dispute his authority. One motive for his incessant wars may have been to keep these nobles occupied in conquests, that they might have no leisure to conspire against him. The ostensible cause of his barbarous warfare with the Saxons, on his north-eastern frontier, was to force them to embrace Christianity. He carried on his conquests with a cruelty which cannot be screened by apparent motives, nor by the character of his enemies. He forcibly transferred his captives to other countries, and especially to Switzerland and Flanders. No writer apologises for his act in putting to death 4,500 disarmed Saxons, in one day. The destruction of all the sacred objects of the religion of the Saxons cannot be excused on the ground that they were idolators, nor was this the best mode of making them Christians.

This warfare provoked the bitterest resentment, and was continued through many successive years, because the forces ordered into service could only be employed for a certain number of days. When the emperor withdrew for the time, Saxons took advantage of the respite. Before the war with

the Saxons ended, the emperor was called to Italy; and here he was crowned king of Italy, with the iron crown, in 774.* This event followed the extinguishment of the kingdom of Lombardy, in the north of Italy, hereafter to be mentioned. Napoleon placed the iron crown on his own head, in the same place, not unmindful, probably, of what Charlemagne had done. It was a part of Charlemagne's policy to leave the conquered (when he did not prefer to remove or slay them) in possession of their own laws and customs, to prevent rebellion. In 778 we find him in Spain, contending with the Moors. In this expedition fell the famous Roland, (a knight,) at Roncevalles. On his return from Spain, the war with the Saxons was renewed. These are only some of his wars; for, during the 47 years of his reign, with Carloman, or alone, there was but one year in which he did not engage in some war.

On Christmas day, in the year 800, he was crowned at Rome, as emperor of the west, by Leo the third, and was saluted as Cæsar and Augustus, and assumed the ornaments of the ancient Roman emperors. This was considered as a renovation of the empire of the west, which began 405 years before, on the division into east and west, by Arcadius and Honorius. He experienced, both before and after this event, afflictive troubles from his rebellious sons, whom he had raised to the dignity of kings, in different parts of his dominions. One of his sons he forced to become a monk. His son Pepin, and his son Charles, died in his life-time. Louis, only, survived, who succeeded him as sole monarch over his vast empire. He anticipated the dismemberment of his possessions. He knew that efforts to this end, from within and from without, would be made, and might have believed, without overvaluing himself, that a hand less strong than his own, could not hold his empire together. While he was in Italy, he saw the vessels of the Normans, in the Mediterranean. They had found their way thither by passing around Spain. He shed tears on seeing them; and, probably, felt that he saw in them the allies of the revengeful Saxons. In the view so far taken of this person, he appears to have been an ambitious, unrelenting conqueror. The extenuation may be, that he would have been conquered himself if he had not conquered others.

There are other views, in which esteem and respect are due to him. He was fully sensible of the degradation of the world, in consequence of the universal ignorance. He became the

* The crown of Lombardy was an iron ring, believed to have been made, in whole or in part, of nails taken from the holy cross.

friend of learning, and the patron of learned men. He was himself illiterate, until his manhood. Learned men were attracted to his court. Teachers of Latin and mathematics were invited from Italy. He founded schools of theology, and of the liberal sciences in the church establishments.* He acquired several languages himself, and delighted in the society of the learned. Besides reading himself, whenever he had leisure, he had always some one to read to him, while at table, or when otherwise engaged, yet so that he could listen. He attempted to introduce uniformity of weights and measures; and also to connect the Rhine and the Danube, by a canal. He succeeded in neither attempt. He endeavored to reform worship and the music in the churches; in this he was partially successful. He made efforts to promote commerce, and is justly entitled to the praise of having foreseen the civilizing and refining effects of commercial employments. He improved the style of building, and adorned Aix La Chapelle, his usual place of residence, with churches, palaces, and baths. His greatest praise is found in the laws which he made, to promote the agriculture, industry, and welfare of his subjects. These laws are known by the name of capitularies, a word which denotes any literary work composed in chapters.

These were very numerous, and related to a great variety of subjects; and are supposed to have been the suggestions of his own mind. In Guizot's lectures, (vol. ii. p. 261, and seq.) there is an examination of the various subjects of these capitularies. They show that the utmost effort of Charlemagne was made to improve the moral and social condition of his people. They comprise the minutest as well as the most important objects. He assembled in his palace many learned men, and established a school there, in which he was himself a pupil. Among these was Alcuin, an Englishman, and of surprising attainments for that age. He passed many years in the relation of confidant, counsellor, and intellectual prime minister of Charles, and wrote to him many confidential letters. There is an illustrative examination of these letters by Guizot, (vol. 2. p. 367—372.)

This monarch erred in having strengthened the power of the clergy, and in having aided them to establish a dominion, under which Europe groaned for ages, and which brought one of his own successors to the footstool of the pope, as a supplicating penitent. The apology for this error is not piety, for this perhaps was not a governing principle, but to raise up a

* There is a fine anecdote of him in a note to the second volume of Tytler's Universal History, p. 77.

power which would balance the refractory nobles. Kings, as well as nobles, throughout all Europe, afterwards trembled at the maledictions of the pope of Rome. As an individual, Charlemagne was like most other men, a mixed character. Fewer crimes and follies than might have been expected, are charged to him, considering that he was subject to no control. Then, as now, an emperor may do acts without reproach, which would disgrace a private person. He had nine wives in succession, disposing of them merely from caprice; and, in such respects, his example must have warred with his moral precepts. Yet it is said that he was a good father, and exceedingly amiable, and condescending in his deportment.

He despised those indications of grandeur which are common to little minds, and which are, sometimes, the weakness of strong ones. His dress was simple, his repasts frugal. He was a severe economist: it is said that the surplus products of his own lands, and even of his poultry yard, were sold on his own account. Like Alfred, he had a biographer, Eginhard, from whom, probably, it is known, that in person he was large and strong; his head round—his eye large and lively—his countenance serene—his step firm and manly. His ordinary apparel was thus described: A linen shirt, a coat bordered with silk, long covering for the lower limbs, an outside cloak; and always wearing a sword adorned with gold and silver. It strikes one with some surprise, that a person who spent 46 years of his reign in continued and severe warfare, should have found time to do so much, in affairs which were entirely of a different nature. The solution, probably, is, that war was carried on only in a favorable part of the year, and that all the winter seasons were devoted to these other objects. This great man, having died in 814, at the age of 72, his remains were disposed of with a magnificence corresponding with his life. He was buried at Aix La Chapelle,* in a vault, seated on a throne of gold, in the full dress of an emperor. On his head was his crown; in his hand he held a chalice; (communion cup;) on his knees lay the books of the evangelists; by his side lay his sword; at his feet lay his sceptre and shield. The sepulchre was sealed, and over it was raised a triumphal arch, on which was inscribed—"Here lies the body of Charles, the great and orthodox emperor, who gloriously enlarged, and for

* This is now a free and imperial city. It is 22 miles N. E. of Leige; 40 west of Cologne, on the Rhine, and 220 N. E. from Paris. It is between the Rhine and the Meuse. Long. 6, 3 deg. E. Lat. 50, 48 deg. N. It is in a valley surrounded by mountains.

forty-seven years happily governed the empire of the Franks." This may not, perhaps, be deemed extravagant eulogy, when it is considered how easy it is to praise the harmless dead—praise in which friends and foes may, sometimes, cordially unite. This eulogy may be the more just, if that which is said of him by a recent historian be true :—" His greatest praise is that he prevented the total decline of the sciences in the west, and supplied new aliment to their expiring light ; that he considered the improvement of nations as important as their union and subjugation."

It should be taken into view, that in the time of Charlemagne, the press had not been invented, the art of writing had been acquired by very few, and those few were ecclesiastics. The written language of the time was Latin, and that language was known only to the small number who were educated. The laws were in Latin, and could be known only by translations into the several languages spoken within the extensive limits of the empire. Translations were probably oral, and if retained by those who heard them, it could only be by memory. The communications made from the emperor throughout his dominions, must have been by special messengers. The empire was divided into counties, over each of which was appointed a ruler by the name of count.* Over several counties was placed a duke. These officers exercised the powers of sovereignty in the name of the emperor. All of them were military as well as civil officers. To them belonged (or under their supervision) the assessment of taxes, the administration of justice, the embodying of the armed forces, and the internal police. The opportunities to tyrannize were ever present, and the disposition to do so, rarely wanting. From these outlines may be drawn the comparison arising from a free press. The limitation of power by voluntary constitutions—the right of election—popular governments—equal rights—the facility of comparing opinions—learned and righteous judges—open courts—personal freedom—defined modes of punishment, and the absence of all hereditary distinction. It is under such circumstances that the character and conduct of Charlemagne is to be estimated. The emperor of the west, (which included all western Europe,) next after Charlemagne, was his son, Louis le Debonnaire.

* These territorial divisions have the same name with those instituted by Alfred, but the organization by Alfred is thought to have been essentially different, and far more effective.

This surname is said to mean either pious or good-natured. He was a feeble representative of his father. His sons, aided by powerful nobles, rebelled, and caused great affliction to him, and serious troubles in his dominions. These family contentions, though among princes, teach nothing, and are not worthy of examination. This contention, after many battles, appears to have been adjusted, for a time, by a treaty made at Verdun in 843, by which the contending descendants of Louis divided Europe, so far as it was held by Charlemagne, among themselves. This may be considered as the first step towards the separation of France and Germany; but, in 885, a monarch called Charles the Fat, united France and Germany again, under his dominion. From this time to 987, there was a succession of feeble and insignificant monarchs in France, who were not of importance enough to be even named, and who are considered to be of the blood of Charlemagne. The last of them was Louis, who was only nominally king. Hugh Capet was the king, in fact. He assumed the title, on the death of Louis, and is the founder of the Capetian race.

This race has endured nearly a thousand years, though every variety of fortune has been experienced among them which can be known to kings and princes. One respectable authority (the American Encyclopædia) states, that of this family there have been thirty-six kings of France, twenty-two of Portugal, eleven of Naples and Sicily, five of Spain, three of Hungary, three of Navarre, three emperors of Constantinople, seventeen dukes of Burgundy, twelve dukes of Brittany, two of Lorraine, and four of Parma.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE STATE OF FRANCE IN THE YEAR 1000.

THE territory of modern France is bounded north-eastwardly by the kingdom of Belgium, from the North Sea to the river Moselle, and thence, by a continuation of the same south-eastwardly line, by Prussian Bavaria, (which is west of the Rhine,) until it comes to that river. Then bounded east on the Rhine, till it comes near Basle, in Switzerland, where this river turns from a west to a north course. Thence bounding south-eastwardly along the vallies and the mountains

which separate France from Switzerland. Thence the boundary line runs south-eastwardly through the Alpine territories, having Savoy and Italy on the north-east, to Nice, on the Mediterranean. The south line is the Mediterranean Sea, and the south-western, the Pyrenees, which separate France from Spain. On the west side is the Bay of Biscay and part of the Atlantic. On the north-east is the English channel and the Straits of Dover, to Dunkirk, where the kingdom of Belgium begins. France lies between $4^{\circ} 50'$ and $8^{\circ} 15'$ east longitude, and between $42^{\circ} 20'$ and $51^{\circ} 5'$ north latitude. It contains two hundred thousand square miles; its length, from north to south, is about seven hundred miles; its average breadth about five hundred. Taken as a whole, it is one of the finest kingdoms of Europe, having many superior qualities in agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce; and in position, relatively, to other countries.

In the year 1000, it was divided into thirty-three principalities, dukedoms, or provinces, many of which were entirely independent of the crown. Some of them, around Paris, and in the north-eastern part, were the property of the crown, and some of them adjoining these on the north, west, and south, were sovereignties, independent of the king, excepting in the relation of feuds, of which the king was the chief lord. These territorial divisions had become hereditary, by males and females, and passed, by marriages of heiresses, to their husbands. This was not the case with the crown itself, which was never inheritable by females, in France. This was a regulation of very early times, and is known as the *Salic* law.

It is difficult to describe the social and political condition of France at the commencement of the eleventh century. It is said, by the best writers, who have examined all the records which remain, that nothing better than general views can be taken. First, the king had a very limited power, with little ability to enforce even that. Secondly, the great nobles had acquired hereditary rights to their territories, and exercised a sovereign authority within them. They made war on each other, and administered justice as they saw fit. They obeyed or disobeyed the king, in the wars in which he engaged, at their own pleasure. There were various grades of these nobles, dependent on the extent of their dominions. Prelates of the Roman church possessed great landed estates, and sustained the relation of vassals, under the feudal system. The great body of people, who were neither nobles nor of the church, were absolutely slaves, or bound down by feudal regulations and customs

which amounted to slavery. They cultivated the land, and were held to serve in war, and the character of their servitude was more or less oppressive, according to the disposition of their superiors. There are supposed to have been some free proprietors of estates, but it is very uncertain what the number of these was, or what their rights or privileges were. The dominion of the church was extended to all classes of laymen; but the spirit of religion had no effect to restrain the indulgence of the most brutal passions or the most barbarous crimes. It may be presumed that not one person in a thousand, except among the clergy, could write or read. This was no less true of the nobles than of the people in general; even the kings, in some instances, were destitute of all literary instruction.

There are no means of ascertaining the state of the mechanic arts. Whatever this may have been, it was probably limited to the weapons of war and the implements of husbandry, and the wants of domestic life. History has devoted itself to an account of the kings, and of the transactions in which they were engaged; and, in this way, distinguished individuals, among nobles and prelates, are brought to view, and an account of wars is thus obtained; but the real character of society as it existed among all below these high grades, is conjectured rather than known. It would be an unprofitable labor to enter into the personal history of the successive kings of these five centuries. Many of them were so insignificant, that their names would not have survived the generation in which they lived, if the accident of birth had not placed them on a throne. From the brief notice to be taken of these persons, it will be inferred, that human life cannot be more miserable than it was in France during the time we have now to review.

Discouraging as these historical elements may be, we are to find, nevertheless, in these five centuries, the causes of the great changes which have since taken place in the political, social, and religious condition of society. The labor which is now intended, is to search out these causes, and to discern how that power has been exerted, which the Author of our being bestowed to improve and benefit the human race. It will be seen that discoveries and inventions which have proved to be most useful and permanent, were the product of solitary genius or of accident, and that those who have thus benefited the world did not even imagine the consequences of their acts. It will be seen, also, that the efforts of the wisest and most powerful among men, have often led to results of the most

mischievous character. And, again, that some of the ablest conductors of human affairs, who intended nothing but their own aggrandizement, undesignedly introduced important meliorations of society. Such facts humble the pride of man, while they raise his thoughts to the great Disposer of events, who brings forth, in his own time and manner, in the long series of ages, his own beneficent purposes.

Although it is not intended to devote any labor to the personal history of the kings of France during these five centuries, nor to enter into a detail of the wars in which they were engaged, yet it is necessary to state the course of succession. The following table has been prepared as a convenient illustration of the time in which those events happened, which are material to the present purpose.

The principal events in these five centuries are,—1. The gradual extension of the royal dominion, and the depression of the feudal nobility, whereby the nobles became subjects, and the kings absolute monarchs. 2. The struggle for power on the part of the Roman church, and the resistance of the kings of France. 3. The decline of the feudal system, and the nominal abolition of personal slavery. 4. The crusades. 5. The wars of conquest by the English kings against France. 6. The origin and effect of chivalry. 7. The civil wars of France. 8. The revival of learning and of commerce. 9. The distress and misery experienced throughout these ages, from some of the above-mentioned causes, and from others which will come to view in their proper places.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The succession of French kings—Papal power—Truce of God—Hildebrand, Gregory VII.—Crusades.

THE first race of kings in France were called the Merovingians, and reigned from 420 to 752.

The second race was called Carlovingians, and reigned from 752, to 987.

The third race was called Capetians, and reigned from 987, to 1589, when Henry IV. became king.

<i>Hugh Capet</i> was the first of the Capetians	-	987	to	996
<i>Robert</i> , son of former	-	996	"	1031

Married 1. Bertha. 2. Constantia of Provence.

Henry I. (son)	- - - - -	1031 to 1060
Married Anne of Russia.		
Philip I. (son)	crowned at eight years of age;	1060 " 1108
Married and repudiated, Bertha of Holland.		
2. Bertrade of Anjou.		
Louis VI. (son)	the Fat;	1108 " 1137
Married Adelaide of Savoy.		
Louis VII. (son)	- - - - -	1137 " 1180
Married Eleonora of Gayenne. 2. Constance of Castile.		
Philip II. (son)	Augustus	1180 " 1223
Married Isabel of Hainault. 2. Ingerberge of Denmark.		
Louis VIII. (son)	the Lion	1223 " 1226
Married Blanche of Castile.		
Louis IX. (son)	saint; age of twelve years	1226 " 1270
Married Margaret of Provence.		
Philip III. (son)	the Hardy	1270 " 1285
1. Isabel of Arragon. 2. Mary of Brabant.		
Philip IV. (son)	the Fair	1285 " 1314
Married Jane, heiress of Navarre.		
Louis X. (son)	the stubborn, (hutin.)	1314 " 1316
Married Margaret of Burgundy. 2. Clementia of Hungary.		
Philip V.,	brother of former; the Long	1316 " 1322
Married Jane of Burgundy, heiress of Artois.		
Charles IV.,	brother of former	1322 " 1328
Married thrice; no issue.		
Philip VI.,	grandson of Philip III. (<i>branch of</i>	
	<i>Valois.</i>)	1328 " 1350
Married Jane of Burgundy. 2. Blanche of Navarre.		
John,	son of former	1350 " 1364
Married Bonne of Luxemburgh. 2. Jane of Boulogne.		
Charles V.,	the Wise; son of former	1364 " 1380
Married Jane of Bourbon.		
Charles VI.,	son of former	1380 " 1422
Married Isabel of Bavaria.		
Charles VII.,	son of former	1422 " 1461
Married Mary of Anjou.		
Louis XI.,	son of former	1461 " 1483
Married Mary of Scotland. 2. Charlotte of Savoy.		
Charles VIII.,	son of former	1483 " 1498
Married Anne, heiress of Brittany. No issue.		
Louis XII.,	great-grandson of Charles V. (<i>Or-</i>	
	<i>leans.</i>)	1498 " 1515
Married Anne of Brittany. 2. Mary of England.		

The collateral branches of the royal family who appear in French history, are these:—

The house of *Valois*, sprang from Charles of Valois, who was a son of Philip III. He married Margaret of Anjou; 2. Catherine of Courtenay, empress of Constantinople; 3. Matilda of Chatillon; and died in 1325. He was father of Philip VI.

The house of *Alençon*, sprang from Charles, duke of Alençon, brother of Philip VI. Killed in 1346.

The house of *Anjou*, sprang from Louis, duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. Died in 1384.

The house of *Burgundy* sprang from Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who was also brother of Charles V. Died in 1404. John, Sanspeur, (the Fearless) was son of this Philip.

The house of *Orleans*, sprang from Louis, duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. Killed in 1407. His second son was John, duke of *Angouleme*, from whom the house of that name is descended. The famous warrior Dunois was brother of this duke. Died in 1468.

The house of *Bourbon*, descended from a son of saint Louis IX.; in which line is found Henry IV. (in 1600) surnamed the Great, son of Anthony, king of Navarre. He was duke of Bourbon; and, in right of Jane his wife, (heiress,) was king of Navarre.

The house of Burgundy, above mentioned, is not the ancient house of that name; successors of the kings of Burgundy. In 1361, John, king of France, seized the remaining territories of that ancient house, and gave them to his son, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who founded the *second* house of that name, and from whom descended Charles the Rash, already mentioned in sketches of the Netherlands.

The house of *Artois*, sprang from the fifth son of Louis VIII.

All these princely houses, and some others, of less importance, had territories in France, over which they were sovereigns, but owing allegiance to the crown.

Besides these territories, there were, in France, the great ducal territories of Normandy, Brittany, Guienne, and some others, over which the kings of France claimed to be feudal lords.

It will be seen by the table of succession, that Robert, Henry I., and Philip I. occupied the throne of France, during the first of these five centuries. The whole of this period was one unvaried scene of commotion between these kings and the

nobles, or between the nobles themselves. Their wars were excessively barbarous, carrying, in their course, pillage and destruction. It is probable that the universal misery of society suggested to the Roman church to interpose its spiritual authority. Whatever may have been the motive, it is certain, that in this age began that tremendous power which the popes of Rome exercised over the Christian world. The prelates of France united to strengthen and extend this power, to protect themselves and their estates against the rapacity of the French nobles. The strength of this power is seen in the assumption of the pope to excommunicate Robert, for the reason that he had married his cousin, Bertha. Robert is famed for his piety, and for his hymns, and his devotion to the church. But he would not obey this mandate of the pope. He suffered the miseries of an excommunicated person, deprived of all authority and social intercourse; and was regarded during three years, as a contaminated wretch, whom no one could obey, or approach. He then yielded, and repudiated his wife. The power of excommunication was no more than that of all societies to expel unworthy members. In the hands of the popes it rose to a tremendous authority, exercised by no physical force, but a mere verbal denunciation, which separated the victim from all temporal rights, and even denied him burial, if he died under the anathema.

A measure of the same authority, arose at this time, of different and even salutary character, suggested by the belligerent disposition of the nobles, and its consequent miseries. This was called the *truce of God*. It forbade all warfare from sunset on Thursday, until sunrise on Monday. These days were consecrated to peace, because the Savior of the world was crucified on Friday, was in the tomb on Saturday, and rose from the dead on Sunday. It was extended on all days to certain privileged places, as churches, convents, hospitals, church-yards, and at length to clergymen, peasants, in the fields, and all defenceless persons. In the course of the eleventh century this measure was discussed in councils, and gradually introduced in various parts of Europe, having received the sanction of these councils. It is possible that comparison of opinions in these meetings was favorable to that spirit which afterwards manifested itself under the name of *chivalry*, and which tended to meliorate the condition of society, especially in France. It is possible, also, that the perception of the general wretchedness of the times led to furthering the views of the church, in imposing restraints on

the barbarous passions of the nobles. But it was not perceived, that, in furthering these views, a power was conceded to the church, before which all the Christian states of Europe were soon made to tremble. When the effect of this power was afterwards perceived, several monarchs (as we shall have occasion to show) attempted to resist it; but it went on to strengthen itself, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, became sufficiently oppressive to cause its own overthrow.

The civil as well as religious supremacy of the popes of Rome, was the conception of Hildebrand, who directed the councils of several popes before he attained to the papal chair, in the year 1073. The place of this remarkable man's birth is unknown, but he is supposed to have been an Italian. He is known to have been at Rome when a child, and to have gone, in his youth, to France; and to have returned to Rome in 1045. He was taken into favor by Leo IX. From this time till he became pope himself, he is supposed to have had a decisive influence in the affairs of the church. He had three purposes: 1. To submit all ecclesiastical authority to the will of the pope. 2. To make the church entirely independent of all temporal power. 3. To submit all temporal power to the authority of the church. In short, he sought to establish a government in which the pope, as the representative of God, could exercise an absolute dominion in the earth. The conception of this design discloses the genius of the man; and this he sustained with unyielding resolution, and an erudition (as known from his letters) unsurpassed in that age.

It was Hildebrand, under the name of Gregory VII., who interdicted the marriage of priests, to sever them from all family ties, and bind them to the church. He forbade all bishops, and inferior clergy, to receive *investiture*, (or the symbols of clerical authority,) from any temporal prince. He prohibited simony, or the traffic in church offices and holy things, which was universally prevalent. (This term is derived from one Simon, who is mentioned in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.)

The attempts of the church to control the love of war, are supposed to have been so successful, that, in the last half of the eleventh century, some other mode of satisfying the demands for action were required. There were sins enough to be atoned for, and one way of effecting this object was to engage in pilgrimages. Another mode of occupation was to exhibit, in tournaments, a semblance of war. Both these objects tended to bring out the spirit of chivalry. Pilgrimages to Rome

had long been practised. Robert of France was a pilgrim to Rome. During his devotions there, he placed a sealed paper on the altar. A princely gift was expected, but it proved to be only one of his own hymns. Pilgrimages were undertaken about the middle of this century, to the holy land, by thousands. Few survived and returned to recount their disasters, and the cruelties of the infidels, who possessed the site of the holy sepulchre. Among the pilgrims who returned about the year 1094, was Peter the Hermit. He brought a letter to pope Urban II. from the patriarch of Jerusalem, proposing that the Christians of the west should appear in arms in Palestine, and make themselves masters of the Holy Land. The proposal was welcome, and was immediately connected with the great purposes inspired by Gregory VII. As early as 1074, the Greek emperor, Michael, besought Gregory to rouse the Christians of the west to defend those of similar faith against the increasing power of the Turks. All Asia Minor had been conquered, and the Bosphorus only arrested their progress to Constantinople. The far-sighted Gregory perceived, in this event, the means of extending his own power. In that year he sent a circular letter through the Christian states, urging the duty of taking arms against the Saracens. A war against infidels, a war to recover the land where the Saviour of the world was crucified and buried, was necessarily a war of the supreme head of the Christian church. Its effect was a subjugation of the military power of Christian Europe to papal ambition. The zealous Peter exhibited himself in various places, and every where represented, with moving eloquence, the perils and sufferings of devout pilgrims, and the duty of all Christians to arm, and rescue the object of veneration.

When Peter had sufficiently inflamed the zeal of all who heard him, pope Urban II. convened an assembly at Clermont, in France, two hundred and ten miles south from Paris. He attended this assembly, consisting of archbishops, bishops, nitred abbots, and hundreds of inferior clergy, and a great concourse of laymen, comprising princes, nobles, and warriors. Peter addressed this assembly, and prepared the way for the eloquence of the pontiff, who described the reproach which had fallen on the whole Christian world, in permitting the infidels of the East to profane the holy sepulchre. He inveighed against the enormity of preventing the approach of the devout, and the expiation of sins, by rendering there, supplications for pardon. An enthusiasm seized the whole assembly; most of them "assumed the cross," that is, solemnly bound themselves to engage in this holy warfare. (1095.)

This scene discloses the state of the human mind in this age of the world. The persons assembled at Clermont in 1095, were among the best informed in Europe. They were ignorant neither of the distance to Jerusalem, nor of the perils of going there, nor of the dangers which awaited them from the combined forces of the East, if they should surmount the difficulties of the way. They could not carry with them their means of subsistence. From the confines of Germany, the route was through countries uninhabited, or hostile, at least, until they reached Constantinople. Beyond that city were enemies at every step. But they were inspired with the charms of adventure; they were sure of occupation; and occupation and adventure were to be devoted, under the sanction of the head of the church, to religion. Some worldly inducements had their full influence, not unlike those which animated the followers of Mohammed. The badge of the holy war was a red cross worn on the dress, and it soon became infamous not to assume it. These warriors were exempted from prosecution for debt, while in this holy service—from interest on debts, and from all taxes. Vassals were empowered to alien their lands without the consent of their lords. No one was amenable to civil, but only to ecclesiastical courts. All who took the cross, and all that belonged to them, were put under the protection of St. Peter. All sins were remitted, and the gates of heaven thrown open. These facts abundantly prove that the crusades were promoted by the popes to establish their temporal power.

A year was allowed to sell or pledge estates, to furnish means for the expedition. But the zealous Peter could not wait so long. He departed at the head of a multitude of monks and miserable rabble, who had no preparation to make, and who imagined that none was necessary but their own zeal. This numerous collection found their way along the Danube, and passed the Bosphorus at Constantinople. In Asia Minor, disease, famine and the sword put an end to their adventure, and to themselves.

Among the persons who assembled at Clermont were some of the first men of that age. The count of Toulouse, brother of Philip I.; Godfrey of Bouillon, (born in Brabant, Netherlands;) duke of Lorraine; his brothers; Robert, duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; and many others of like eminence. All of them assumed the cross. One reads, with some doubt, even on the credit of respectable historians that in the year 1096, there were assembled in the plains of Bythia, in Asia Minor, one hundred miles east of Constanti-

nople, and about fifty miles south of the Black Sea, one hundred thousand mounted warriors, covered with coats of armor, and six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, and an immense number of monks, women, and children, on their way to Jerusalem. In July, 1099, Jerusalem was taken. Godfrey de Bouillon (or Baldwin) was offered a crown. But this man, who seems to have been alike eminent for his valor and his virtues, answered, that he would not wear a golden crown where his Saviour wore one of thorns. This distinguished person died in July, 1100, at Jerusalem, one year after the capture of that city, and was buried on Mount Calvary. In the celebrated epic poem, Tasso's Jerusalem, this pattern of valor, piety, and princely virtue, is justly honored.

As the dominion of the Roman church and the effect of the crusades will come into view in another place, these subjects are no further pursued in this connexion.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Louis the Fat—Third Estate—Crusades—Louis VII.—Divorce of his Queen, Eleonora—Her Marriage with Henry II. of England—Crusade of Richard and others—Troubadours—Persecution of the Albigenses—Origin of the Inquisition.

THE successor of Philip I. was his son, Louis VI., sur-named the Fat. It is remarkable that history has not given to this king some cognomen more descriptive of his character. He was the first of the Capetians who exercised the royal power with any credit to himself or with any utility to France. The royal dominions, at the time of his accession to the throne, (1108,) were very limited. He could see from his capital (Paris) the castles of his vassals, who were sovereign and independent of him, excepting in the acknowledgment of his feudal lordship. These noble vassals, and the bishops within their territories, were in frequent conflict. Louis took part with the bishops, and succeeded, by force of arms, to reduce the nobles around Paris, and even as far as Amiens, seventy-five miles north of Paris. The like success attended his efforts in the south-west, as far as the city of Orleans, about the same distance from Paris. The incident of a marriage extended the royal dominion still further in the south-west.

The count of Poitiers, who was sovereign of Poitou and of Guienne, (two large provinces on the west coast of France, the latter on the Garonne,) was about to engage in the crusades, and offered his daughter to the son of Louis. The death of the count, within the following year, transferred these provinces to the royal house. In the course of his reign, Louis also annexed the province of Bourbon, and that of Auvergne to his dominions. The former adjoins the latter on the north, and the latter is two hundred miles south of Paris. These acquisitions were very important in enlarging the royal authority, and in diminishing the power of the nobles. South of Auvergne, on the Mediterranean, there were, at this time, several provinces, which were entirely independent. In the north-west, on the Atlantic and the English channel, were the two great adjoining provinces, Brittany and Normandy. The former, held by the duchess of Brittany, acknowledged the feudal vassalage to the king, while Normandy, held by Henry I. of England, claimed to be independent. In the time of Louis and Henry commenced the warfare which was afterwards so ruinous to France.

Louis was a benefactor to his country in acquiring dominion over so many provinces, as he thereby diminished the evils arising from the exercise of sovereignty by the nobles. But this king is entitled to far greater commendation from design, or he was unintentionally the cause, of a great and important change in the social condition of France. At this time there were several large cities and towns within his dominions, to which he granted charters, with various privileges. Among these was the right of self-government by voluntary election. Thus, Louis may be justly regarded as the founder of the *third estate*; or as having been the first to recognize *popular rights*.*

Louis VII. (1137—1180) was unable to follow in the footsteps of his father. He attempted the conquest of Champagne, a province which lies next eastwardly of that of which Paris is the capital, and between that and Lorraine. The ancient city of Troyes is in Champagne. In besieging a castle, Louis set fire to it, and the fire extended to a church in which thirteen hundred men, women, and children were burnt. This melancholy spectacle, together with the urgent solicitations of the pope, influenced the king to assume the cross. He depart-

* Tiers état, or third estate; popular representation in legislative assemblies.

ed on this expedition in 1147, and this is known as the *second* crusade. Another account of Louis's resolve to engage in this crusade is, that it was exacted of him as an atonement for the sacrilege of having burnt the church.

Half a century had elapsed since the first crusade was undertaken by Godfrey de Bouillon and others. The new kingdom of Jerusalem had sustained itself, and had extended its dominions towards the east as far as Edessa. This city was situated about one hundred and fifty miles east from Antioch, (which is at the north-east corner of the Mediterranean,) and nearly four hundred miles north-east from Jerusalem, and a few miles beyond the Euphrates. It was regarded as the bulwark of the Christians, on that part of their kingdom. In the year 1142, this city was taken by the infidels, and their success, in this instance, led to the apprehension that their conquests might extend even to Jerusalem. This event spread consternation in Europe, and pope Eugene III. besought the Christian states of the west to engage in a new crusade. A person, celebrated under the name of the Abbè de Clairvaux, (Bernard,) seconded the zeal of the pope with an eloquence more moving, even, than that of Peter the Hermit.

In 1147, Louis VII. and the emperor of Germany, Conrad III., engaged in this adventure. This was the first example of a crusade undertaken, personally, by crowned heads. Conrad departed first, and took the route of the Danube, and was soon followed by Louis. The former took, for guides, at Constantinople, some Greeks, to conduct them through Asia Minor. At this time, Massoud was sultan of Iconia, so called from his seat of empire at Iconia, a little south of the middle of Asia Minor. These Greeks are supposed to have misled Conrad, intentionally. The sultan attacked and defeated his army. The remnant fell back to join Louis, who, taking another route along the sea-coast, escaped a similar defeat. But, the disasters which he encountered so diminished his force, that he did not attempt to lead his army into Syria. The two armies are said to have amounted to two hundred thousand, comprising the distinguished warriors of that day. Very few of the whole number ever returned; among the few was Conrad. Louis, abandoning the character of a warrior, stole to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, with an hundred followers. Here he remained, inactive, till 1149, ashamed, it is said, to return. It has been before mentioned that he had married the heiress of the count of Poitiers, Eleonora, who accompanied him to the east. This lady makes a conspicuous figure in history. Louis

caused her to be divorced from him, on his return. Two causes are assigned: her disregard of the duties of a wife, and her disgust at the pusillanimity of her husband. Whatever the truth may be, Louis made no provision to retain Poitou and Guienne, which he acquired by her. These provinces returned to her, on the divorce. She immediately married Henry II. of England, and thereby transferred her provinces to the English crown. This event, connected with the possession of Normandy by English monarchs, and some marriages, and consequent claims of heirship, led to bloody conflicts, which trained along through centuries, between England and France.

Louis VII., though his life was prolonged for many years, had no other merit than having preserved, unimpaired, the acquisitions of his father. He died, leaving a son Philip, who became king at the age of fifteen, in 1180.

Philip II., surnamed Augustus, and Richard Cœur de Lion, son of Henry II. of England, were contemporaries. Philip took part in the quarrels which arose between Henry and his undutiful sons. These events are of little importance. His attention was soon attracted to the holy land. New and exciting events had occurred there. Egypt had long been possessed by Mahommedans, who were known as the Fatimites. In 1171, that dynasty was overthrown by the Turks, and the celebrated Saladin (so familiarly known to all readers of the *Talisman*, by Walter Scott) was raised to the dignity of sultan of that country. In 1187 he took Jerusalem. The two aspiring young monarchs, Philip of France and Richard (Cœur de Lion) of England, resolved to devote themselves to the recovery of the holy land. Frederick, surnamed Barbarossa, (red beard,) emperor of Germany, joined in this expedition. The agency of the popes is still seen in promoting the crusades. It was the dying injunction of Gregory VIII., (in 1189,) and repeated by his successor, Clement III., that the holy sepulchre should be rescued from the infidels. The three greatest monarchs of Europe made preparations commensurate with their rank. Europe had not seen, for centuries, so formidable a host, whether in numbers or military accomplishment. This was the age of true chivalry. The emperor departed first, by the way of Constantinople, in 1190. He reached the Cydnus river, which flows by ancient Tarsus, (near the north-east corner of the Mediterranean,) and, having bathed in its cold waters, lost his life, (June 10, 1190.) A small portion of his army reached Palestine, under the command of his son, Frederick.

For the first time, Palestine was approached by sea. Philip and Richard embarked their armies, Philip at Genoa, Richard in the south of France, and both wintered in Sicily, and departed thence in the spring of 1191. Richard conquered the Isle of Cyprus, (near the north-east corner of the Mediterranean,) in his way, which he gave to Guy de Lusignan, with the title of king of Jerusalem. Discord soon arose between the two kings, and Philip returned the same summer to France. But before this event, they had taken St. Jean d'Acre, or Ptolemais, a seaport north of Jerusalem, and south of ancient Tyre. This was the stronghold of the crusaders, and the last which was taken from them, about a century afterwards.

Philip Augustus, having returned in 1191, he devoted the rest of his life, which continued till 1223, to enlarging his territories within the limits of modern France. This he accomplished, partly by force of arms—partly by negotiation, and by means which would be regarded, by moralists, as criminal. The details of these measures are not instructive; it is the result, only, the consolidation and aggrandisement of the monarchy of France, that is material to the present purpose. Those who would be informed as to the details of Philip's operations, will find them in Hallam's thorough research, entitled *History of the Middle Ages*, chapter 1. At the close of Philip's life he had annexed to his dominions, in various modes, Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. The like attempt was made on Poitou and Guienne; but in this Philip was not successful.

We have now to notice some deplorable transactions which occurred in the south of France, during the reign of Philip, in which, however, he did not take a part.

The country called Languedoc, and Province, was situated in the south of France, along the north coast of the Mediterranean, and had, within its limits, several large towns, and opulent cities. Languedoc was bounded west, by Gascony, north, by Querci and Rouergue, parts of Guienne; and near this boundary was the city of *Albi*. Languedoc extended up northwardly, between Rouergue and Auvergne on the west, and the Rhone on the east, to the territory of Lyons. On the east side of the Rhone, and bounding on the Mediterranean, was Provence, and north of it was Dauphinè, and both these provinces were bounded on the east by Alpine mountains, which separate them from Italy. In Languedoc were the cities of Narbonne, Bexiers, Montpellier, the ancient Nismes, (so much adorned in the time of the Romans,) Viviers, and several others, of less importance. In Provence were Arles, Aix, and

Toulon. Between Provence and Dauphinè, on the Rhone, was the small territory of Avignon, having, as its capital, the city of Avignon, often mentioned in history. These regions were the principal scene of the horrible religious persecutions which are presently to be mentioned. They had long been, together with nearly all the southern half of France, but more especially Languedoc and Provence, distinguished as the abode of the *Troubadours*. Down to the end of the twelfth century, when Philip Augustus returned from Palestine, the provinces on the Mediterranean had been independent, and had become populous and rich by the fertility of the soil, and the benefits of commerce. Many of the great and inferior nobles were regularly knighted, and were distinguished as poets and songsters, and as such were called troubadours. This name is rather fancifully derived from the French word *trouver*, (to find.) The language in which their songs were composed acquired, and still retains the name of *provençal*, (from Provence) which has become another name for romance. Their songs were accompanied by the harp. However the origin of chivalry is to be accounted for, it is admitted, that its utmost refinements, in relation to chivalrous warfare and romantic devotion to the sex, are to be traced to the troubadours. [In another place some remarks will be made on chivalry.]

Chivalry, poetry, song, and love, had made the regions of the troubadours, in the south of France, the happiest in the world, since almost all other parts were involved in civil wars and barbarism. This population, (nobles and people,) were blessed with occupation; the former with that which was humanizing and refining; the latter with agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. This comparative felicity had continued throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among the celebrated troubadours, were William IX., count of Poitou, whom Tasso honors under the name of Raymond de St. Gilles, and Richard Cœur de Lion. The latter, as well as Frederick Barbarossa, of Germany, invited troubadour knights to their courts. Assemblies were frequently held, where the knights distinguished themselves by feats in arms, and where the ladies presided, and awarded the well-earned honors to the skilful and valiant. The ladies held "courts of love," in which prizes were contended for in poetry, and the melody of the voice aided by the harp. Every knight was devoted to some one of the fair, whose praises were the burthen of his song. In these courts were discussed questions (in this age of the world, superseded by more serious, though not less in-

teresting pursuits) of this nature :—Is it most afflictive to lose one's lover by battle, or infidelity ? It is not improbable that these romantic scenes were not limited to the imagination. But however removed they may have been from real purity and innocence, they were less injurious, in fact or example, than the desolating crimes which harassed society wherever the spirit of the troubadours was unknown. These beautiful illusions were suddenly overwhelmed by one of the most detestable transactions recorded in history.

The persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses. A discussion of the tenets of these religious sects would be exceedingly dry and uninteresting. Curiosity may be satisfied, on this point, by referring to the last chapter of Hallam's Middle Ages, wherein he discloses the result of his patient research, and the authorities on which he relies. It is sufficient for the present purpose to say, that they differed most essentially from the Roman church, in tenets, and in practice. These heresies, as the church called them, prevailed generally in the south of France, and especially in the district in which the city of *Albi*, before mentioned, is situated. The Waldenses are derived from Peter Waldo, of the city of Lyons, who preached doctrines opposed to the Roman church. He caused a portion of the scriptures to be translated from the Latin into the French. This was about the year 1170. His crime was, that he undertook to live, and to persuade others to live, like the apostles. These heresies were found also in Switzerland, where they had the name of *Vauderie*, which is said, by some, to mean the religion of the vallies. The teachings of Waldo are regarded as among the first dawnings of the reformation.

The lives and the opinions of the troubadours were essentially opposed to the requisitions of the Church. The ignorance, the immoralities, and the covetousness of the clergy, called forth the reproach and the sarcasm of the poets.

At this time, 1208, Innocent III. was the pope; and Raymond, count of Toulouse, was the sovereign of Languedoc. Albi was the principal seat of heresy. Innocent issued his anathemas against the heretics, and sent his legate, Peter, of Castelnau, to command count Raymond to extirpate them. The legate excommunicated Raymond, and openly insulted him in his court. The next day, the legate was assassinated by a gentleman of the count's retinue. This was the spark which kindled a war of desolation, not exceeded by any which has been known among men.

Innocent published a crusade against Raymond and his sub-

jects, and called upon Philip, of France, and the nobility of his kingdom, to take up the cross against them. All the gifts and indulgences usually proposed in religious warfare, were freely offered. Philip would not interfere, but his nobles, and a multitude of knights and ecclesiastics, gladly engaged in the enterprise. Whatever cruelty, skill, strength and superstition can unitedly do, to butcher, desolate, and destroy, signalized this holy war. The victims were peaceable, humane, and innocent; they had offended against no law which was intended to secure the rights of person or property, or to preserve the public tranquillity. But they did not admit the right of the pope to dictate to them what they should believe, nor how they should worship.

The crusaders were led on by Simon de Mountfort, the ancestor of Mountfort, who took so active a part in English affairs, in the time of Henry III. The city of Bexiers was first assailed, and here 15,000, as one account says, and another, 60,000, without discrimination of sex or age, were massacred. It was here that a cistercian monk, who was asked how the catholics should be distinguished from the heretics, exclaimed, *kill them all ! God will know his own !* Mountfort was promised an independent principality as the reward of his pious labors. It would be as useless as painful, to follow out the particulars of this warfare, in which every base passion, which mortals can feel, and every base crime which they can commit, were daily occurrences. There is some satisfaction in the fact, that while Mountfort was besieging Toulouse, he met with some justice for his enormities, in being crushed by a stone which fell from the walls of the city. This war continued 18 years, (1226) without abating, in the least, in the atrocity of its character. In the mean time, (1223,) Philip Augustus had deceased, and his son, Louis VIII., had ascended the throne. Louis VIII. led an army into Languedoc, and the whole country, apparently, submitted to him. But this expedition cost the monarch his life. An epidemic disease prevailed, probably a consequence of the miseries of the war. Louis reached Auvergne, in his way back, and there became a victim of this epidemic.

It is impossible to state the numbers who perished by the sword, by famine, by disease, in dungeons, and by torture. But this beautiful country became a ruin, the troubadours, and their gallant spirit, were crushed, to be known there no more.

After the death of Louis VIII., Raymond, the young count of Toulouse, again embodied an army, to contend for indepen-

dence. For two years he was able to sustain himself; but the zeal of the pope was excited anew, and he commanded another crusade. Raymond, fearing a renewal of former scenes, offered to treat. Two thirds of his dominions were ceded to France. His daughter and heiress was affianced to a brother of the successor of Louis VIII. On failure of heirs of this marriage, the remaining third was to go, also, to France. Thus, in 1229, the whole of the south of France passed to the royal family, and soon became part of the domains of the kingdom.

The Inquisition. In the time of the war against the Albigenses, arose this terrible engine of the Roman church, which existed in different parts of christendom, till very lately; and can hardly be said to be now abolished. Its measures were directed exclusively by the popes. The immediate agents were the merciless monks of the Franciscan and Dominican order, especially the latter. The object was twofold, to command implicit obedience, and to enrich the church with the property of the condemned. Pope Innocent the third has the honor of this invention. The informers were not only unknown to the accused, but rewarded for their zeal. The unfortunate victims were seized, thrown into prison, and made to be their own accusers, by the most insufferable torments. On this evidence lives were taken, either secretly or by public burnings, and property confiscated to the church. Every person was hourly in peril, and at the mercy of open or concealed enemies. The punishable crime was not defined, and no one knew how to defend himself, nor whether his reponses, to his judges, would exculpate or condemn. The law was enacted for the occasion, and was alike applicable to those who had never been of the church, and to those who departed, in the opinion of the tribunal, in the least, from its tyrannical requisitions. It is astonishing that such a power should have been tolerated among men for a single day, but it was tolerated and approved of by temporal rulers, who, in other respects, were commendable persons. Ferdinand and Isabella, whose names are so intimately associated with this western hemisphere, are among those to whom belongs the reproach of having promoted this diabolical institution. Even the good Louis IX., (who is presently to be introduced,) authorized an obscure monk to dispose of the lives of many of his subjects in Paris; though, with all his piety, he did not admit the papal supremacy.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Saint Louis—His first Crusade—His internal Government—His second Crusade—His Death.

Saint Louis, or Louis IX. THIS monarch was the son of Louis VIII., and of Blanche, of Castile. He became king before he was twelve years of age, while under the pupillage of his mother, who was, also, regent of the kingdom. Though the crown of France could not descend to a female, nor be claimed by the son of a female, as heir, yet the two characters of guardian and regent united in Blanche. She proved to be worthy of the trust. Twenty-eight years after his death Louis was duly canonized, or made a saint, according to the ceremonies of the church, whence he is usually called Saint Louis.*

Saint Louis had several brothers who are connected with French history. Robert, count of Artois, Alphonso, count of Poitiers, who married the daughter of Raymond, count of Toulouse; and Charles, count of Anjou, who was king of Naples.

The public acts of Saint Louis, and his character as a monarch and a man, were recorded by his friend and companion, Joinville. From this source most of the historians of France and England, who have treated of Louis, have drawn their information. Very lately, Segur of France, has written a life of him. The concurrent opinion places him far above all the crowned heads of his time. He was sincerely devout; scrupulously honest; inflexibly just; accomplished as a warrior, and unsurpassed in valor. His defects were, that his mother gave him the education of a monk, rather than that of a statesman; he was less eminent for natural strength of mind than for other qualities; his religious devotion was not the principle of Christianity, but of superstition.

* Canonization is one of the most solemn ceremonies of the Roman church. The candidate for this honor undergoes a trial instituted by the pope. An advocate of the devil is appointed to assail the memory of the deceased. The miracles ascribed to his relics are investigated. If these are sufficiently proved, and the advocate loses his cause, as he is always sure to do, the pope pronounces the beatification, and the name of the saint is inserted in the *canon*, or litany of the saints used in the mass. After this, churches and altars may be dedicated in the name of the new saint, and his remains are religiously preserved as holy relics. The first canonization was in 993, the last in 1803.

In the first year of his reign, some of his nobles, supposing a contest with a female and a minor king might prove successful, rebelled, and attempted to recover their sovereignty. They were defeated, and the power of the crown strengthened. By the marriage of the heiress of Raymond with Charles, count of Anjou, Provence, in the south, came to the royal house. In 1244, when Louis was of the age of thirty, he recovered from a dangerous illness, and, in gratitude for this event, he assumed the cross. The affairs of the crusaders in the east were at this time in a deplorable condition, and every effort was made to dissuade Louis from undertaking this perilous adventure. In preparation for his departure, he put an end to the languid war which had been going on between him and Henry III, of England. He offered to restore whatsoever his predecessors had unjustly usurped, and made alliances with all who might disturb his dominions in his absence. He attracted to his standard most of the turbulent nobles. He was even guilty of a pious fraud to increase his numbers. It was the custom, at Christmas, to deliver garments to those who were of the princely retinue, (whence comes the word livery,) and Louis invited many to celebrate mass with him before the dawn of that day, and delivered the customary donation. When day-light came, his company found themselves clothed in vestments which bore the holy cross, which they could not throw off. This superstitious devotion is justly regarded as the weak point of the king's character. But the character of his time is not to be overlooked.

The seat of the sovereign power, which had driven the crusaders from Jerusalem, was Egypt. Thither Louis directed his course, in 1248, with a numerous body of knights, nearly 2,800, and an army, well appointed, of 50,000. Some accounts greatly augment these members. His vessels are said to have been 1800. He debarked at Damietta, near the sea-coast, eastwardly of Alexandria, and about 60 miles north of Cairo. Of this place he made himself master. After many disasters, and principally that of the annual inundation of the Nile, which was followed by pestilence and famine, he approached Massoura, near the present site of modern Cairo. A desperate battle was fought here in 1250. Artois, the king's brother, and many chiefs of his forces were slain. The king was taken prisoner, with all that remained of his army. The conduct of the unfortunate Louis is highly extolled; and he becomes a more interesting character from his magnanimity as a captive, than in his days of prosperity. He redeemed himself by the restoration

of Damietta; and his associates, by a large sum of money. He departed, leaving hostages for the performance of his contract. He went, next, to Acre, and the territories at the east end of the Mediterranean, which the crusaders still held. Here he remained four years, to fortify and strengthen these possessions. The decease of his mother, during this time, obliged him to return. Humbled by his misfortunes, he is said never to have laid aside the emblem of the cross, nor to have participated in any festivity.

From the time of his return, in 1254, till 1270, Louis devoted himself to the improvement of the condition of his kingdom, and to the taking care of his own soul, and the souls of all others whom he could command or influence. It is in the exercise of his civil power, that the beauty of Louis's character is illustrated. He sought to compromise the contentions which arose among the nobles; and to do exact justice to all men. He is represented as sitting under the shade of a tree listening to the complaints of the humblest of his subjects. It is not improbable that he foresaw the tendency of wise measures to strengthen the royal authority. Such tendency they had, as all his subjects learned to look to him as their discriminating and upright judge as well as their sovereign. "Many a time," says Joinville, "I have seen the saint, after hearing mass in the summer season, lay himself at the foot of an oak, in the wood of Vincennes, and make us all sit round him; when those who would, came and spake to him, without the let of any officer; and he would ask aloud if there were any present who had suits, and when they appeared, would bid two of his bailiffs determine their causes upon the spot."

Some acts of Louis distinguish his reign. 1. The establishment of a code of laws, in which he endeavored to abolish judicial combat, or the settling of right by the force of arms. 2. The abolition of private war, by requiring 40 days to elapse between the offence and hostilities. 3. The pragmatic sanction, (a term borrowed from the civil law, signifying a rescript, response, or judgment,) by which the rights of the French church were established. By the first measure he sought to bring controversies into judicial courts, and to have a peaceable investigation by competent judges. By the second, he meant to extirpate the long-continued practice of private vengeance, (which involved whole communities,) by giving time for passion to subside, and for pacification to arise. By the third, he established,—1. That all persons having the right to appoint to clerical offices, should enjoy that right—2. That the

church should exercise freely the rights of election—3. That no pecuniary exaction should be levied by the pope without the consent of the king, and of the national church. These provisions led to violent measures between the popes, and some iuture kings of France.

In 1267, the Christians of the west were shocked by the intelligence, that the Infidels had taken Antioch, and had put 100,000 persons to death. Louis, who was now 56 years of age, forthwith resolved on another crusade. He made the usual preparations, and departed from the south of France in 1170. To the surprise of his followers, instead of going to Palestine or Egypt, he directed his fleet to Tunis, on the northern coast of Africa, the site of ancient Carthage, 1500 miles westward of the Nile. He is supposed to have believed that the sovereign there was inclined to become a Christian. But he found a determined enemy in the Tunisians, and a far more formidable one in the plague. He had three sons with him. They and himself took the infection, and one of his sons, the count of Nevers, soon died. Louis was ill 22 days, during which he displayed the calmness and good sense which never forsook him. Finding his end approaching, he ordered that his body should be laid on a heap of ashes, and he there expired. Charles, of Anjou, brother of the king, made peace with the king of Tunis. Philip, son and successor of Louis, returned through Italy with the mournful trophies of this ill-advised expedition—five coffins, containing the bodies of his father, brother, brother-in-law, wife, and child.

This was the seventh and last crusade.* There remained to the Christians four places on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, Tripoli, Tyre, Berytus, and St. Jean d'Acre, or Ptolemais. These places successively yielded to the power of the Saracens; and, lastly, the latter, in 1291. Thus, the extraordinary fanaticism of the crusades had continued about two centuries, (1096—1291.) It was impoverishing to the west of Europe, and occasioned the sacrifice of millions of lives. So viewed, it was an egregious folly. But, like many other events in the history of the world, the agents who conducted them foresaw none of the consequences. These were developed in future ages, and their effects are among the causes of the present condition of society. In another place there will be occasion to revert to this subject.

* All the crusades have not been mentioned: those which began elsewhere than in France, belong to notices of the country of their origin, or to the history of Rome.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The five Kings, descendants of St. Louis—Internal state of France—Warfare between Philip and Pope Boniface—The papal seat removed to France—Destruction of the order of Knight Templars—Death of Philip.

BETWEEN the death of St. Louis in 1270, and 1328, five kings reigned, who were lineally descended from him. Philip III., his son, called the Hardy, fifteen years; Philip IV., called the Fair, grandson of Louis, twenty-nine years; Louis X., called Hutin, or Stubborn, great-grandson of St. Louis, two years; Philip V. six years; Charles IV. six years; the last two were brothers of Louis X. In 1328, the crown went to the house of Valois.

In these fifty-eight years, the condition of France was exceedingly miserable, from very natural causes. The kings considered themselves as vested with royal authority for their own exclusive benefit, and not for that of the nation. The nobles were ignorant and turbulent, and tyrannical to their inferiors; the clergy were ignorant, rapacious, and profligate; and the mass of the people, whether free or slaves, insufferably oppressed. The mind was undisciplined; the occupations which arise from learning, the arts, and commerce, were little known, and there remained no occupation but to obey the rudest of impulses.

In the reign of the first of these five kings, arose the quarrels between France and Arragon, (in Spain,) which were transferred to Sicily, where, in 1282, occurred the massacre of the French, known as that of the Sicilian vespers, elsewhere to be mentioned. Philip the Fair was able and wicked, and some of his acts had consequences which extended beyond his own time. He was contemporary with Edward I. of England, who married his sister Margaret. He possessed himself of Guienne, then a province of Edward, by a course of fraudulent acts. Philippa, daughter of the count of Flanders, was sought and obtained by Edward, for his son. Philip, desirous of preventing the county of Flanders from passing to the royal house of England, invited the count to permit his daughter to visit the French court, in her way to England. She came, and was detained in prison, and never reached her destination. Flanders was then a fief (or dependent territory) of the French king. The count took arms, was defeated, and made prisoner

himself. All foreign merchants, in France, were seized and imprisoned on the same day, and compelled to release themselves by paying exorbitant sums. The Jews were treated in like manner. His own subjects did not fare better. He debased the coin in the proportion of four to one, and compelled his subjects to surrender their gold and silver, and take pay in the debased coin, as though no alteration in its value had been made. Such acts disclose the standard of princely morals, and also the fact, that the royal authority had become firmly established. The communes, or towns of France, had multiplied, and had become opulent. To subject these to his exactions, he assembled deputies from them, and was able to induce or compel them to the measure of taxing themselves. This is the first instance of the meeting of the commons, as it would be called in England, or the third estate, (*tiers état*,) as it was called in France.

The French church had maintained a certain degree of independence of the pope. Philip exacted a tenth from the church. An appeal was made to Rome. Clement VIII. justified the French prelates in refusing to pay, and sent a legate to remonstrate. Philip had found the lawyers, who had become an important body, useful to him, and he ordered his lawyers to proceed against the legate in the judicial court. He was indicted for heresy, sorcery, and atheism, and put in prison. The pope threatened excommunication. Philip ordered him to be indicted; but, as his process could not reach to Rome, he employed agents there to seize the pope at his country seat. Though rescued, his sufferings and indignities occasioned his death. This was a daring exercise of power, and gave great offence, especially in Italy.* Benedict XI. was elected, and was preparing to thunder the anathemas of the church for the crimes committed against his predecessor, when he was brought to the grave by poison. Whether this was Philip's act is unknown. To provide against papal interference, in future, Philip, by a course of ingenious intrigues and fraudulent contrivances, procured the election of a creature of his own, Bertrand de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux. The election was so obstinately contested as to last nine months, during all which time, (as the usage was,) the electoral conclave of cardinals had remained shut up, and without separating. On the election of Bertrand, the abode of the pontiff was transferred from

* In the history of the church, Boniface, the assault on him, and his death, will be more fully noticed.

Rome to Avignon, on the Rhone, in the south of France, and there continued to be for seventy years.

Several conditions were exacted from Bertrand by Philip, as the price of his election. One of them was the destruction of the order of knight templars, to be fully mentioned in the sketches of the crusades. Philip had two motives: vengeance, because the templars were his personal adversaries, and to obtain their immense riches. This order was constituted in Palestine. Their vocation was (in Palestine) to guard the pilgrims to the sepulchre, and their name was derived from having had a place assigned them to dwell in, near the temple in Jerusalem. The order began in 1119. They took the usual vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, required of clerical orders. Their rules were similar to those of the Benedictine monks. Their numbers increased, and were divided into grades, over which was a grand-master, who was, at length, a high dignitary, and of princely birth, claiming equality with sovereigns. They acknowledged no superior but the pope. They survived the crusades, became very numerous and immensely rich, and spread over most of Europe. "In 1224, they had nine thousand bailiwicks, commanderies, priories, and preceptories, (all of which were landed estates,) which they held independent of the jurisdiction of the sovereigns in whose countries they were situated." They were among the last to leave Palestine, in 1291. They lived in extraordinary luxury, and were considered to be a dangerous combination, especially in France. They were charged with odious crimes, whether justly or not. In the quarrel between Philip and Boniface, they took the part of the pope. In 1306, James Bernard Molay, of Burgundy, was grand-master, and resided at Paris, in the temple. Clement V., whom Philip had made pope, on pretence of consulting for a new crusade, called to Paris sixty of the principal templars. They, many others, and the grand-master himself, were immediately made prisoners, by Philip's order. Accusations followed, comprising every crime that Philip's lawyers could suggest. The king's confessor, the archbishop of Sens, with others, were made inquisitors. The most horrible tortures drew forth confessions. Condemnation and the forfeiture of riches followed. In 1310, the archbishop caused fifty-four to be burnt alive, who denied, to the last, every crime of which they had been accused. It was not until the 13th of March, 1314, that Philip ventured on the execution of the grand-master, Molay. There is a tradition, that Molay, while the flames were kindling around

him, summoned the pope and the king to appear at the judgment-seat of God, within a year. The pope died within forty days, and Philip on the 29th of the following November. The king and the pope divided the spoil. By a bull of the pope, March 2, 1312, the order was abolished.

In other countries, the allegations against the templars were investigated, but they do not appear to have been condemned any where but in France. Works have been published, both in Germany and France, on the character and conduct of this order. At this day it is unsettled, whether any, and if any, which of the many charges against them were well founded.

The conduct of Philip the Fair, however odious in the transactions which have been mentioned, was, in other respects, beneficial to his country. He is considered to have been the founder of the parliamentary representation of the people—to have done essential service in demolishing the burthensome fabric of the feudal system—to have set the example of abolishing servitude—to have established the monarchy on a firm basis. This change, in the then state of France, was clearly a beneficial one, if those who afterwards wore the crown had been worthy of the trust. There could be no better state of things than evils of some sort. He did much to abolish the greatest, the exercise of sovereignty by the nobles. One measure to this end, was the establishment of judicial courts, though he perverted their powers to accomplish his own purposes. But the French nation do not seem to have been qualified to avail themselves of the opportunities which arose, to secure themselves against the abuse of royal authority. Similar abuse in England gradually prepared the way for constitutional liberty. In France, evils accumulated from the time of this monarch, and prepared the way for a terrible convulsion, retarded and avoided, however, till the end of the eighteenth century.

The three sons of Philip, who successively came to the throne, were very inferior men to their father. Some measures, not unlike his, were pursued by them, but they are not of sufficient importance to be noticed. No one of them left an heir who could take the crown. It devolved upon a collateral branch of the family, in 1328.

CHAPTER XXXVL

Philip VI.—Wars of France and England—Commutations in France—Its miserable Condition—Battles between the English and French—Jacquerie—Peace between the two Countries.

PHILIP of Valois, or VI., took the crown to the exclusion of all females, and heirs of females. He was son of a brother of Philip the Fair, and great-grandson of Saint Louis, and the first of seven kings of this race, who reigned in lineal descent from him, through one hundred and sixty years, from 1328 to 1498. The course of succession will be found in the preceding table of kings.

The events of these one hundred and sixty years are often more amusing than instructive, since there is nothing new in them, unless it be in the manner in which power was exercised, and the worst of passions gratified. Historical facts are the wars of France and England, which continued, with little respite, for the first hundred years, and the violent contentions of the nobles (who were related to the royal house) for power, during the minority or incapacity of kings. Facts are also referable to another cause: the internal misery of France from civil commotions and the wretchedness of its lower classes of people; a natural consequence of these wars and contentions. In these hundred years arose that national hostility which is sometimes spoken of as inevitable and inheritable, between France and England.

Among the most formidable pretenders to the throne of France, through female heirship, was Edward III. of England. His mother was Isabel, daughter of Philip the Fair; and if females and their heirs were not excluded by the Salic law, Edward was nearer the throne as son of Philip's daughter, than Philip de Valois, who descended from Philip's brother. These pretensions furnished an excuse for attempting absolute conquest, and this was continued (with the help of other causes of hostility) for a century, as a sort of national business, to be always in view, and always diligently pursued, when not unavoidably interrupted.

The royal authority had been growing stronger in France, and the new king, Philip VI., was adapted and disposed to use it with royal splendor. He may be considered as the first who absorbed, in the attractions of his own court, the nobles

who had held courts of their own, in their respective dominions. The pastimes and the splendor of chivalry were revived. Several foreign princes were visitors, and some of them were residents, in Philip's court. Even the proud Edward III. did not disobey a summons to appear and do homage for his province of Guienne. But these were still times of ignorance and credulity. Robert d'Artois was accused, and believed to be guilty of sorcery, and capable of affecting the health and destroying the life of the king, by torturing a wax figure made in the king's likeness. Robert claimed the county of Artois, and in consequence of a charge of forgery connected with that claim, fled to England, where he was kindly received by Edward, and became his counsellor in the designs which Edward meditated against France.

At this time Philip was in hostility with the Flemings, who had revolted under the lead of a brewer, named Arteveldt. Edward connected himself with them, and took the brewer's advice to call himself king of France. Contentions for the dominion of Brittany also arose between aspirants there, and Edward mingled also in these. Meanwhile Philip's wants forced him upon measures which were odious to his subjects. He assumed the monopoly of salt, and sold it at his own price, requiring of all his subjects to take it to a certain extent. This tax was long known in France, as the *gabelle*. He had recourse, also, to debasing the coin, and thereby wrought the greatest injustice.

In 1345, Edward III. entered France with a powerful army, through Normandy, accompanied by his celebrated son, Edward the Black Prince, then about fifteen years of age. Having spoiled, or laid waste, several towns along the river Seine, in his way towards Paris, he found his supplies deficient, and, in returning, he crossed the Somme below Abbeville, to get into a more plentiful country. At Crecy he was overtaken by the army of Philip, and there, on the 25th day of August, 1346, was fought the battle of Crecy, so fatal to the French. It was on this occasion that the young Edward, in the language of that day, so nobly "won his spurs." In the following year, after a siege of twelve months, Edward took Calais, which the English held until 1558. The siege of Calais is one of the most memorable in history. It was on this occasion that six of the citizens voluntarily doomed themselves to death, to save the residue. A pathetic scene is made out of this fact. It was by the magnanimity of Edward's queen, as some writers suggest, that they were saved from execution.

In Philip's time, (1349,) the large province of Dauphiny, which reaches from Avignon to Lyons on the east side of the Rhone, and extends to the Alps eastwardly, was given to the crown. Its childless donor bestowed it, on condition that the oldest son of the king should be called the dauphin, and be governor of the province. There are editions of the classics in which the publishers commend them by the suggestion, that they were originally prepared for the use of the dauphin. (*In usum delphini.*)

Philip and his son John had become widowers. John was about to marry Blanche, the sister of the king of Navarre, of the age of seventeen. When Blanche arrived, the king became the successful rival of his son. In a year he died, at the age of fifty-seven.

The reign of John, from 1350 to 1364, was an afflictive one to France. Edward the Black Prince had advanced with an army from Guienne, as far as the Loire, intending to pass to Calais. He was compelled to retreat, being met by John with an army four times outnumbering his own, and comprising the most accomplished knights and nobles of France. Edward retreated, and having refused the terms of surrender, one of which was that he should become a prisoner, a battle was fought on the 19th of September, 1356, at Poitiers, about fifty miles south of the Loire, and one hundred east of the west coast of France. This was very near the place where the Moors, and Charles Martel, fought their battle in the year 737. This was another most disastrous conflict to the French. Such is the fortune of battles, that John, instead of making Edward a prisoner, found himself prisoner to Edward. He was carried to England, and was a captive the residue of his life, eight years, though liberated, on parole, for four years. He returned to be a prisoner, either because he was unable to raise the means of ransom, or because his son had escaped from England, and could not be prevailed on to return. He died in London. The chivalrous conduct of Edward, towards his captive, is commended by many historians, in the highest terms.

The government of France devolved, from the time of John's captivity, on the dauphin Charles, fifteen years of age, who was afterwards the fifth king of that name. The distress of the kingdom was greatly increased by the imposition of taxes. Paris, now an important city, and filled with turbulent and seditious inhabitants, openly rebelled, and defied the royal authority. They were instigated by one of the worst men of

that depraved period, Charles, king of Navarre, brother-in-law of the dauphin, by marriage with a daughter of John.

The success of the English, the captivity of John, the feebleness and distraction of the French councils, under the conduct of the young dauphin, were a combination of evils beyond the reach of remedy. These came not alone. Besides the desolation of the country as a necessary consequence of the war, and the scarcity of food, approaching to famine, another evil arose, not limited to the French, but of which they had a full proportion. A pestilence began in the Levant, in 1346, and found its way into Italy. In 1348 it appeared in France and Spain, and next year in Britain. In 1450 it desolated Germany, lasting about five months in each country. In Florence, three out of five died. The effect of war and pestilence on France is described by Petrarch, who was a visitor in Paris in 1360. "I could not believe," says he, "that this was the same country which I had once seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighborhood of Paris manifested, every where, marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets deserted, the roads overgrown with weeds, the whole a vast solitude." (1 vol. Hallam's Middle Ages, p. 44.) *

Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, possessed the county of Evreux in Normandy, by inheritance from his father. An irreconcilable enmity had arisen between him and king John's son Charles. While the king of Navarre resided in his territory in Normandy, he was conveniently situated to foment the seditions in Paris, and to promote the designs of the king of England. He did both. The chief of the turbulent citizens of Paris, was one Marcel, who made himself sufficiently conspicuous to be a subject of historical notice. From his acts, and those of his associates, it is less surprising that the scenes of horror which the close of the last century witnessed, in the same city, should have occurred. Similar causes, five hundred years ago, produced similar atrocities. Charles the Bad affected to feel for the grievances which were complained of, and employed his influence and eloquence to urge on the mob of Paris to outrage and violence. When the dauphin ventured into the city to appease the tumult, his attendants were murdered in his presence. Charles asked Marcel whether he

* The nature of this epidemic has not been described. Whether it was like that which is passing over the world, is not known.

meant to murder his prince. Marcel placed his own cap, (an emblem of party) on Charles's head, and told him that would protect him. Charles the Bad finished his career in a manner consistent with his life and character. Enfeebled by his dissolute habits, he was wrapped in a sheet which had been immersed in brandy. This sheet took fire, and he was burnt alive.

The sedition extended from Paris among the peasants. This class of persons had the common appellation of Jacques bon homme. (Goodman James.) They embodied themselves in great numbers, and murdered, pillaged, and destroyed, in the most savage manner. Three hundred ladies of rank, and the duchess of Orleans among them, took refuge in the town of Meaux, twenty-five miles north-east of Paris. Captal de Buch, a Gascon knight in Edward's service, went to their rescue with a competent force, and slaughtered seven thousand of the insurgents. The like treatment, elsewhere, at length subdued this formidable body. They were known, from the common name above mentioned, as the *Jacquerie*. (1357.) The cause of this insurrection does not appear to have been, that sentiments of rational liberty were entertained by the *Jacquerie*. They were provoked by the insolence and rapacity of the nobles, and by their own complicated sufferings, to take vengeance. But they struggled against a superior power, and their own atrocities brought on them the most vindictive retribution.

In 1358, Edward again entered France, and moved wherever he pleased, unresisted. He marched to Rheims, (the city in which kings were crowned,) in the province of Champagne, seventy-five miles north-east of Paris. He appeared, also, before the latter city, threatened a siege, and offered battle. The want of provisions obliged him to retire. Besides a foreign enemy, the government had incessantly to contend with the most inveterate factions. The experience of Edward, in France, satisfied him that he could not hold that country, though he may be said to have conquered it.

In 1360 peace was made. Edward relinquished his claim to the French crown, and to Normandy. Charles ceded the provinces south of the Loire, on the west coast of France, from that river to the boundaries of Spain; and the sea-coast, in the north-west of France, on the English Channel, from Calais to the river Somme. The disbanded troops of France formed themselves into companies of robbers, and became more terrible than any foreign enemy. De Guescelin, who was the

military hero of the time, embodied these companies, and led them to Spain, to help Henry Transtamare, natural brother of Peter the Cruel, to expel the latter from the throne of Castile. In this adventure, the sword, hardships, and disease, disposed of them. In their way to Spain, this army of robbers passed by Avignon, the residence of the pope. Guescelin demanded of him a large sum of money, as the price of sparing the city from pillage. The pope gave them all absolution. This did not satisfy their wants. The pope levied a tax on the people. Guescelin would not accept this, but demanded that the money should come from the papal treasury. The pope's authority had long been secondary in France, though much otherwise in other countries. In the fourteenth century the church makes a subordinate part in French events. The residence of the pope made him far less powerful than when enthroned in the venerable city.

Charles V. devoted himself to restore peace in his kingdom, and acquired the surname of the Wise. He established the principle that his parliament were not to deliberate, but to ratify his edicts, and formally record them. This ceremony was called holding *a bed of justice*. It is often alluded to in modern times, even in a republic, when legislators are so servile as to legislate according to the will of a popular chief, whom the blunder of suffrage has raised to power. Charles's principal merit was his patronage of learning. His father left him twenty volumes; he added nine hundred, and founded the present library of Paris. This was a great collection of volumes before the art of printing was known. In his private life he is represented to have been exceedingly amiable. A saying is ascribed to him, worthy of any age. It being intimated that his consideration of learned men was indiscreet, he answered, "The clerks, (as the learned were then called,) or wisdom, cannot be too much honored. This kingdom will prosper while wisdom is honored; when wisdom is banished, it will fall to ruin." He died at forty-four. (1380.)

The reign of Charles VI. commenced when he was of the age of twelve, and continued forty-two years; part of the time he was a minor, and most of it insane. During thirty-five years, from 1380 to 1415, France was distracted and miserable from the contentions of the princes of the blood to rule the kingdom. These were the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, uncles of Charles VI., and brothers of the late king; and the duke of Bourbon, who had married the king's sister. In the intrigues and crimes which these contentions produced,

distinguished females, and various partisans, and especially the seditious populace of Paris were involved. The history of these thirty-five years might make an entertaining volume for those who would read of human nature under the dominion of avarice, rivalry, ambition, malice, and revenge—where no sense of religion, no restraint of law were known, and where no limit to action was found, but in the impossibility of doing what was willed to be done. These scenes, and the agents in them, have passed away, leaving no consequences affecting the present age. The historians of France have devoted many pages to these events. The assassination of two of the dukes, Orleans and Burgundy, and the insatiable vengeance which followed these, and similar acts, are the principal subjects of these pages. But the whole is resolved into the details of the struggle for power, and into the opprobrious means resorted to by all the parties.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Renewal of the war—Henry V. in France—Peace—Marriage of Henry V.—His death—Henry VI.—Charles VII.—Maid of Orleans—Recovery of his kingdom by Charles VII.

IN 1415, Henry V. of England had come to the throne. The fame of Edward III., and of his noble and valiant son, the Black Prince, or other motives, induced him to try his fortunes in France. He gathered an army, and was accompanied by the ambitious and gallant nobles of England. He landed on the west coast of France, and preparation was made to meet him. The French court suspended their contentions among themselves, to engage in one much more serious. All the princes of the blood, (except the king, Charles VI., and two dukes, one of them Burgundy,) and the most distinguished noblemen of the kingdom, followed by a numerous army, hurried to crush the audacious Henry. The French numbered, at least, fifty thousand. The English were estimated at fifteen thousand. The adverse parties met at Agincourt, about forty miles nearly south from Calais, on the 25th of October, 1415. If the history of any battle, in all its details, could be admitted into these brief sketches, that of Agincourt would be selected. It may be found sufficiently at length in Hume's 2d vol. p. 423. The French were signally defeated, and the

comparative inferiority of Henry's numbers obliged him to make an uncommon slaughter of his enemies, lest the captives should outnumber their victors. The three battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, are remarkable events in the history of a people who have been eminent for skill and valor in war, in all ages. On the authority of a French historian, the loss of the French was ten thousand killed, of whom nine thousand were knights, or gentlemen. The prisoners nearly as many. The loss of the English only one thousand and six hundred. The duke of Berry, the king's uncle, was present. He had been in the battle of Poitiers, fifty-nine years before. The accounts of this battle vary in numbers.

This battle was a short suspension of the feuds of the French court. Henry was still engaged in pursuing his conquests, when, in 1419, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, was murdered in the presence of the dauphin Charles, (afterwards Charles VII.,) and not without the dauphin's approbation. The Burgundian party immediately offered the French crown to Henry. The treaty of Troyes (a city about ninety miles east-south-east of Paris) was signed, whereby Henry was to marry Catherine, daughter of Charles VI., assume the regency while the king lived, and succeed him, on his decease. This treaty was duly executed. Thus France became subjected to England, and Henry seems to have had power and good sense enough to hold it so, while he lived. But he died in 1422, at the age of thirty-six, and his imbecile father-in-law soon followed him. Henry left an infant of less than a year old, who was king of England under the name of Henry VI., and actually crowned king of France. But this unfortunate child was no less imbecile than his grandfather. If his infirmities were inherited, the proudest achievement of the ambitious Henry was the cause of the most distressing calamities, both to England and to France. The two kingdoms were subjected to the manifold miseries of a long minority, and a discordant regency; and this sort of government had to contend with the most vindictive factions at home, and the most determined hostility in France.

The French soon became sensible of their degradation, and Charles VII., excluded from the throne, retired to the south, and gathered around him the few who were devoted to his support. He established himself at Bourges, in the province of Berry, one hundred and twenty-five miles south of Paris. Here he held his little court, and was called, in derision, "The little king of Bourges." He seems to have been capable of

some heroism ; but the prevailing tendency of his character was to pleasure. He is said to have been roused to an effort to recover his kingdom by his favorite, Agnes Sorelle, whose name, Voltaire, among others, has transmitted to modern times. Agnes appeared before him to bid him adieu, forever, saying, that she was designed for the associate of a king, and was going to find one worthy of herself.* Charles had a difficult task ; he had neither men nor money, and was often distressed for daily subsistence. His opponent was the able and accomplished John, duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V., and regent of France. John was supported by the best military skill and valor of England, as well as by many persons in France, of like distinction. Some cities, however, rather from hatred of the English than any attachment to Charles, still held out. One after another had been subdued. The last of unsubdued cities was Orleans, the ancient capital of France, in the province of the same name, sixty miles south-south-west of Paris. Here that wonderful phenomenon occurred, of the salvation of a kingdom by the agency of a country girl of eighteen years of age, (Hume says twenty,) suddenly transformed into a warrior and hero ; for she wore the apparel, not of her own, but of the other sex.

Joan was born in the village of Domremy, in the province of Lorraine, ten miles from Bar le Duc, one hundred and forty miles east of Paris, and two hundred and twenty north-east from Bourges, where Charles, at this time, was residing. Great diligence has been used to establish the facts concerning this remarkable person. The means of doing this were no less certain as to her, than any other person of that age. She is represented to have been beautiful, of delicate frame, and of singular sensibility. She was accustomed to solitary meditation, and was a religious enthusiast. Her employments were humble ones ; that of taking care of cattle was one of them, not, however, as a servant, as has been said, but as a member of her father's family. She asserted that she had a vision,

* Though this agency of Agnes Sorelle is repeated by successive historians, it is due to that indefatigable critic in history, Hallam, to say, that he has given very good reasons for doubting whether Agnes had any such agency, or even such relation to Charles, as has been so often affirmed. Hallam seems to be of opinion, that if he was under any female influence before Joan of Arc appeared, it was that of his own queen. (Hallam, vol. i. p. 62.) The statement here made, is that of concurrent historians before Hallam wrote. Fortunately, it is now merely a subject of curiosity, who is right.

wherein she was commanded to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct Charles to Rheims, (seventy-five miles north-east of Paris,) to be crowned. When she presented herself, she was twice dismissed, as a person bereft of her senses. Returning a third time, she was sent to Charles, who had removed to Chinon, one hundred miles west of Bourges, and south-west of the city of Tours, February, 1429. She immediately pointed out the king, (though not distinguished from others around him, by dress,) whom she had never seen. She was most thoroughly examined during three weeks, and by some of her own sex.

Satisfied with her claims, Charles confided her to D'Aulon, "the most virtuous man at court," and she was clad in a male dress, and armed from head to foot, and sent with the famous warrior Dunois (called the bastard of Orleans) to the deliverance of the besieged city. She bore "the sacred banner." She carried a sword which had been taken from a certain church, and unknown to have been there till she disclosed the fact. She was several times wounded, but never stained her sword with blood. At sunset, she retired to the society of her own sex, and avoided all of these who were, in her view, exceptionable. An army of ten thousand men, under the command of Saint Severe, Dunois, and La Hire, with Joan among them, forced themselves into Orleans, with supplies, in April, 1429. The earl of Suffolk, and the celebrated general Talbot commanded the English army. Frequent and successful sallies, in which Joan took a part, forced the English from their entrenchments on the 8th of May, in the same year. Several places were taken, at all of which Joan was foremost in the conflict. At the battle of Patay, where the able general Talbot commanded, and where Joan was present, the French were victorious.

The English were in possession of much of the country between this scene of warfare and Rheims; yet Joan successfully conducted Charles to that city, and on the 17th of July, 1429, he was there crowned, Joan performing the duties of constable, and holding the sword over the king's head. The Maid of Orleans now considered her mission closed, and desired to return to her parents, but was induced to continue her services. At the siege of Paris she was wounded. In a sally from Compiègne, forty-five miles north-east of Paris, she was taken by the Burgundian allies of the English, and was afterwards delivered to the duke of Bedford by John, duke of Luxemburgh, for the sum of ten thousand francs. She was accus-

ed, at the instigation of some of her own countrymen, in amity with the English, of sorcery and heresy. She nobly defended herself on trial, alleging that the angel St. Michael was her constant guardian, and that she had heard his voice in her father's garden, at the age of fifteen. She was condemned to death, but her punishment was commuted to imprisonment for life. A new excitement having arisen against her, this sentence was reversed, and on the 24th of May, 1431, she was burned, by a slow fire, at Rouen, seventy miles north-west of Paris. The only shade in the heroism of this wonderful female is, that the terror of condemnation and death are said to have shaken her fortitude, at one time, and to have drawn from her a confession, that the revelations she had pretended, were the work of Satan. But her fortitude returned, and she died with a magnanimity that accorded with the tenor of her life. Herself and family had been ennobled. There exist, in France, several monuments of her. One at Orleans, one at Rouen, and one at Domremy, erected in 1820. Some of these are said to be faithfully characteristic. The house in which she was born is still pointed out.

Charles is reproached for having done nothing to rescue the donor of his crown. The duke of Bedford and the bishop of Winchester are also reproached for having assented to the cruel death of this amiable and patriotic enthusiast. Her achievements have produced several volumes, in French, German, and English, both in poetry and prose. There are also several tragedies, of which Joan is the subject. That which is reputed to be entitled to the highest consideration, is Schiller's (German) tragedy. Joan has also been the subject of some celebrated paintings.

The Maid of Orleans is an historical phenomenon, which no one has assumed to explain. Was she inspired? Was she a mere instrument in the hands of others? Was she a pretender to a divine commission? Did she sincerely believe that she had such commission? The first supposition is inadmissible. The second is highly improbable, for many reasons. She was remote from the scene of warfare, and apparently unknown, before her presentation of herself, to all who were engaged in it. If she had been a selected instrument, there are obvious reasons why this fact should have been afterwards disclosed, and none why it should have been concealed. Her sincerity and the purity of her character negative the third supposition. The fourth remains as the only one which can be adopted. But this is not an explanation of

the effectiveness of her agency. The ignorance and superstition of the age, probably, seconded her object, and may have animated the hopes and strengthened the arm of the French, while the success which accompanied her efforts, dismayed their enemies. But the original design, (undoubtedly her own,) engendered in the mind of an obscure, uneducated peasant girl, of becoming a warrior, and saving her king and country, is the singular fact which remains, as it has ever done, for the wonder of the curious.

The dissensions in England caused the war in France to be feebly pursued. The ally of the English, the powerful duke of Burgundy, had become disgusted with them. Charles VII. was assiduous and successful in gaining him. By the treaty of Arras, (1437,) all the towns north of the Somme were ceded to the duke, and he was discharged from the feudal ceremonies of homage, as a vassal. Unsuccessful attempts were made to establish peace with England. In 1444, a truce was agreed on which continued four years. In this engagement was involved the marriage of Henry VI. of England, son of Henry V., with the celebrated Margaret of Anjou, distinguished in the civil wars of England. She was a descendant of Saint Louis, in the eighth generation from him, and great-grand-daughter of king John's son Louis, to whom Jane, queen of Naples and Sicily, bequeathed her crown in 1380. Her father was Renatus, or Renè, the expelled king of Sicily and Naples, residing in Provence, in France.

The four years' truce enabled Charles VII. to establish order in his kingdom, and prepare himself for future conflicts with his enemies. At this time, the ancient practice of calling on the feudal nobles to attend the king in war, at the head of their vassals, had been, in a great measure, superseded by the presence of armed knights, one of the consequences of chivalry. It was also the practice to employ foreign auxiliaries. A body of six thousand from Scotland, and a body of Swiss, were in the service of Charles. He now thought of creating a standing force, and to dispense with the call on the nobles to supply one. He formed companies, consisting of one hundred, under captains. He also required of the villages to furnish, each one, its most expert archer, and made them subject to his own order, instead of that of their own feudal lords. This innovation offended the nobles; but Charles persevered, and accomplished his object. This was the beginning of *standing armies* in Europe.

In 1449, the truce was allowed to expire; but the conten-

tions of the houses of York and Lancaster had begun, and the English were too much engaged in these to attend to their possessions in France. Within these possessions, the French population were disaffected towards their foreign masters, and desirous of returning to their native allegiance. Charles retook the city of Rouen, and soon after the great province of Normandy was forever lost to the English. In 1450, Guienne was acquired by the French. Bourdeaux and other towns submitted, after the vain ceremony of causing proclamation to be made for the English to come to their relief. The English did send the gallant Talbot, now eighty years of age, to recover Guienne; but he fell in the attempt. In 1453, the only result to the English of so many years of war and misery, was the city of Calais, and a small territory around it.

Charles had now established an absolute dominion in his kingdom. He was the sole depositary of legislative and of executive power. He had seen so much of the turbulence of cities, that he never resided in any one of his own, but preferred some retired castle. He was continually apprehensive of being poisoned by his son, who succeeded him; and, to escape death in this way, he avoided food for so long a time, that when his attendants forced him to take it, the power of digestion was already lost, and he died in July, 1461. Historians have drawn his character; but it is not of sufficient importance to copy their opinions.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XI.

LOUIS XI. is familiarly known to the readers of Sir Walter Scott's novels. He is delineated with fidelity in *Quentin Durward*; for, even the descriptive genius of Sir Walter could not exaggerate the perfidious and tyrannical character of Louis. The historical facts were found in the memoirs of Philip de Comines. The worthiest as well as the worst of French monarchs, had their biographers. Saint Louis has been transmitted by Joinville, and Louis XI. by his constant companion, Comines. This writer was born in Flanders, and served the duke of Burgundy, father of Charles the Rash, but left this service and entered that of Louis in 1472. He had long

known his new master, from his transactions with the Burgundian court. Comines was one of the best informed men of his time, and was employed in many embassies. His account of the persons and scenes of his own times, is received by the best historians, as worthy of entire credit.

Louis disclosed his character at an early period of life, by joining in the cabals against his father, and by living always in enmity with him. It is said, that he could not conceal his joy on hearing of his father's death. His person was as odious as his disposition; his head disproportionately large—his limbs small and ill-shaped. He had an incurable dislike of all who were distinguished from himself by comeliness or manly graces. He preferred the society of the low and the vulgar. He dressed himself in coarse and singular garments. In his cap he carried a leaden image of a Saint, by which he was accustomed to swear; but he considered no oath binding on him, unless he swore by St. Pol. In his last days, at Plessis, his taste took another turn. Whenever he was visible to those whom he chose to receive, he was dressed in robes of silk, of great cost, and made by the most skilful hands; but his biographer thinks his motive was to conceal the emaciation of his person. This had become so meagre, that his appearance was rather that of a dead than a living man. His barber, Oliver, was his most intimate friend, and became his minister, and the servile executor of his master's malignant orders. Oliver caused many to be hung, but, in the next reign, met with the like fate himself.

The reign of Louis was devoted to quarrels with his nobles, with the dukes of Burgundy, with the English, and with the emperor of Germany. His measures raised the civil war, called *the war for the public good*. He drew Edward IV., of England, into France, with an army of 15,000 men; but by bribing Edward's ministers, he escaped their power. The duke of Burgundy also invaded France, and fought with Louis the battle of Monthleri. Peace was made much at the cost of Louis. In another negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, Louis discovered that his minister Balue, the son of a tailor, whom Louis had caused to be made a cardinal, had betrayed his trust. His clerical character saved him from a halter, but he passed fourteen years of his life in an iron cage, in the castle of Loches: his prison was less than eight feet square.

That event of his whole life, which caused the greatest chagrin to Louis, is narrated by Comines, in all its details. The county of Leige, on the Rhine, was within the dominions of

the duke of Burgundy. Louis had favored a revolt there. While this measure was secretly pursued, Louis ventured to visit the duke, at Peronne, on the Somme, 80 miles E. by N. of Paris, confiding in his power to persuade the duke to adopt his views on some points of difference between them. While Louis was at Peronne, the revolt at Leige broke out. The duke made a prisoner of Louis, and kept him three or four days. The result of a negotiation was, that Louis should go with the duke to Leige, and give his personal influence to restore order. This was regarded as a deep humiliation by Louis, who valued himself most, in being more adroit and cunning than any other man. His subjects, on the other hand, took pleasure in his disgrace, and some of them taught their magpies to utter the word Peronne. This was sometimes heard by Louis himself, who ordered the necks of the magpies to be wrung. This duke was Charles the Rash, and the character of this man, and the provocations of Louis, kept them in continual warfare. Many pages of history are devoted to this bitter contention, but its details are foreign to the present object. Louis embroiled himself, also, with his southern neighbor, the king of Arragon.

The death of Charles the Rash, in 1477, opened a new field for the intrigue and ambition of Louis. An opportunity now arose to annex the extensive domains of Burgundy to France, by a marriage of Mary, the heiress, with the Dauphin, though Mary was of full age, and the Dauphin but eight years old. To accomplish this, and to prevent a marriage with any other person, and especially with any French prince, but the Dauphin, was the object of Louis's greatest concern. He even conceived the project of possessing himself of the person of the princess, that he might dispose of her to satisfy himself. It is not improbable that his machinations produced a result which afflicted Europe for centuries, in the union of the princess with Maximilian, the son of the emperor of Germany. This event, so entirely defeating the designs of Louis, produced a war between him and Maximilian. In this war the battle of Guinegate was fought, in which the French met with a severe defeat. The armed force which Charles VII. had established, was abolished by Louis, after this battle, and he substituted a tax, wherewith to pay Swiss auxiliaries. He neutralized the English, in this war, by bestowing pensions on the men who governed their councils. Peace was at length made, one condition of which was, that the Dauphin should marry Margaret, of Austria, Maximilian's daughter. This princess came

to France, and was educated there, in expectation of this union. But the Dauphin, by Louis's contrivance, married Anne, of Brittany, to secure that province to the crown; and Margaret was sent home, as she said, a widow before she had been a wife. By the death of Renè, before mentioned, Louis acquired the county of Anjou, and the duchy of Provence. He also acquired Renè's pretensions to the crown of Naples and Sicily, which proved to be a cause of long-continued and disastrous wars to France.

With all his discomfitures, Louis had effected most of his purposes, and many of them by means which few men but himself would have adopted. The whole of France was one kingdom, under him, Calais, only, excepted. He had humbled and broken down his nobles. He had the pleasure of seeing his rival, though early friend, Charles the Rash, wreck his fortunes against the rocks of Switzerland. He had the gratification of hanging almost every man in France, whom he feared or hated. But his close of life was a scene of retributive justice. He knew he had not, and did not deserve the good will of any mortal. He had not seen his son for many years. He did not permit him to be educated, nor to enjoy the common benefits even of bodily action, nor to be even spoken to, but under his own regulations. Tormented with fears, he shut himself up at a place called Plessis, 35 miles northward from the city of Tours, and 95 S. W. from Paris. This he fortified, and defended, by armed soldiers, by day and by night, with orders to shoot down any one who approached in the night time. Miserable as life was, death was terrible to him. He caused a hermit to be brought to him from the extreme south of Italy, believing that this illiterate man had power to prolong his life. Though exacting the most servile submission from all around him, Louis believed his life to be at the mercy of Jaques Coctier, his physician, and paid him 10,000 crowns a month, besides enduring his insolence. Coctier said to him,—“Some day you will dismiss, or disgrace me; but whenever you do that, you will die within eight days yourself.” Comines, who gives a minute account of these latter days, remarks, that no miseries which he had inflicted on others, equalled those which he endured himself. The 30th of August, 1483, relieved his subjects from the dominion of Louis. Not a single act of beneficence or improvement marks his reign, unless it be the establishment of posts, (for the carriage of letters,) which is said to have been done by him.

His biographer says he was the best informed man of his

time, as to the persons and politics of other countries, as well as precisely acquainted with the character and relations of every man, of any consequence, in his own. His memory was most uncommon, as he depended on that only for the preservation of his knowledge. These characteristics of the ablest man of that time are described, not as being those of king Louis, who, merely as such, little deserves to be remembered; but for the reason that they enable one to estimate the age in which he lived. Ignorance, superstition, and crime, mark these times. One curious fact, as illustrative of the two former, is, that crowds of persons came to Louis to be *touched* by him as a cure of scrophulous disease. To qualify a king for this creative process, it was necessary that he should purify himself, by the confession of his sins. Comines says, that Louis made his confessions every week, and when the king of terrors laid his hand on him, he had confessed so often, that he had little to add. As no king of France, since Charlemagne, (814,) had lived longer than 60 years, Louis applied this common duration to himself, and lived in constant terror of its completion. He exceeded it by about one year.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Charles VIII.—Louis XII.

CHARLES VIII. was 15 years of age when his father Louis died; his character is strongly contrasted with that of his predecessor. His person was diminutive, his understanding feeble; but Comines, (who is this king's biographer, also,) says, "a better creature was not to be seen." The regency devolved (not without great opposition from the heir apparent, the duke of Orleans,) on the wife of the lord of Beaujeu, who was Anne, daughter of Louis, who had so ordered in disposing of his kingdom. Beaujeu was of the house of Bourbon.

The short reign of Charles, 1483—1498, has a two-fold relation; first, to the internal affairs of France; secondly, to the new enterprises which began with him, the wars of the French in Italy. The first subject will be noticed here. The second, involving manifold misfortunes to France, Germany, Italy, and Sicily, and which continued through centuries, will more conveniently come into view in treating of Italy, the scene of action.

The contentions between the lady Beaujeu and the duke of Orleans, for the regency, occasioned an assembly of what is called for the first time, the *states general*. No such assembly was held by Louis. It was composed of the nobles, of the clergy, and of the *third estate*, that is, the delegates from towns and cities. They are supposed to have met, each order, in its separate chamber. The state of the kingdom is to be inferred from the acts of this assembly. It appears that the *great nobles* had lost their personal sovereignty, and that it had merged in the crown. Their indemnity was a share in the royal sovereignty, by the enjoyment of offices and pensions. Charles VII. must be considered the founder of this change, as the exigences of his time enabled him to impose direct taxation, and raise a revenue independently of the nobles. This, the nobles submitted to, as they were not taxed themselves. Louis XI. abolished the mode of raising a military force, established by his father, but not his system of taxation. He renewed the feudal claim to military service. The *nobles* now insisted on the continued exemption from taxes, and on freedom from military service, at the head of their vassals. The *clergy* sought a confirmation of the privileges of the French church, and an exemption from some burthens which were still asserted by the pope. The *third estate* joined in these remonstrances of the clergy. They demanded to be freed from arbitrary taxation, and expressed a willingness to substitute grants of supplies. This assembly was broken up without coming to any conclusions, by the firmness of the lady Beaujeu, who remained with the authority of regent. A civil war, of short duration, ensued. In this war the province of Brittany took an active part, and the disposal of the hand of its heiress, Anne, became involved in the contention. The result was, that Margaret, of Austria, who had been affianced by Louis to Charles, and who was actually in France, awaiting her wedding day, was sent home, and Anne was married to Charles. This Anne, of Brittany, is a flower in the desert. She was beautiful, intelligent, virtuous, affectionate, and much revered, though she had the defect of limping in her gait. Her mourning for the loss of her children was so touching as to be a subject of historical remark.

In 1494, and the following year, Charles was absent from France fourteen months, on his adventurous expedition to Naples, to be elsewhere noticed. He was engaged in this costly and ruinous warfare the remainder of his days, but not personally present. No event occurred in France material to be

noticed. Charles was disposed to magnificence, especially in building. His place of abode was at Amboise, near the confluence of the Loire and Masse, 12 miles east of the city of Tours, and 118 S. by W. from Paris. Comines gives an account of his accidental death, and of the splendor of his funeral ceremonies. He was conducting Anne, his queen, from her apartments, through a long, low passage-way, to a place where the gentlemen of the court were engaged in a game of ball. Though Charles was very short, his head came in contact with the wall of the passage, and occasioned an injury of which he soon died, at the age of twenty-six, leaving no child. He was the seventh, and the last, of the kings of the house of Valois, in direct lineal descent. The order of succession through the oldest son of the royal princes, had been long settled. [1498.]

The crown now came to a prince of the house of Orleans, Louis XII. This was one of five royal branches which arose from the house of Valois, viz: Alençon, Anjou, Burgundy, Orleans, and Angoulême, some of which were ancient titles renewed. Louis XII. was grandson of the duke of Orleans, who was murdered in 1407—who was brother of Charles VI.—who was the fourth king of the house of Valois. Louis was, in person and character, in all respects different from his predecessor. He was of fine form, and highly accomplished in the strength and graces of knighthood. In early days he had many contentions, and had acquired warm friends, and had made bitter enemies. He had now the power of avenging himself on the latter. A fine sentiment is ascribed to him:—“The king of France must not remember the injuries done to the duke of Orleans.” He had been a lover of Anne before she married Charles, and generously gave place to him. He had now an opportunity of conferring the honor of sharing his crown—a measure of policy as well as affection. He was the first king who established the office of prime minister; which he filled by the appointment of the cardinal of Amboise. The whole of the remainder of his life was devoted to a ruinous warfare for dominion in Italy. By this he was involved with Maximilian, of Germany, popes Alexander VI., Julius II., and Ferdinand of Spain, as well as with the republics in the north of Italy. Successive disasters and disappointments mark the course of the French enterprises. These will come into view more properly in notices of Italy.

An important change was wrought, at this time, by the queen. She assembled in her court, the distinguished females of the royal and noble blood, and gave the first impulse to that

dominion of her sex, so long cultivated and cherished in France. However much this was afterwards perverted and corrupted, and mischievous as it may have been since Anne's time, in the politics of France, under her guidance, it was full of benefits. It was the fountain of the grace and polish which eminently distinguished France for centuries.

Notwithstanding the expensive wars of Louis, he is not charged with over burthening his subjects. He had recourse to sales of the crown lands, to replenish his treasury. The states-general were often assembled in his time. They made no progress in establishing their own power, and limiting that of the crown, as Louis gave them very few occasions to complain. He was the most popular of the kings of France, since the days of saint Louis, and acquired the surname of *Father of his people*. Historians dispute on his pretensions and true character. In this, it is useless to follow them. The kingdom was in such condition at this time, that it might have moved onwards to constitutional freedom; or to absolute despotism. The latter was its destiny. Louis lost the excellent Anne, and married Mary, the sister of Henry VII., of England, having numbered three times her number of years. But within a year he died, (Jan. 1, 1515,) at the age of 55, following the rule of dying before sixty. He appears to have been most sincerely mourned by his subjects, which is his best eulogy.

Louis left no son, and the crown went to Francis I. He was grandson of the duke of Angouleme, who was brother of the father of Louis XII. This reign belongs to the third and last survey, intended to include the three last centuries.

Language. To this time, (1500,) and long after, the language used in courts of justice, in the cabinet, or public documents, in the church, and in treatises, was the Latin. The spoken language had been of two descriptions. The langue d'oc, or provençal, spoken in the south; and the langue d'oïl, or d'oïl, spoken north of the Loire. There are relics of the former, in the south, to the present time; but the latter is the basis of the modern French. It is a compound of Teutonic, Frankish, Gothic, and Roman words or sounds, blended by long use. There are many conjectures as to formation, and as to the singularity of having letters in use in singing, and orthography, which are not articulated in conversation. One conjecture is, that vowels were substituted for some Roman terminations, and afterwards entirely dropped, in speaking. This subject is discussed by Sismondi, in his first volume of the literature of the south, and also by Hallam, at the conclusion of his

work on the Middle Ages. It is not doubted that the French had been gradually forming throughout five centuries, at least, before it was a written language. It was not until 1635 that it took its present form, under the authority of the French academy.

CHAPTER XL

Northern and North-eastern Europe.

No historical instruction could be drawn from the incessant and bloody revolutions from 1000, to 1500, which occurred in these vast territories. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were geographically known in 1500, as they now are. Eastwardly of the Baltic sea, and south-eastwardly from the gulf of Finland to the Black sea, was a territory as large as France and the German empire, called the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, now constituting a part of the Russian dominions. Eastwardly of Lithuania were hordes of barbarians. At this time, Poland had risen to the rank of a kingdom, within nearly the same limits as known in 1800. On the south side of the Baltic, and between that sea and Poland, was a territory which the Teutonic order of knights (to be mentioned in the account of the crusades) had conquered, and possessed in sovereignty. West of this territory, and North of Bohemia, and extending to the Baltic, was the Margrivate of Brandenburg, now part of the kingdom of Prussia. The kingdom of Bohemia has not altered in its geographical limits since 1500. It was then, as now, bounded westwardly on Germany, having the duchy of Austria on the south, which extended to the Adriatic. East of this duchy, and south-east of Bohemia, was the great kingdom of Hungary, extending nearly to the Black sea; and south of this kingdom was the Ottoman, or Turkish empire, established in Europe, in the middle of the fifteenth century. Hungary was north of the Danube. The duchy of Austria, and part of Hungary, are now within the Austrian dominions.

Poland, Hungary, and even Lithuania, had been so far civilized, and Christianized, in the fifteenth century, that instances of intermarriage had occurred between the reigning families of these countries, and those of the west of Europe. Both the

Roman church and the Greek church of Constantinople, had made efforts to introduce Christianity among the people of these territories. The Roman church presented its faith at the point of the sword, by authorizing crusades against infidels. Some of the warfare thus engaged in, has small claims to be considered as Christian. No such policy is chargeable on the Greek church. It was through the peaceable missionaries of this church, that the Russians not only became Christians, but received the written characters of the Greek alphabet, which are still in use among them, though much modified by time and improvement.

These extensive countries of the north and east of Europe, differed very little from Germany, in the tenure of property, in public policy, or in the different orders of society. There were territorial sovereigns, classes of nobles, freed-men, and slaves. The latter class were, comparatively, more numerous than in Germany; and there are still slaves in these countries, (Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Hungary,) though, in some degree, more privileged than formerly.

It may be readily imagined, from the facts which have been stated as to other similarly constituted communities, what the course of social and political events must have been in these. Contentions and civil wars, to gain power; foreign wars, from cupidity and the desire of conquest; oppressions and miseries from both causes, are the elements of history. Into these, there is no utility in examining. It will be otherwise in the three centuries following the fifteenth. In this time, kingdoms had arisen, and nations appear, who have taken an important part in the social and political scenes of Europe. It should rather be said, that the ruling princes of these nations have taken such part, and that the nations, their subjects, have been the instruments which they employed. An iron despotism has ruled in these countries. So much religion, and so much intelligence, and no more, have been permitted, as would make the vast multitude incapable of aspiring to a better condition. There is some exception, as there will be occasion to show, especially in the case of Poland. Problems, political and social, and of most serious import to the south of Europe, are involved in the future condition of the many millions who must do something *within*, and who may do much *beyond*, these vast territories.*

* The curious in the antiquities of these northern regions will find a grateful satisfaction from the perusal of the work, entitled "History of

CHAPTER XLI.

GERMANY.

Separation of Germany and France—Classes of People—Elements of German History.

SKETCHES of Germany will not amuse nor instruct a reader, unless he understand the geographical divisions of this country—the classes into which its population was divided—the passionate cravings of these classes, and the measures which they respectively pursued, to satisfy these cravings. It must be kept in mind, that the power which man exercises over man is founded in coercion, or mere physical force; and that the ameliorated condition of society depends on the influence which reason, directed by intelligence, and chastened by moral and religious discipline, can have in making physical force unnecessary. The valuable lesson which history teaches, is, that the propensity to action, inherent in man's nature, can be directed to innocent and refining pursuits; that just principles of right and wrong can be ascertained, and can be peaceably enforced by permanent laws, righteously administered. In passing through these five centuries, very little will be discerned of such principles, and less of such laws so administered. But this lapse of time must be considered, not for the reason that it can be rendered amusing, but because it discloses the causes of the present condition of German society.

The empire of Charlemagne, at the time of his decease, in 814, included what is now Holland, Belgium, France, and

the Northmen," by *Henry Wheaton*, American Minister in Sweden. The train of events by which the people of northern and north-eastern Europe settled into nations before 1500, has been shown by *Koch*, in his account of the revolutions of Europe, a work often quoted in these pages. The same facts are disclosed (under various heads) in the work entitled *Encyclopædia Americana*, edited by *Francis Lieber*, assisted by *E. Wigglesworth* and *T. G. Bradford*. Published at Philadelphia in 1832. This work has been frequently resorted to, during this compilation. It is one of the most useful publications in the English language, for any and every class of readers. It required labor only, to have made from these and other authorities, sketches of nations in the north and east of Europe. But no labor would have produced results material to the present purpose. After the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Russians, Swedes, and Danes take an active part in European affairs.

part of Spain, that is, to the river Ebro. From Holland, this empire extended along the northern coast of Europe to the Elbe; and, southwardly from this coast, through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, to the kingdom of Naples, excepting only the states of the Roman church, in the vicinity of Rome. Within 100 years after the decease of Charlemagne, his feeble descendants had disappeared. In the year 888 a diet was held, composed of princes, nobles, and dignified ecclesiastics.* Charles the Fat was solemnly deposed by this diet, so far as his sovereignty included any part of Germany. The same diet proclaimed Arnulf to be king of Germany. The two countries, France and Germany, were thus separated, Charles continuing to be king in France. The French crown became hereditary, and so continued to be till the French revolution. The crown of Germany became elective, and so continued to be until the Confederation of the Rhine, under Napoleon. The successor of Arnulf, in Germany, was Louis III., who died in 912. He was the last of the family of Charlemagne who have found a place in history.

When Germany became a separate monarchy, in 888, it comprised numerous principalities, dukedoms, and small states. These sovereignties had become hereditary. Many of the sovereigns were bishops and archbishops, having extensive domains. There were four principal nations, those of Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, and of Lorraine; afterwards, that of Saxony was added. There were three great archbishops, who appear prominently in German history, of the cities, respectively, of Mentz, (or Mayence,) Treves, and Cologne. For the better understanding of localities, the city of Mentz, in which the emperors were usually crowned, is assumed as a central point. All other places will be ascertained by reference to this city. Mentz is on the west side of the Rhine, in 50° north latitude; 8° east longitude. It is distant from Paris two hundred and eighty miles, in a direction nearly north-east. It is two hundred miles directly west of the west line of Bohemia. From Mentz, the city of Frankfort on the Maine is twenty miles east; the city of Treves, fifty miles west; the city of Cologne, ninety miles (down the Rhine) north-west. Germany included a large extent of territory on the west of the Lower Rhine, called Lorraine. The duchy of Swabia, including many subdivisions, was east of the Upper Rhine,

* The word *diet*, common in German history, is said to be derived from the Latin word *dies*, (day,) used in reference to the *time* of assembling.

north of Switzerland, west of Bavaria, and south of Franconia. Bavaria extended eastwardly from Swabia to the modern Austrian dominions. Franconia was north of Swabia and Bavaria, extending from the Rhine to Bohemia. North and north-east of Franconia was the Saxon territory, to the Elbe. North and north-west of Saxony, were numerous small states, in the country since known as Westphalia, and extending to the North Sea. Aix-la-Chapelle, the residence of Charlemagne, was between the Meuse and the Rhine, about twenty-five miles nearly west of Cologne, and about one hundred nearly north-west from Mentz.

The materials of German history appear to have been codes of laws, made by these different nations, (from which the state of society has been deduced by indefatigable examiners,) and public records and chronicles, written by ecclesiastics. These sources of information have been explored by *S. A. Dunham*, in his *History of the Germanic Empire*; by *Hallam*, in his *History of the Middle Ages*; and especially by *Michael Ignatius Schmidt*, (born in Wurtzburgh, in 1736,) the first who undertook an elaborate history of the German nation, and "to show how the German nation became what they are." It is intended, in these sketches, to conform to these and other authorities, but without the labor of quoting them, as they can be consulted for themselves.

At the commencement of the eleventh century, all the land in western Europe, that had been taken possession of on the fall of the Roman empire, had been divided according to the forms of feudal right. The whole of Germany, as held by Charlemagne, was divided into great domains or estates, held by princes, dukes, and nobles of various grades, and by prelates of the Roman church. The tenants of these domains were lords in relation to all classes of inferiors, while they were, themselves, vassals of the emperor. In this character they were bound to furnish a military force, from their own vassals, and to lead them to the service of the emperor. 2. There was a numerous class of inferior nobles, whose only vocation was military service, and who were not landed proprietors, but who were maintained or paid by the great nobles. 3. There were some free men, few (it is supposed) in number, who had acquired an allodial or absolute ownership of land, but who were yet subject to military duties. 4. The freed-men, who had been liberated either by the voluntary act of their owners, or who had purchased freedom in some manner. 5. The slaves, numerically by far the greater portion of the

Germans, who were bound to personal service to their masters, or to the land, and who were too degraded to be recognized as having any civil rights. These slaves were such from birth, or from being captives in war, or by some forfeiture, or by purchase.

If to these elements it be added, that the nobles were, in general, destitute of all literary occupation; that the clergy were, with few exceptions, alike ignorant; that religion consisted of superstitious forms and ceremonies; that there were no commercial pursuits; that the church dignitaries were warriors as well as ministers of religion; that none of these higher orders labored to supply their own wants, these being supplied by the labor of slaves—it follows, that the state of society may have been exceedingly depraved and miserable. It is so represented to have been. These territorial sovereigns declared war against each other; they coined money, and administered justice, as they saw fit. Secured in their impregnable castles, built in elevated places, their warfare consisted in the most relentless devastation of the territories of their enemies. When not thus employed, they were, in general, robbers, and preyed upon travellers, or their neighbors; or they were engaged in hunting, or in drunken festivals. An oath was usually exacted from the emperors, that they would abstain from intoxication. Instances of brutal violation of person and property, frequently occur in the history of this people. Their festive assemblies often ended in bloodshed, as they never met unarmed. Drunkenness acquired the name of the *Teutonic vice*. As very little is said, in these ancient chronicles, of the condition of women, it might be inferred that their moral condition was as degraded as that of the other sex. But it seems to be admitted, that in some of these nations, the eulogy bestowed on German females by Tacitus, was well deserved; and that the conduct which called it forth, continued to be observed. It is not, however, to be denied, that the private life of the Germans is much more a matter of inference, than of established fact. Enough is known to demonstrate that it was, at the end of the tenth century, a period of gross immorality, violence, and crime.

Among such a people an *elected* monarch, invested with a superior dignity, and elected usually from among the dukes, must often have attained to his high honors against the will of many whom he had the right to rule. The effects of disappointments, envyings, jealousies, and malice, in various forms, were experienced by many of the emperors. Formidable

rebellions frequently occurred, and in many instances were conducted by the brothers, and even the sons, of the reigning monarch. The accidental elevation to the throne was frequently availed of to aggrandize the royal family, at the expense of a rebellious vassal who had been subdued, and his estates forfeited; and attempts were frequently made, and sometimes successfully, to perpetuate the royal dignity in the same family. As Charlemagne had been crowned in 800 by the pope in Rome, and had assumed to revive the Roman empire of the West, and to extend his dominions over all that belonged to that empire, including Italy, so his successors assumed a correspondent extent of power, and vainly endeavored to conquer, and to hold, the turbulent states of the north of Italy. A large portion of historical details is devoted to the ruinous warfare carried on by emperors against these states.

Along the whole extent of the northern and eastern boundary of Germany were hordes of barbarians, (the Bohemians, Silesians, Danes, Moravians, Avars, Slavonians, and Hungarians, among others,) who were constantly engaged in predatory warfare against the Germans. That frontier was never safe from these enemies. German history includes the details of this warfare.

That subject which includes a more extended narration than any of the foregoing, or than all of them, is the almost incessant contention between the emperors, and the popes of Rome. On the one hand, the popes sought, by the exercise of spiritual authority, to overawe, subdue and control the temporal power; on the other, the emperors sought to limit and control that authority. In these conflicts the emperors had to encounter the most daring usurpations of the popes. The influence of the priesthood, throughout all Christian states, was often stronger than the utmost force of temporal authority. The ignorance and superstition of the people of Germany, without distinction, among all the laity, adapted them to the despotism which the ecclesiastics had established and maintained. A mere verbal denunciation of a reigning prince, by the tenant of the chair of St. Peter at Rome, was sufficient to discharge all the subjects of that prince from allegiance, and even to make it criminal to obey him. The nature and causes of this ecclesiastical tyranny, will be shown in the sketches of the Roman church, in a future chapter.

It is inconsistent with the design of these brief sketches to enter into these various details. It is intended to select the important events that illustrate the great changes which have

occurred, and which have led to the present state of the world. Nor is it intended to dwell on the personal qualities of the successive emperors, any further than these may tend to the same illustration. Some of the emperors will be seen to have been wholly unworthy of the trust confided to them, either through imbecility, vice, or usurpation. This will not be surprising to those who have observed the character of the *elected* to the most important offices, even in the nineteenth century, and among "the most enlightened people of the earth."

The following table of the succession of German emperors will serve as a chronological index, from the first German monarch, to the end of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XLII.

Succession of Emperors.

Table of emperors from the separation of France and Germany in 888, to 1519.

<i>Arnulf</i> , nephew of Charles the Fat	-	-	888 to	899
<i>Louis III.</i> , last of Charlemagne's descendants			899 "	912
<i>Conrad I.</i> , duke of Franconia, <i>elected</i>	-	-	912 "	918
<i>House of Saxony.</i>				
<i>Henry I.</i> , the Fowler	-	-	918 "	936
<i>Otho I.</i> , the Great, son of Henry	-	-	936 "	973
<i>Otho II.</i> , son of Otho I.	-	-	973 "	983
<i>Otho III.</i> , son of Otho II.	-	-	983 "	1002
<i>Henry II.</i> , (called Saint,) duke of Bavaria, and great-grandson of Henry I. (fowler)	-	-	1002 "	1024
<i>House of Franconia.</i>				
<i>Conrad II.</i> , called the Salique	-	-	1024 "	1039
<i>Henry III.</i> , the Black	-	-	1039 "	1056
<i>Henry IV.</i> (contemporary with Gregory VII.)			1056 "	1106
<i>Henry V.</i>	-	-	1106 "	1125
<i>Lothaire II.</i> , duke of Saxony	-	-	1125 "	1138
<i>House of Swabia.</i>				
<i>Conrad III.</i> (Guelfs and Ghibelines first appear)			1138 "	1152
<i>Frederick I.</i> , Barbarossa, (red beard,)	-	-	1152 "	1190
<i>Henry VI.</i>	-	-	1190 "	1197
<i>Philip</i> , duke of Suabia	-	-	1197 "	1208
<i>Otho IV.</i> , duke of Brunswick	-	-	1208 "	1212

Frederick II., king of Sicily	-	-	-	1212 to 1253
Conrad IV.	-	-	-	1253 " 1254
William, count of Holland	-	-	-	1254 " 1256
Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England	-	-	-	1256 " 1271
<i>House of Hapsburgh.</i>				
Rodolph I., the Merciful	-	-	-	1273 " 1291
Adolphus of Nassau	-	-	-	1291 " 1298
Albert I.	-	-	-	1298 " 1308
Henry VII. of Luxemburg	-	-	-	1308 " 1314
Frederick III. of Austria	-	-	-	1314 " 1314
Louis V.	-	-	-	1314 " 1347
Charles IV.	-	-	-	1347 " 1378
Wincelas, king of Bohemia	-	-	-	1378 " 1400
Robert	-	-	-	1400 " 1410
Sigismund	-	-	-	1410 " 1438
<i>Hereditary emperors of the house of Austria.</i>				
Albert II.	-	-	-	1438 " 1440
Frederick IV.	-	-	-	1440 " 1493
Maximilian I.	-	-	-	1493 " 1519
Charles V. king of Spain	-	-	-	1519

No events occurred in the time of Arnulf, Louis III., or Conrad I., which require to be noticed. The civil wars and rebellions of this time, led to no permanent consequences. The reign of Henry I., the Fowler, 918 to 936, was perplexed with revolts which he was able to quell. Having done this, he devoted himself to subdue the barbarous nations, (if so, they should be called, compared with Germans,) on his eastern frontier. The Hungarians, Danes, Slavonians, and Bohemians, were made to feel his superiority in arms. They were driven back, and were glad to seek a respite in peace. The military force of the empire was much improved under him. At this time, there were no cities in Germany, except on the Rhine. A measure, designed only for defence, was instituted by him, which led to most important consequences. He required that every ninth person among his male subjects should dwell in a fortified place, capable of resisting the incursions of the barbarians; and that these should be sufficiently spacious to receive such of the neighboring peasantry as could take refuge in them, in any case of emergency. Privileges and benefits were granted to the inhabitants of these places. Such was the origin of many of the German cities. The territorial sovereigns, as well nobles as ecclesiastics, perceiving the utility of this measure, followed this example, and established

towns within their domains. The natural consequence of this close association, was, the fostering of industry and social improvement. The inhabitants became able and willing to minister to the wants of the emperors. Their personal aid and contributions in counteracting the turbulence of the nobles, obtained for them enlargement of privileges. The growth and importance of the cities enabled them to claim the right of being represented in the national assemblies. They at length appear as the *third estate* in the empire—the nobles and the clergy constituting the first and second. It will be seen, in future pages, how important the cities became, in the progress of improvement; a consequence which could not have been within the design of Henry.

On the west of the Rhine, Henry added Lorraine to the German dominions, as a domain of the crown. In his north-eastern conquests (931) he acquired the territory known as *Brandenburg*, and established there a separate government, dependent on the empire. This became a duchy, and was the foundation of the modern kingdom of Prussia. He also annexed Mesnia to the empire, which is the present kingdom of Saxony, having Dresden for its capital. He also recovered from the Huns the territory of Austria, which now forms part of the Austrian empire.

The *election* of Otho I., who is called the Great, is deserving of a special notice. Aix la Chapelle was the place of election, and the electors were a diet. The power of consecration, after some dispute, was allowed to the archbishop of Mentz. The three archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, dined at the same table with the emperor. The duke of Lorraine served as grand chamberlain; the duke of Bavaria, as grand marshal; the duke of Swabia, as grand cupbearer; and the duke of Franconia, as grand seneschal; (steward.) Here were seven dignitaries, who, in the course of time, arrived at the high trust of electing the emperor, to the exclusion of the nobles and the diets.

Otho I. was a successful warrior, as appears from his conquest of Bohemia, his warfare in Italy, and with France; and from his reduction of rebels, some of whom were of his own family. He was crowned king of Lombardy, at Pavia, (with the iron crown,*) in 951; king of Italy in 961; and emperor, by pope John XII., in 962. John promised Otho that the

* The iron crown of Lombardy was said to have been made out of a nail (or nails) taken from the holy cross.

popes should be chosen in presence of a commissioner appointed by the emperors; but John revolted from this engagement. Otho went to Rome, deposed John, and caused Leo VIII. to take the papal chair. This was the beginning of the long-continued controversies between the popes and emperors. With this monarch originated the title of *king of Rome*; he caused his son to be crowned by that title, and it was borne afterwards by German monarchs, when elected in the life-time of a reigning prince. It was the common title, until the elected sovereign was duly crowned as emperor, by the pope. The reigns of Otho II. (973—983) and Otho III. (983—1002) were involved in troublesome rebellions, and more troublesome and costly wars in Italy. It is the common remark of historians, that the passion which most of the German monarchs had to conquer and rule over Italy, was the cause of sacrificing numerous armies, and of grievous afflictions to Germany. But it is to be considered whether, as society was at this time constituted, greater evils might not have occurred in Germany from the contentions and wars in which those who fell in Italy would have engaged among themselves, if they had not been drawn away to other employments.

Henry II. (1002—1024) obtained the honor of canonization, and is called saint Henry, and would have made a worthy ecclesiastic. He had a full share of the natural perplexities of the age, at home and abroad. He was the last of the race of Henry the Fowler.*

During the reign of these five Saxon princes, one hundred and six years, the German monarchy had acquired strength, and had extended its dominions towards the east. But this is the period in which human life was more miserable than before, or afterwards. Historical details are full of instances of shocking depravity, violence, and crime. This was the time, especially, in which right and wrong were ascertained by ordeals and duels.

On the death of Henry II., the archbishop of Mentz assembled a diet on the plains which lie on both sides the Rhine, between Mentz and Worms. The city of Worms is on the same side of the river, twenty-five miles south of Mentz. Fifty thousand, comprising the civil and ecclesiastical princes, and their followers, were at this meeting. The princes and nobles

* In the first volume of Dunham's History of the Germanic Empire, there is an elaborate commentary on the social and political condition of Germany during the tenth century. It deserves the study of those who desire to be well informed.

met on an island to deliberate, and select a candidate; the choice fell on Conrad of Franconia. On this occasion, the division of the several orders of persons composing one of these German nations, is first mentioned. They advanced to take the oath of allegiance in classes, distinguished by bucklers or shields. German scenes undergo no change in the time of Conrad II., 1024—1039, nor in that of his successor, Henry III., 1039—1056. The transactions of these monarchs in Italy, belong to notices of that country.

Henry IV. was successor of his father at the age of six years, and reigned fifty. This long-continued power was exercised to the mutual disadvantage and affliction of prince and subjects. The prince was a monster in depravity, and his subjects, in general, were of the same order of moral agents. Factions, insurrections, and rebellions, are the principal events. Henry was dethroned by one of his own sons, and reduced to such poverty as to seek a very humble office in a cathedral which he had built; but it was denied to him. This is the same emperor who drove the pope Gregory VII. from his throne; but who afterwards submitted to a most humiliating penitence before that audacious pontiff. The bitter conflicts between these two persons, belong to the notices of the church of Rome. It will there be seen what was the origin and the effect of the wars between the emperors and popes, which began under Henry, and continued about seventy years.

The reign of Henry V., 1106—1125, was taken up with rebellions and commotions in his own dominions, or in continuing the warfare with the popes. The former, we pass over; the latter belongs to another place.

In the election which followed Henry's death, there was an assembly at Mentz, in which one more step was made towards an independent electoral college. Ten princes were selected to exercise the right of *pretaxation*, which word is used to signify the nomination of persons, from among whom a choice was to be made. Lothaire, duke of Saxony, was elected. Excepting the events in Italy, there is nothing to notice in his reign, which lasted from 1125 to 1138.

At this time, the people of Germany, exclusive of slaves and freedmen, were thus classed: 1. The dukes. 2. The ecclesiastical princes, consisting of bishops and abbots. 3. The secular princes, comprising territorial officers under the names of landgraves, margraves, and counts. 4. Territorial nobles, by hereditary right, and who were independent of the great feudatories. 5. The high court officers, as well those

who were of the ducal, as of the imperial courts. 6. The body of freemen. These were the six *bucklers*, which had the right of assembling in diets; but only the first three are supposed to have debated and voted. Military service was the duty of all these classes. The clergy granted their domains to vassals, who performed this service, or they performed it personally.

The right of declaring war was vested in the diets; and each prince was sworn to produce, at the proper time and place, his proportion of armed men. The princes could not perform this obligation, in regard to knights, (who were a necessary part of the force,) without an advance of money and of equipments to them. Hence, the wars were burthensome, and liable to sudden and distressing reverses. The state of society is supposed to have been exceedingly irregular from the undefined and conflicting authority of the emperors and dukes, and from the ignorance of right and wrong, or the utter disregard of all moral and social duties. It was a state of anarchy, in which none but the strongest were safe.

The election of Conrad III. (1138—1152) occasioned civil and social evils, which were prolonged through centuries, both in Germany and Italy. This election was offensive especially to Henry the Proud, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, son-in-law of Lothaire II. If the diet which had elected Conrad had been held by all the electors, and those only who should have been present, Henry might have been elected. Conrad, dreading Henry's power and resentment, summoned him to restore one of the two duchies which he had received from the late emperor. Refusal was followed by condemnation in a diet, and Saxony was conferred on Albert the Boar, a descendant, on the maternal side, from Henry IV. Henry the Proud was of the ancient family of *Guelf*. He resisted the decree of the diet. Civil war ensued. He died, and his son, Henry the Lion, succeeded to his estates and his enmities.

In a battle which took place between the emperor and Henry, at Winsberg, in Swabia, (supposed to be one hundred and fifty miles south-east of Mentz,) arose the two party names of *Guelf* and *Ghibelin*, familiarly known, in history, for centuries afterwards. Like other party names, (as Whig and Tory in English history,) they were applied long after their origin was forgotten. *Guelf* was Henry's family name, and assumed by those who were his partisans. *Ghiblingen* is a town in Wurtemburgh, (in the northern part of Swabia,) which was the birthplace of the Hohenstauffen family, of whom Conrad

III. was one. In the battle of Winsberg, the war-cry of Henry's men was *Guelf*, and that of the emperor's men was *Ghibelin*. The former became the general name of the disaffected and rebellious; the latter, that of the supporters of the imperial authority. These names were transferred to Italy, and became common there in the factions, seditions, rebellions, and civil wars, in which the emperors, the popes, and the Italian republics, were parties.

In the result, Henry held Saxony, and Albert the Boar was dispossessed. But, for Albert, Brandenburg (now part of Prussia) was made a margravate, and raised to the dignity of a state, and was destined to rise to the dignity of a kingdom, under the name of Prussia. The eloquent St. Bernard was able to persuade Conrad to assume the cross, and to go to Palestine. Henry took advantage of his absence, and Conrad, returning, found his empire in a state of rebellion. His death soon after occurred. He left a son, but recommended that Frederick, duke of Swabia, surnamed Barbarossa, (red beard,) should be his successor.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE GERMAN EMPERORS FROM 1152 TO 1308.

FREDERICK, Barbarossa, (1152—1190,) was nephew of Conrad, and the second of the house of Hohenstauffen. His reign was devoted, principally, to controversies with the popes, and to attempts to subdue Italy. At home, he raised Lubeck, (a city distinguished in the Hanse league, fourteen miles south-west of the Baltic, and thirty miles north-east of Hamburg,) and also Ratisbon, (on the Danube, two hundred miles south-east of Mentz,) to the dignity of imperial cities. This was one more step towards the freedom which cities afterwards attained. He renewed the enmity between the Guelfs and Ghibelins, by taking from Henry the Lion one of his duchies. The life of Frederick is to be shown in the events of Italy. That which distinguishes him from most men of his time, was his respect for learning and learned men, especially historians. He was forced into a crusade, and died in 1190, in consequence (as some say) of bathing in the river Cydnus, near the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, the same

river which was so nearly fatal to Alexander. His death was caused, (others say,) by bathing in the river Salef, in the same country.

From 1190 to 1212 the affairs of Germany were exceedingly perplexed. Several elections occurred, but no event that need be mentioned, except that the Guelfs were despoiled of their territories, saving only the territory of Brunswick, in the north of Germany. The present royal family of England are descended from these Guelfs (or Guelphs) of Brunswick.

One of the German emperors, in this space, from 1190 to 1212, was Henry VI., who married the princess Constance, heiress of the Two Sicilies, (Sicily and Naples.) This marriage led to consequences which affected the condition of Europe unfavorably, for some centuries. Henry VI. was son of Frederick Barbarossa, and Henry's son, Frederick II., came to the German throne in 1212, (being then king of Sicily,) at the age of sixteen, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1215. Frederick II. lived in a remarkable period, and is classed with Charlemagne and the great Alfred. He was born at Jesi, in the marquisate of Ancona, about one hundred and ten miles north by east from Rome, and near the north-east coast of Italy. He is said to have been under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III., and to have understood all the languages spoken among his subjects, Greek, Latin, Italian, German, French, and Arabic—extraordinary acquirements in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The qualities of his distinguished family are attributed to him: bravery, boldness, generosity. He had great talents, and cultivated them highly. His physical powers had not been neglected; he had strengthened and rendered his person graceful by chivalrous exercises. For all these acquired qualities, he has the additional merit of having been little indebted to any one but himself.

Frederick II. will be referred to in the view, hereafter to be taken, of Italy. In this place it may be remarked, that his German subjects were a rude, lawless population, occupied incessantly in hostilities among themselves, or against their sovereign, when not attracted to foreign war. His subjects in northern Italy, were impatient, rebellious, and never submissive but in the presence of a superior force. His subjects in the Two Sicilies were a mixture of Italians, Sicilians, Saracens, Normans, and Greeks, and no less difficult to govern than those of the north. Central Italy (the states of the church) separated his dominions. The popes, at this time, had acquired a superiority over the temporal power of princes,

from the impulse given by Gregory VII. Frederick was in conflict with the popes nearly all his life, and was twice excommunicated. In his time, the crusade against the Albigenses and Waldenses occurred; the inquisition was established, and the orders of monks were greatly increased. In his time, also, first appeared the most terrific tribunal ever seen on earth, and known by the name of the Fem-courts. *Fem* is said to mean to excommunicate, or curse. These courts are supposed to have arisen from the total subversion of law and order, and were secret combinations to overawe and intimidate. They did not attain to the plenitude of power till the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The members were computed at one hundred thousand, dispersed throughout Germany; but their principal seat of authority was in Westphalia, where, only, admission was granted. The members were solemnly sworn "to support the holy feme, (court,) and to conceal its acts from wife and child, father and mother, sister and brother, fire and wind, from all that the sun shines on, or the rain moistens, and from all that is between heaven and earth." They were known to each other by signs and watchwords. They held open courts by day, and secret ones by night, in deep forests, or subterranean halls. They assumed jurisdiction over most crimes, especially sorcery and heresy. The only accusation was the oath of one of the members; but the accuser was never known to the accused. If one or more summonses, left secretly at his dwelling, did not cause the accused to appear, he was condemned, and any of the members might put him to death. If hung, it was on a tree; if stabbed, the knife was left in the wound, to show, to the initiated, by whom the deed was done. If one of the members was known to have hinted to the accused to fly, that member was put in the place of the accused. If one ventured to appear and vindicate himself, he was subjected to the most horrible torture, and made to condemn himself. This remarkable institution was so secretly conducted, that the details of its proceedings are little known. Many of its members were ecclesiastics, but it does not appear to have been an invention of the church. Nothing occurs in German history which so clearly shows the character of society, as these Fem-courts.*

* In Sir Walter Scott's *Ann of Guierstern*, second volume, there is an account (in the adventures of Philipson) of the course of proceeding in the Fem-courts. The tragedy of the *House of Aspen*, by the same author, is founded on the same tribunal.

In the time of Frederick II. the crusades had produced no inconsiderable effect on the character of European nations. The nobles and people of different countries had been drawn together in a common cause. The spirit of chivalry had been promoted. Several orders of knighthood had been established. The benefits of national intercourse, and of commerce, were discerned and valued.

To such a mind as that of Frederick, it was apparent, that the social condition of the world could be greatly meliorated by turning attention to the industrious arts, by intellectual cultivation, and by the diffusion of learning. He founded a university at Naples, and patronized, munificently, the medical school at Salerno. [S. E. of Naples.] The fine arts, also, received his patronage. In his own court, he promoted the study of elegant literature. He was among the princes who led an army to Palestine, though he was then under the sentence of excommunication. He had the power, and if he had dared to encounter the superstition of the age, he would have reduced the papal authority to harmless limits. With all these various vocations he compiled a judicious code of laws, intended to be applied, however difficult the task, to the variety of people whom he ruled. He had his full share of afflictions. His son, instigated by the pope, rebelled, but was subdued and pardoned. Having attempted, afterwards, to remove his father by poison, he was condemned, with his wife and child, to perpetual imprisonment, and formally deposed from the rank of king of the Romans, by a diet at Mentz, in 1235. About this time, Frederick made a third marriage with Isabella, the daughter of king John, (Lackland) of England, niece of Richard Cœur de Lion. He closed his eventful life in Italy, Dec. 1250. Frederick will again come into view in notices of the church—of the crusades—and of the events of Italy. It is to be added here, only, that he was not of the age in which he lived, and that the brilliant light which he shed around him, disappeared with him, serving only to make the recurring darkness still more dark. It is proper, however, to observe, that Dunham, in his Germanic Empire, draws a very disadvantageous character of Frederick, herein at variance with some other writers. He even says, that Frederick "was, in fact, the most mischievous monarch with whom the country had ever been cursed." He founds himself on numerous ancient authorities. Happily it is not our task to investigate the causes of this difference of opinion. It is sufficient, for the present purpose, to sketch the general outline of events.

League of the Rhine; Hanseatic League. Before 1250 many cities had become populous and rich. They combined to control feudal oppression, and to resist robberies and piracies. The cities along the Rhine, with some in Switzerland, maintained an armed force, at joint expense, on that river, between 1200 and 1300, and sometime afterwards. (Koch. 1. 158.) Similar causes combined nearly all the commercial cities along the northern coast of Europe, from the Baltic to the Netherlands, inclusive; and some cities in the interior of Germany. They were called the *Hanseatic league*; original name *Hansa*, meaning league, or corporation. In 1241 Hamburg and Lubec appear, conspicuously, in the league. In 1260 the number of towns was 85, maritime and interior. They sent deputies to a triennial meeting at Lubec, where their records were kept. They had a factory at London, at Bruges, at Novogorod, at Bergen. About the year 1361, the league received royal charters, and was favored by princes, who found the naval and military power of the league useful, in controlling the feudal lords, and in suppressing piracies. The acceptable return made for this royal countenance, was contributions and voluntary grants. The league rendered such essential services, that some of its members obtained grants of perpetual freedom, and became *free cities*. Hamburg, Bremen, Lubec, and Frankfort, are free cities, to the present day. The league was so powerful in 1248, that it sent forth a fleet of 248 ships, and 12,000 soldiers. It deposed a king of Sweden, and gave the crown to another. (Amer. Encyc. under *Hansa*.) But, as this league arose out of the social and political disorder of Europe, it was destined to fall, as political power acquired consistency and firmness. Sovereigns were able to subject Hanse cities, especially of the interior, to their dominion. Commerce became general, and the motives to form the league no longer continued to operate. The last of the league was about 1650. The four free cities, above mentioned, are the last remnants of this powerful association. (Koch. 1. p. 250.) The more common name of the league is, *The Hanse Towns*.

From 1250 to 1271, is usually called the great interregnum, not because there was not an emperor, but because there were several at the same time. Among them were Conrad IV., William, count of Holland, Richard, duke of Cornwall, (England,) Alphonso X., of Castile, (Spain.) None of the events of these twenty-one years are material to our purpose. It was a time of incessant civil convulsion.

The election of Rodolph, of Hapsburgh, is a relief in the

toilsome examination of German facts. If Frederick II. was far before his own age in the discerning the means whereby society would be meliorated, Rodolph was better adapted for sovereignty, in his age, than any man on whom it had been conferred. Two things are first to be considered,—the inferior sovereignties of Germany, at this time, and the changes which had occurred in the electoral power. The latter, because it is a striking instance of the tendency of power to strengthen itself.

Bohemia was now a kingdom, but was held as a feudal territory, subject to the emperor. The king of Bohemia had acquired a sovereignty over Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. These territories are south of the Danube, east of Bavaria, the Tyrol, and north-eastern Italy; extending south to the Adriatic sea. Bavaria, north of Switzerland, and west of the countries just mentioned, was divided into two duchies. Brandenburg, of which Berlin is now nearly in the central part, was possessed by two sovereigns; and Saxony, south of Brandenburg, by three—all of whom were descended from Albert the Boar. Franconia, the centre of Germany, and the northwest of Germany, were divided, in like manner, among dukes, counts, and bishops. Burgundy, on the west side of the Upper Rhine, and extending thence along the east side of the Rhone to the Mediterranean, was still considered as part of the German empire, as well as Switzerland.

Hallam remarks, (vol. 1. p. 357,) that the secular electors should naturally have been the dukes of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria, representing the four nations; and the three archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, electors as the head of the church; that the duke of Saxony was the only one of these dukes who appeared as an elector; that it “continues a problem,” how the count Palatine, of the Rhine, the king of Bohemia, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, had become three of the seven electors.

Dunham, (Germanic Empire, vol. 2. p. 213,) solves this problem, and shows how the original pretaxation, or nomination, was converted into the right of election; and by what course of events the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, became, together with the duke of Saxony, and the three archbishops, the electoral college. This explanation is too long and dry, to be inserted here; but the inference is, that the individuals whose duty, and whose utmost power, originally, was the nomination of suitable persons, from among whom a candidate might be elected, had now become the electors themselves; and were, in number, no

more than seven. It is very obvious, that so small a number might be easily managed, and they are known to have been managed by Richard, duke of Cornwall, who was very rich, and who purchased his election, at a great expense. This was one of the causes of the confusion which arose in the long interregnum. What security there may be against elective corruption, under a *written constitution*, is a "problem," which the American people are now (1837) in the highway of solving.

Rodolph, of Hapsburgh, (1273—1291) was of the second class of Nobles. He was lord of some small disconnected territories, principally in Alsace, on the upper part, and western side of the Rhine, and on the northern side of Switzerland. He owed his election to an act of courtesy. The archbishop of Mentz was going to Rome; in Strasbourgh (110 miles south of Mentz, west side of the Rhine,) he met with Rodolph, and asked of him an escort of safety through Switzerland. Rodolph not only furnished the escort, but accompanied the archbishop to Rome, and returned with him in safety. When the election came on, in 1273, some years after this journey, the archbishop remembered Rodolph; and having first gained over the two other archbishops, the three prelates gained over three of the secular electors; and Rodolph was chosen—the king of Bohemia dissented. It happened that three of the secular electors were unmarried men. The persuasive argument used with them, was, that Rodolph had some unmarried daughters, and that these electors might connect themselves with the imperial family. Rodolph was surprised at this turn in his fortunes, while he was besieging the city of Basle, (where the Rhine turns from its westwardly course to the north,) to avenge the murder of some of his relatives in that place.

Rodolph was wise enough to let Italy alone. He did not even go thither to have the imperial crown placed on his head by the hand of the pope. His able and diligent services were devoted to Germany. His first object was to make an amicable arrangement with the pope. To effect this, he gave up some claims which had been costly to his predecessors. He renounced jurisdiction over Rome, and the Sicilies, and gained an acceptable independence to the German church. Many other subjects, long disputed, were involved in this compromise. His next object was to reduce Ottacar, the king of Bohemia, who would not acknowledge him as emperor. In the war which followed, the king was vanquished; but the war was renewed, and the king was slain in battle. Rodolph secured peace in this quar-

ter, by giving a daughter to Wincelas, the son and successor of Ottacar, and accepting for his own son a sister of Wincelas. Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, were acquired, and have ever since been part of the dominions of the house of Austria, of which Rodolph was the founder.

The highest praise is due to him for his vigor in suppressing rebellions, private war, and the banditti, which infested Germany. He demolished seventy of the castles or strong holds of the *noble* robbers; twenty-nine of these robbers in Thuringia, (adjoining, north-westwardly, the present kingdom of Saxony,) he caused to be executed. He greatly increased the number of cities, and extended the privileges of others, and essentially promoted their advancement towards the freedom and independence afterwards acquired.

The only objection raised against Rodolph was his assiduous care to aggrandize his own house; while, on the other hand, "his probity became a proverb," and himself a "living law." He died in 1291, at the age of 73, leaving and honorable fame as a monarch, and as a man. In the time in which he lived, he may be considered a far greater benefactor to the empire than Frederick the second; though the improvement of the human mind, by the cultivation of learning, and the patronage of learned men, was not a part of his policy. Historians, who favor the House of Austria, are unsparing of panegyric on Rodolph. They ascribe to him the highest rank for virtues and talents, both civil and military. This panegyric can hardly be misplaced, since he preserved tranquillity among such a people as occupied Germany, without being a military tyrant. A chronicler, who lived at the same time, says of him,—
 "His very name spread terror among the turbulent nobles, and joy among the people. As light springs from darkness, so peace arose from desolation. The peasant returned to his plough; the merchant, whom the fear of banditti had confined to his home, now traversed the country with confidence."

The power of Rodolph's house was too strong not to excite jealousy; and the electors would not choose the only surviving son, Albert. Adolf, of Nassau, was elected, through the intrigues of his relative, the archbishop of Mentz. But Albert, who had recourse to the pope, procured the deposition of Adolf, and his own election, in 1298. Germany now relapsed into the former turbulence and civil commotion, in which the popes of Rome took a conspicuous part.

A spirit of independence had been gaining ground in Switzerland, especially in the cantons of Schweiz, Uri, and Unter-

walden. Albert attempted to exercise a despotic power over these, by agents whom he sent thither. Revolt ensued. Albert's personal presence was necessary. A quarrel having arisen between him and his nephew, John, the latter waylaid the Emperor, with four associates, and put him to death, near the castle of Hapsburgh, not far from the river Reuss, one of the tributaries of the Rhine, between the falls of the Rhine and the city of Basle. [1308.] The terrible vengeance of Leopold, the emperor's son, and of Agnes, his daughter, had some effect in strengthening the revolutionary spirit of Switzerland. More than 1000 innocent men, women, and children perished in horrible torments. Agnes is said to have walked in their blood, and to have called it *the most precious May dew*. This scene gave rise to a German tragedy, frequently exhibited on the stage. It is said, however, that Albert little deserved to be deplored, being himself rapacious, unjust, and tyrannical.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE GERMAN EMPERORS FROM 1308 TO 1519.

THE reign of Henry VII. (1308—1313) deserves no further notice, than to remark, that the papal intrigues arose, in his time, to full vigor; and that he renewed the attempts, so fatal to some of his predecessors, to subdue the north of Italy. These were the well-known causes of German wretchedness, and never failed to throw the empire into convulsions. The civil wars and violence which attended the reign of Louis V., from 1313 to 1347, are not worthy of notice. They were repetitions of scenes already too familiar in the history of this country. They are only the common struggles for power, seen in every age, however modified as to circumstances and means. In Germany, the means were hard blows, and every variety of crime. In republics, the struggle is through the ballot box, and the ascendancy which can there be gained by honest or corrupt means, according to the character of the people.

Charles IV., of Bohemia, (1347—1378,) followed Louis V., sometimes called Ludowic. The most remarkable event of his reign was a decree which he assumed to make, known as the "golden bull," from the seal thereto appended. By this

instrument, the number of electors was fixed at seven, to represent the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse, and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. It cannot be doubted that the Roman church had some agency in this matter. The electors were to be the three archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne; the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. There was no innovation in this respect. The first of these prelates was recognized as arch-chancellor of the empire; the second, as the like officer of Italy; the third, as the like officer of the kingdom of Arles, which is the south-east part of modern France, the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. Deputies were named for such of the electors as might be absent. The forms of proceeding, to effect an election, were established. Many other provisions were made by the golden bull, to regulate the rank of princes, and nobles, and for the internal administration of the affairs of the kingdom. Time has disposed of all these; and though the diligence of an antiquary may connect some of the established regulations of the present day with these ancient provisions, the result would not compensate the labor. One effect of this new arrangement was the purchase of the electoral votes for Wincelas, the son of Charles, at the price of one hundred thousand florins to each elector. His attempts to raise this great sum, alarmed the Swabians, who formed the "Swabian league" for the defence of their liberties. The character of Charles is drawn in dark colors by historians. Some redeeming acts are mentioned—as the founding of the university of Prague.* Also, that he promoted industry and commerce in Bohemia; but as to Germany, he made little use of that, but to pillage it, and little use of the imperial dignity but to advance the interests of himself and family.

Wincelas, son of Charles, (1378—1400,) is represented to have been not only one of the lowest grade of monarchs, but one of the most debased and wicked of mortals. His crimes induced the citizens of Prague to seize him, and throw him into prison, among the worst of malefactors. He escaped, was retaken, and consigned to prison again. He was at length released, and made some feeble attempts to control the insurrections and rebellions which had arisen all over the empire. In 1400, he was deposed by a diet. In his time, four of the German circles, ever since known as geographical divisions,

* This city of Bohemia, (eighty miles south-east of Dresden, on the Moldau river, a tributary of the Elbe,) was his place of residence.

were established. In his time, also, the religious sects called the Hussites, (elsewhere to be mentioned,) had made themselves known at Prague.

Thus it appears that at the end of the four first of the five centuries now under review, Germany had made but inconsiderable advances in civilization and refinement; though in some of the commercial cities of Germany, there will be found some exception to this general truth.

Robert (1400—1410) was count palatine, and, as such, one of the electors. His administration embraced affairs in Italy, as well as in Germany. Wincelas had raised one of the family of Visconti to be duke of Milan; and in return for this favor, Visconti assumed to be independent of the empire. Robert went to reduce him to obedience, but was entirely defeated. In another place, his troubles with the pope, and with the factions of the Guelfs and the Ghibelines, (which now entered into the affairs of Italy in all their relations,) will be noticed. In Germany, Robert was opposed by combinations of power too formidable to be controlled by him. He would probably have been deposed, if death had not made that measure unnecessary.

Sigismund, brother of Wincelas, was the next emperor, from 1410 to 1437. Some remarkable events occurred during this reign. A schism in the Roman church had caused three popes to be elected, who claimed the throne at the same time. To settle this controversy, "the council of Constance" was held (1414 to 1418) at the city of Constance, on the southern boundary of Swabia, (about two hundred miles south-east by south from Mentz,) and on the south-west side of lake Constance. The name of the emperor Sigismund is connected with this council, as he supported one of the popes; and also because he gave a letter of safe conduct to John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who were summoned to appear at this council, to answer the charge of heresy. The emperor, one of the popes, John XXII., twenty-six princes, one hundred and forty counts, twenty cardinals, seven patriarchs, twenty archbishops, ninety-one bishops, and four thousand and six hundred other clerical dignitaries and doctors, were present in this council. Huss was convicted, and then bereft of all the insignia of clerical life, and delivered over to the emperor, to be dealt with as an arch heretic. The emperor caused him to be sent to the provost of Constance to be burnt, which was duly executed on the 6th of July, 1415. Jerome of Prague was disposed of, in like manner, on the 30th of May following.

The Swiss cantons asserted their independence in Sigismund's reign, and nobly persevered in maintaining it. In his reign, also, arose the desolating civil war in Bohemia, conducted on the part of the Hussites, by the famous Zisca. His motives were vengeance, hatred of the Catholics, and the love of plunder. In 1421, Zisca took the castle of Prague, and possessed himself of the first four cannon which had been seen in Bohemia. While young, he lost one eye by accident, and about this time, an arrow deprived him of the other. He still continued at the head of his army, causing himself to be carried on a car. When a battle was to be fought, the ground was described to him, and he made a disposition of his forces accordingly. He won thirteen pitched battles, and was victorious in one hundred fights. He was buried in the church of Czalau, forty miles south-east of Prague, and his favorite instrument, an iron battle-axe, was hung up over his tomb. Ferdinand I., one hundred and thirty years afterwards, happened to visit this church, and being told that Zisca was buried there, he immediately left the church, and departed from the town.

The ravages of Zisca in the German dominions, disclosed the incompetency of the feudal requisitions to constitute a military force. Hence arose the first direct taxation, in the empire, to pay an army. The collections made for this purpose were sent to the general treasury at Nuremburg, a city in Bavaria, one hundred and sixty miles south-east of Mentz.

In Sigismund's time there were many conflicts among the nobles, and some territorial changes; but these are not of importance enough to be noticed. This emperor appears to have done nothing to advance the real interests of his dominions. Many bad qualities are imputed to him, and not a single good one, excepting that he was inclined to promote learning. Germany was much in the rear of Italy and France, at this time, in the path of improvement. If we except the increasing power and wealth of the commercial cities, in which the government had no agency, Germany was little less improved and enlightened in the fifteenth century, than it was three centuries earlier. One fact, however, deserves to be noticed, though more properly belonging to another place; the number of the freed from slavery had greatly increased, and the inferior population were gradually acquiring more importance in the scale of society.

Albert II., (1437—1439.) The emperor Sigismund was king of Bohemia, and of Hungary, at his death. He was succeed-

ed, on this joint throne, by his son-in-law, Albert, duke of Austria; who was elected emperor, or, as the title was, king of the Romans. The short reign of this prince was devoted to the contentions in Bohemia between the Catholics and the Hussites, and in attempting to resist the Turks, who had penetrated into Hungary. While engaged in this latter enterprise, he, in common with his army, was assailed by disease, which terminated his life.

Frederick IV., (duke of Styria, one of the Austrian states,) 1439—1493. This long reign was perplexed with incessant civil wars in Bohemia, and in controversies with the Roman pontiffs. He had the mortification of being compelled to acknowledge Podiebrand, a Polish prince, as king of Bohemia. He was repeatedly engaged in war with his brother Albert, concerning his Austrian possessions. The city of Vienna appears to have arisen to some distinction, at this time. Throughout these controversies and wars, the emperor was unable to obtain any assistance from his German dominions; a fact which discloses the emptiness of his imperial honors. Meanwhile these dominions were involved in civil wars, and in controversies with the church. Into the details of these scenes we shall not enter, as they led to no consequences which interest the present age. One measure of this feeble, but selfish and avaricious prince, did lead to consequences which shaped the destinies of Europe for the three following centuries.

In former pages, the fate of Charles the Rash, of Burgundy, has been mentioned. His daughter Mary, heiress of his domains in the Netherlands, and on the west side of the Rhine, was obtained by Frederick, for his son Maximilian. This marriage, followed by that of Maximilian's son Philip with Joanna, heiress of Spain, is one of the most unfortunate events that ever beset Europe. How the people of Europe might have been employed, if these marriages had not taken place, is not for mortals to know. But it is inconceivable that more slaughter, tyranny, and wretchedness, could have arisen from any possible causes. How irreconcilable it is with any sense of natural right and justice, that the marriages, births, and hereditary pretensions of some half a dozen individuals, (some of these very ordinary persons, and one of them insane,) should have involved all Europe in the deepest calamities, through successive generations!

Insignificant as Frederick is represented to have been, some effective arrangements were projected by him, for establishing

a military force in the empire, though he derived no benefit from them. At this time there appear to have been three colleges, that of the electors, that of the princes, and that of the deputies from the *free* cities, whose concurrence was necessary in raising troops, and in providing for their payment. This is said to have been the first measure towards a regular standing army in Germany.

To Frederick, also, is due the commendation of having attempted to end the calamities of private war, by the establishment of an imperial judicial tribunal, to take cognizance of the complaints which usually caused these calamities. But such was the deplorable state of German society, that all these efforts of reform proved to be new sources of contention.

This project having failed, the *Swabian league* was formed, at the emperor's suggestion, which comprized cities, prelates, counts, and knights; and which, afterwards, attracted to itself two of the seven electors, some princes, and other cities. The purpose was to maintain an armed power, competent to enforce tranquillity. This combination was effective. Two dukes were subjected to its authority, and many castles, belonging to banditti, were demolished.

But the great object of Frederick's life was to strengthen and aggrandize the house of Austria; to which end he established the grand duchy of Austria, and conferred on its dukes the power of creating nobles, imposing taxes, and exercising sovereign rights independent of assent or dissent, of the diets of the empire. This was one of the measures which raised that house to its present imperial grandeur, of which, (as before noticed,) Rodolph of Hapsburgh is regarded as the founder.

The reign of Maximilian I. (1493—1519) is an important era in German history. The civil law had been diligently studied, and the knowledge of it was professed by several who were called doctors in that law. The use of gunpowder and of cannon was known throughout Europe. The worth of learning began to be perceived, though much less in Germany than in France and Italy. The corruption, abuses, and tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were a subject of very general complaint in the church, as well as out of it. The evils of private war, and its utter incompetency to redress wrongs, whether real or supposed, were discerned. The feebleness of the physical force of the empire, in comparison with its population and its means, was obvious. The insubordination, the robberies, and the general insecurity of person and property, demanded

reform. The necessity of competent tribunals, for the administration of justice, had become apparent. A better prospect dawned upon Germany; but there were jealousies, rivalries, and embarrassments, which opposed insurmountable obstacles to desired reform. Fortunately, Maximilian was an able and resolute sovereign, and disposed to promote all reform which did not impair his own power. To harmonize the imperial authority with that which the principalities, duchies, and subordinate states of the empire were disposed to retain, and to submit all these various interests to rules, common to all, was an exceedingly difficult case. Had there been the most sincere disposition to compromise, as to all difficulties, the science of government was little understood, and the means of accomplishing any reasonable purposes could not be discerned. It may, therefore, be considered fortunate, that so much was accomplished, rather than matter of reproach to the Germans, that more and better was not done. The changes in Maximilian's time will be briefly stated, having no space for the detail of events by which they were effected.

1. *The perpetual Peace*.—This measure was adopted in the year 1495. Its object was to provide remedies for wrongs which had been causes of war among the numerous members of the empire. It contains divers provisions, declaratory of the future rights of these members, relative to persons and property. One of these provisions shows the manners of the times in securing the right of passing, unmolested, from one state to another.

2. *The Imperial Chamber*.—This was a high judicial tribunal, designed to hear and to judge between the members of the empire—not unlike the old confederation of the United States, since it had no power to cause its judgments to be carried into effect.

3. *The Aulic Council*, (from the Latin *aula*, court,) established by the emperor, under the apprehension that the imperial chamber might take from him the jurisdiction incident to the crown. The civil law and the canon law were the acknowledged authorities in this tribunal. The former, not by adoption, but as the law of the land, the German empire assuming to be a continuation of the Roman empire. This council, and the imperial chamber, soon acquired concurrent jurisdiction.

4. *Circles of Germany*.—These were established (as seen on maps) for the purpose of providing a power competent to carry the decisions of these courts into effect. They were

suggested in the time of Sigismund. In Maximilian's time, they were established; in number, ten. The last included the Burgundian dominions, afterwards severed from the empire.

5. *Military Force*.—This emperor first organized the standing army, divided it into companies and regiments, and directed its armament and discipline.

Besides these measures, he was the author of many others; and, among them, the suppression of the Fem-courts, before mentioned, and the establishment of posts for the transmission of letters. He patronized learning and learned men, and was himself a poet and an author.

In his foreign relations, Maximilian had numerous occupations. In the east, he had to repel the Turks from his hereditary dominions. In the south, he contended with Charles VIII. of France, in his attempts to possess and hold Naples. Switzerland was successful in emancipating itself from the empire. He had war with France on the subject of his Burgundian territories. From insurrections and rebellions within the empire, he was free; and he is the first of the German emperors who escaped this trouble.

CHAPTER XLV.

SWITZERLAND.

Origin of the League of the Swiss Cantons.

WHEN the Romans penetrated into the Alpine regions, in the century before the Christian era, they found there a bold and hardy race, doubtless of Celtic origin. They were divided into nobles, druids, and peasants. The authority relied on, as to the early state of this people, is the Commentaries of Cæsar. The seat of his warfare was on the north-western side of Switzerland, between the Alps and the range of mountains called the Jura and the Rhine, and westwardly from the lake of Geneva along the Rhone. In the language of the Romans, the country was Helvetia, and its inhabitants had the comprehensive name of Helvetii, but divided into tribes, having distinct appellations. Helvetia included the whole Alpine territory from the Rhine to Cisalpine Gaul, which is now northern Italy. In the time of Roman dominion, Helvetia partook of Roman civilization, and some towns, and even

cities arose. When the barbarians appeared, at the close of the fifth century, a part of them, the Burgundians, and, perhaps, another part, called the Alemanni, intermixed with the Helvetii. The Burgundian kingdom was established between the Alps and mount Jura, and westwardly of Geneva, on both sides of the Rhone. The latter range extends north-east from the west end of the lake of Geneva towards the great bend of the Rhine, and then continues its course parallel to that river, on its west side, and distant from it thirty or forty miles.

Before the year 1000, Switzerland had the common destiny of France and Germany, in being subjected to feudal lords. Castles were erected, and power exercised over vassals, as in neighboring countries. The history of Switzerland presents neither new nor interesting facts, until its brave inhabitants began to resist the tyranny of their feudal sovereigns, and to make themselves known as warriors, to Germany, France, and Italy. At this point their history becomes, and continues to be, highly interesting and instructive. They displayed an ardent devotion to liberty which does honor to human nature, and a bravery not surpassed in Roman or Grecian annals. They show what union and patriotism may do against a foe, strong in the proportion of ten to one. But they also show how miserable a people may become by disunion and internal contention.

Switzerland is about two hundred miles long, from west to east, and about one hundred and forty broad, from north to south. From the east end of the lake of Geneva, in a course directly south, is the shore of the Mediterranean, distant about two hundred miles. The Alps, in irregular masses, occupy nearly the whole of this space, making a partition between France and Italy, and between Savoy on the west, and Italy and Switzerland on the east. South from the east end of the Geneva lake, about twenty-five miles, is Mont Blanc, and south-east from the city of Geneva. In the same group, and eastwardly from it, is Saint Bernard. South from Mont Blanc, at the distance of sixty miles, is Mont Ceni, six thousand feet high, over which Napoleon constructed a carriage-road, connecting Savoy and Italy. From Mont Blanc, in a course nearly north-east, runs the grand range of mountains which may be called the northern wall of Italy. In this range are found the towering summits of the Simplon, St. Gothard, and the Splungen, which look down on Italy. One of Napoleon's memorials of himself is the admirable carriage-road over the Simplon. The elevation of these summits is

from 12 to 14,000 feet. Nearly parallel to this range, on the north-west, and at the distance of about 35 miles, is another range, many parts of which attain to a similar height; and between the two is the "Vallai," through which the Rhone, flowing first south-west, and then north-west, finds its way to the east end of Geneva lake.

From the sides of these great mountain ranges there are irregular branches, which form, in their deep hollows, the beds of numerous lakes; and these, with tributary streams, are the sources of some of the grandest rivers of Europe. Here are fountains of the Danube—the Reuss—the Aar—the Rhine, and the Rhone. On the northern side of the great northern range, the branches decline, (leaving some grand peaks in their way,) till they disappear; and then, towards the north-west, are the plains, or lowlands of Switzerland. The Rhine, having entered lake Constance, in the north-east corner of this country, flows westwardly, thence to Basle, and forms the northern boundary. Here this noble river takes a northern course, leaving mount Jura on the west, and, separating France and Germany, flows to the Netherlands, and the German ocean. In this extraordinary portion of the earth there may be found the luxuriant vegetation of tropical summer in the deep valley, while, in looking upward, all the varieties of the annual seasons may be discerned, finishing, on the sublime elevation, with winter more enduring than that of the arctic circle.

The people of Switzerland are hardly less remarkable than the singular country they inhabit. Here are found the simplicity of pastoral life—the patient industry of the agriculturalist—the ingenuity of the mechanic—the hereditary bravery of the warrior—the cultivation of the mind in science and literature; and, above all, a cherished love of liberty. The extravagance of luxury, known in some cities of France and Germany, finds no attraction in these mountains and vallies. The awful presence of nature, unchanged and unchangeable, like the eternal ocean, seems to indispose the mind to the frivolities which are common in artificial scenes.

The relative situation of places to be mentioned in these sketches, may be understood from assuming a central point, and computing from thence. The city of *Lucerne* is nearly in the centre of Switzerland, at the northwest end of the lake of the same name. Its latitude is $46^{\circ} 45'$ north; its long. $8^{\circ} 6'$ east. All distances will be computed from this city with as much accuracy as will serve for a general view.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the emperors of Germany had become the sovereigns of the feudal lords, who were the territorial sovereigns of Switzerland. The dukes of Swabia, and Carinthia (now part of the Austrian dominions,) were the principal ones of these feudal lords. Certain officers were sent into this country as local governors, and collectors of revenues, and to preserve tranquillity. Their German official name may be translated into patron, or warden, or bailiff. We pass over the wars which these territorial lords carried on among themselves, in which the people of the country could only change masters, and which were sure to be afflictive to them, whichever party was successful. Berchtold V., one of the dukes of Carinthia, of the family name of Zoringen, established the city of Berne, in 1191, on the river Aar, 40 miles west of Lucern. This duke is mentioned as deserving the highest commendation in the exercise of his power. On his death, and the extinction of his family thereby, Switzerland fell under the dominion of the house of Hapsburg, of whom Rodolph was the first who wore the crown of Germany. Before his election, he was actively engaged in the government of this country, which had its usual portion of wars and calamities, arising from the hostility of the nobles. When Rodolph was elected emperor, he granted or confirmed the privileges of several towns. He raised here one abbot, and one bishop, to the dignity of princes of the empire, and received a military force from Switzerland, as part of his body guard. But, like other men who are elevated to power, Rodolph forgot his obligations and duties to the Swiss, in the desire of aggrandizing the members of his own family. He had made of one son a duke of Swabia, and of another son, (Albert,) a duke of Austria; and intended to make a third son duke of Helvetia. But this son (Hartman) was drowned in the Rhine before his father could accomplish this object. (1285.)

When this Albert was elected Emperor, in 1298, he exercised his power, most oppressively, to the people of Switzerland. The history of this country begins to show the character of its people in the reign of Albert. He was not only emperor and duke of Austria, but, as one of the family of Hapsburg, he claimed sovereignty over Switzerland. He was "feared by all his subjects, hated by many, loved by none." He doubled the taxes; and the nobles, who stood between him and the peasantry, to supply their wants, imposed every variety of exaction. The peasantry were still considered as serfs, or slaves, and, on the decease of the father of a family, his best head of cattle,

and his best clothes, or arms, became the property of his immediate lord, according to feudal custom. Some of the cities were unable to purchase freedom by outright payments, or annual sums. Besides these taxes and charges, the church had its claims. These burthens might have been endured, as those who bore them were thereto accustomed. But they were enforced with the most irritating oppression.

Albert, having renewed the attempt to establish a dukedom in Switzerland, and having sent two bailiffs to tyrannise over Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, the spirit of the people was brought into action. These three cantons took the lead in the serious measures which ensued. The canton of *Underwalden* lies directly south of the lake Lucerne; that of *Schwitz* directly east of this lake; and that of *Uri* south of Schwitz, extending to, and including mount St. Gothard, and the celebrated place the devil's bridge, near this mountain. These three are usually called, in the histories of these times, the *forest cantons*. They were, at this time, (1300,) under the protection of the empire of Germany. Albert proposed to them to exchange this subjection, for that of the duke of Austria; in other words, to bring them directly in subjection to himself. They declined this proposal. Soon after, two bailiffs, of Albert's appointment, Gessler and Beranger, (apparently selected as suitable instruments to manifest Albert's displeasure,) appeared in the forest cantons. Excessive impositions and the most insufferable insolence followed. Gessler built a fortress at the foot of St. Gothard to which he gave the name of *Uri's restraint*. For some alleged offence of the son of Henry, of Halden, Beranger imposed on him a fine of a yoke of oxen. The son, in resentment, wounded one of the bailiff's servants, and fled. Beranger demanded of the father the surrender of the son. The father had not the power to comply. Not only were the oxen seized, and a fine imposed, but the unoffending father was deprived of his eyes.

At Altorf, situated at the end of the lake, 20 miles south-east of Lucerne, Gessler set up a hat on a pole, and demanded that every one who passed, should bow before it, in proof of his submission to Austria's duke. These, and many similar outrages, led Warner Stauffacher, (whose offence was that he had built a good house for himself, without the bailiff's permission,) Arnold, the son of the blind Henry, and Walter Faust, (another of the aggrieved,) to commune on suitable measures to free their country from these tyrants. They met (as often as circumstances required) at Rutli, in a solitary meadow, over-

hung by a mountain, on the west side of the lake, 15 miles S. E. of Lucerne. On the 11th Nov. 1307, each of the three confederates brought to the midnight meeting ten others, who solemnly united themselves to avenge their wrongs, and free their country. About this time occurred the well-known events between Gessler and William Tell, who was one of the thirty-three confederates. There is a note in Koch's work on the revolutions of Europe, in which an anonymous work, attributed to one Frudenberger, is mentioned, which treats of the story of William Tell as a fable. This suggestion produced two works of defence. John Von Muller, (born at Schaffhausen, on the Rhine,) the celebrated historian of Switzerland, is a sufficient authority for the existence and agency of William Tell. Traditions, and the ancient chapel on the border of the lake, bearing his name, are persuasive evidence of the reality of the scenes for which he is celebrated. The place at which Tell cleft the apple on his son's head, with his arrow, and fearlessly declared that his second arrow was intended for Gessler's heart, if the first went not as Tell desired it should go, was Altorf. The declaration exasperated Gessler, and he ordered Tell to be taken across the lake, and from the presence of his friends, that vengeance might be more deliberate and certain. Gessler went in the same boat. The chapel is erected on the spot where Tell landed in the tempest, and where he slew Gessler, who intended a similar fate for him. The story is recorded in a painting in the market-place at Altorf. [Naylor's history of Helvetic republics; vol. 1. p. 211, and seq.]

On the eve of the new year, 1308, one of the confederates was drawn up with a rope, by a female who served in Gessler's castle, at Rotsberg, and thus the doors of the castle could be opened from the interior. On the following day they possessed themselves of this castle, which they demolished, and also several other castles; and among the rest, that of "The Restraint of Uri." Soon after, the three forest cantons solemnly united themselves in a league, by adopting the oath originally formed at the meadow of Rutli. Thus the confederation of the Swiss cantons for the maintenance of liberty, was commenced.

On the first of May, 1308, the emperor Albert was slain, as has been before related. The terrible vengeance taken for this deed had the effect to combine the confederates still more strongly in their purposes. On the other hand, Frederick and Leopold, sons of Albert, undertook to subdue Switzerland. On the 15th Nov. 1315, an army of 15 to 20 thousand appeared

at Zug, 15 miles N. E. of Lucerne. Two other bodies, of 4000 and 1000, were to unite at Stanz, 8 miles south of Lucerne. The main army is described as containing the most accomplished warriors of the day, armed to the fullest effect; and having with them wagons loaded with cords, to hang the inhabitants. The Swiss forces are stated at 2050. This great army had to pass along the border of the lake of Egeri, about 15 miles nearly N. E. of Lucerne, whereon the town of Morgarten is situated. A high mountain approaches the lake, permitting only a narrow artificial road. The Swiss had posted themselves on this mountain, and when the whole army had come within the narrow pass, they commenced their attack with missiles from above; and afterwards, in close conflict below, and before nine o'clock in the morning, the whole of this brilliant Austrian force was put to death, or ignoble flight. Duke Leopold was saved with the utmost difficulty. This battle of Morgarten was the first grand triumph of the forest cantons; a triumph well adapted to produce a vengeful reaction on the part of Austria. The contemplation of the future suggested measures to meet whatever might arise.

On the 13th Dec. 1315, the representative envoys of the three forest cantons (Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden) met at Brunen, 15 miles S. E. of Lucerne, and there formed a league for self defence against all enemies; the most simple, the most effective, and the most enduring of any confederation known in history. The enemies with whom the confederates had to contend, proved to be the German emperors, and the house of Austria. It must unfortunately be added, that the confederates did not escape contentions among themselves, and that their swords were sometimes turned against each other. The emperor claimed of the inhabitants the performance of duties as vassals of the empire, and, when the emperor was of the Austrian house, the duties of subjects. When the emperor was of any other than the Austrian family, he had, in general, a war on hand with that family. From these causes, and from the oppressive exactions of the nobles who dwelt within the limits of Switzerland, the inhabitants were kept in a severe discipline to acquire the means of combining their powers for self-defence, and to exert them, when combined, against all assailants. In this school "the Swiss" became the bravest and most effective of all the soldiery of Europe.

We must pass over many occurrences in the Alpine country, intending to limit attention to the forming of the confederation, and the final emancipation of Switzerland from Germany and

from Austria. It is to be supposed that in two centuries, numerous events, civil and military, occurred, and that many individuals highly distinguished themselves as patriots and warriors. Such only, of these events, as illustrate "the Swiss" for other ages, as well as their own, can be noticed.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Wars between the Swiss Cantons and the German Emperors; and between the Swiss, and the Dukes of Austria, from 1316 to 1450.

THE three original members of the confederation, the forest cantons, maintained a sincere detestation of the house of Austria, and showed this by adherence to those emperors, who were not of that house. Accordingly, Louis V., in 1316, annihilated all the rights of Austria in Switzerland, by an imperial decree; a measure very sure to cause new troubles when an Austrian prince should come to the throne. In 1332 the canton of Lucerne, freed from Austria, joined the confederation as the *fourth* member. The *fifth* member was *Zurich*, whose condition, and membership, require some notice. The city of Zurich, is situated at the north end of a lake of the same name, in a north-eastwardly course from Lucerne, and distant from it about 30 miles. Nearly the same distance from Zurich, in the same course, brings one to the ancient town of Schaffhausen, on the Rhine. Zurich was a town of ancient Helvetia, and had been a town or city more than thirteen centuries, when it was received into the confederation in 1332. It had maintained its independence, and was one of the free towns in Europe, which united for mutual security and commerce, in the thirteenth century. At this time, 1332, the city is supposed to have contained 12,000 inhabitants, consisting of some nobles and knights, but mostly free citizens. Its interior government was conducted by popular election, and was, consequently, subjected to great excitements and violent changes. A vanquished party would seek alliance and aid from abroad, and was sure to find them in the house of Austria; or among discontented and rival neighbors.

One of the popular revolutions had occurred at Zurich in the year 1335. Several nobles, and eminent citizens, were thrust out of power, and obliged to find safety in flight. These exiles entered into treaties with such as were unfavorably dis-

posed towards Zurich. Among these were the inhabitants of the town of Rappersweil, situate on the lake S. E. of Zurich 18 miles, N. E. of Lucerne 30 miles. The citizens of Zurich attacked and burnt this town (of R.) which was among those in which Austria was interested, and next, Albert (duke of Austria) appears, as the enemy of Zurich, with a force of 16,000 men. The duke also called the people of Glarus to his standard, as vassals. The canton of Glarus adjoins, and lies S. E. of the canton of Schwitz. As the vassals of Glarus canton did not obey the duke, he sent an army thither, intending to subdue them, and overawe Schwitz and Uri. The victories of the people of Glarus over the Austrians, secured to them an honorable admission to the league as the *sixth* member, in 1350. In 1353, the canton of Zug, (north-east of Lucerne, and north of Schwitz,) joined the league, making the *seventh* member.

Duke Albert persevered in his attempts to reduce Zurich, which was now defended within its own walls, against his besieging army. A siege, in these days, was less a question of power and skill, than one of patience and food. Albert's impatience, and want of food, induced him to make terms of peace. Among his forces were a body of men from the city of Berne, which is 40 miles west of Lucerne, and about 60 miles S. W. of Zurich: when Albert's troops retired, the men of Berne remained. Their purpose was to join the league, and Berne became the *eighth* member in 1353. Thus, in about 38 years, the poor, humble peasants of the "forest cantons," Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, had formed a league for the most honorable and praiseworthy purposes, and had attracted into the same alliance the cities of Lucerne, Zurich, and Berne, and the cantons of Glarus and Zug—making eight members.

The confederation had already obtained the name of *Swiss*, not that its members so named it, but because it was so spoken of, out of Switzerland, from the prominent part ever taken by the people of the canton of Schwitz, in all its affairs, civil and military. Hitherto the confederation was nothing but a solemn oath to maintain themselves and each other, in freedom and independence. Nothing more was needed. Each city and canton regulated its own concerns; and each one sent all the force it could, to any point where forces were wanted. It is a curious fact, that hitherto, in Swiss military achievements, nothing is heard of Swiss generals. Either there were none, or every warrior was one. Instances of great and glorious acts occur,

but usually among the mere soldiery, men whose veins had no tinge of noble blood but their own; their limbs no chivalrous discipline but in the best mode of routing an army.

The Swiss league was considered as undutiful both to the empire and to Austria, and attempts were made to break it up. From this time (1350, when the league comprised eight members) to the end of the fifteenth century, the history of Switzerland may be ranged under these three subjects: 1. The attempts of the empire to subdue or control. 2. The attempts of Austria to the like ends. 3. The contentions and wars among the members of the league in general, occasioned by some intrigue of one or of both of these powers, (the empire and Austria.)

In 1353, duke Albert, of Austria, complained to the emperor Charles IV. of the Swiss league, and requested his aid to break it up. Charles appeared before Zurich with forty thousand men and four thousand knights. Zurich had within its walls only four thousand soldiers. They intimated to Charles, by displaying, on high, a golden ground with a black eagle thereon, (the imperial arms,) that the quarrel with Austria did not affect their allegiance to the empire. In twenty days the emperor broke up his army and retired. Rudolph Brun appears to have been the most conspicuous citizen of Zurich in these days.

In 1358, an attack on Berne and its entire overthrow, were intended by the nobles who had become hostile to the inhabitants. These nobles had the support and aid of others, who dwelt towards the Rhine. The duke of Austria, and even the emperor, sanctioned this intention. A combined force of fifteen thousand men on foot, three thousand of horse, twelve hundred knights in complete armor, seven hundred barons "with crowned helmets," appeared to conquer or destroy. The first object of attack was the small town of Laupen, ten miles south-west of Berne. The number of the confederates who met this formidable body at Laupen, could not have been one fourth of their number. Nine hundred only are stated to have come from the forest cantons. The invading host (June 20, 1359) were completely defeated and slain, or put to flight. Twenty-seven banners of imperial cities and of high nobles graced this victory. Rudolph, of Erlach, appears to have been the untitled hero of the day, on the side of the Swiss.

A peace of about thirty years' duration followed the battle of Laupen. The cities of the confederacy, and the respective cantons, were left to themselves. The prosperity or depression

which attended them, depended on the character of the population and the form of government. Zurich was industrious and prosperous; Berne grasping and ambitious; Lucerne disturbed by internal factions. These thirty years were years of peace as to Austria and the empire; but the confederates were called to arms on two occasions, once to repress a formidable association of armed men, who had no employment but robbery, the other to resist *de Coucy*. This person is called duke of Soissons and Bedford, and husband of Isabella, daughter of Edward III. of England. Catharina, mother of *de Coucy*, was daughter of that Austrian duke Leopold who was defeated at Morgarten. Austria was to have given a dowry to Catharina in the Swiss territories, then claimed by Austria in sovereignty. As the Swiss had taken these territories, and Austria could not dispose of them, *de Coucy* came to take them by force. His army was numerous, rapacious, and cruel, and unresisted, till it came to the walls of Berne and the frontiers of Zurich. The sufferings of the people at length combined them, and *de Coucy* was signally defeated.

Within the fourteenth century (1365—1388) the confederation had been twice assailed by Austria. The assailants were again defeated at Wessen and at Naefels, in the canton of Glarus, with great loss. The most perilous, doubtful, and successful of all the battles hitherto fought, was that of Sempach, on the 9th of July, 1386. This place is ten miles north-west from Lucerne. The Austrian force were chosen men, completely armed, and double the number of the Swiss, who had only pieces of board attached to their left arms as shields. Taught, by former lessons, to dread the onset of the Swiss, the Austrians dismounted, placed themselves in close line, presenting, at the front, a barrier of pointed spears, which no effort of the Swiss could turn aside or break down. Some of their ablest warriors fell in the attempt. Here occurred an instance of heroism unsurpassed by any on record. Arnold, of Winkelried, seeing the hopelessness of the conflict against this barrier of spears, exclaimed,—“I will make way for you, confederates—provide for my children—honor my race!” Then running and springing on to the spears, he grasped several of them in his arms, and, with the weight of his body, brought them to the ground. A way was thus opened over Arnold’s body, and it was well used by the confederates. Their enemy was in a space too narrow for action; they were sinking under the excessive heat and weight of armor. The Swiss were unincumbered; and, animated with their natural

spirit, and stimulated to avenge the loss of some of their most valued associates. The Austrian loss was six hundred of the higher and lower nobility, and, among them, duke Leopold, and two thousand armed men of inferior degree, including knights. The Swiss loss amounted to two hundred, perhaps the greatest they had hitherto experienced in any one battle.

The league of the confederates had been found insufficient to bring their united force against enemies, or to preserve peace among themselves. Hitherto, the oath formed at the meadow of Rutli, in 1307, was the only bond of union. Soon after this battle of the 9th of July, 1386, "the declaration of Sempach" was formed, which was designed to regulate the interests of the confederates, as among themselves—to repress disorders, and establish a secure and friendly intercourse. It provided, also, for the manner in which the enemies of the confederacy were to be met and resisted. It is plain, from some of the provisions of this instrument, that the original simplicity of the people had been corrupted, and that though they still retained their admirable firmness in battle, they were not insensible of the value of plunder. Both the empire and Austria were inclined to leave the confederates unmolested by arms. With Austria, a peace was made for seven years. In 1394 it was prolonged for twenty, and, in 1412, for fifty years.

In the north-east part of Switzerland is the lake Constance. The Rhine flows into this lake, coming down from the south. West of the Rhine, and south of the lake, are the lands belonging to the abbot of St. Galle, and here is the town of the same name. Adjoining these lands, on the south, is the canton of Appenzel. Over this canton, the abbot had the rights of a sovereign. These he caused to be so exercised, as to create a revolt among the inhabitants. They united, and with the like bravery, and like inferiority of military force as among the people of the forest cantons, they, like them, succeeded in fighting themselves free. As usual, the reigning duke of Austria, who was Frederick, took part in this war against the people of Appenzel, who were aided by some volunteers from the Swiss. In 1408, the canton of Appenzel had proved itself worthy of being received into the confederacy, and became the *ninth* member. About a century had elapsed since the forest cantons, in the time of William Tell, began their resistance of the house of Austria. That house had failed, in every effort, to reduce the Swiss and their allies to obedience, and were now ready to confirm to the confederacy all their conquests, as the price of peace.

When the members of the confederacy were relieved from the necessity of uniting and defending themselves against foreign enemies, they had leisure and inclination to contend with each other, and to become aggressors themselves, in the hope of conquest. An opportunity arose to manifest such dispositions in the year 1414. In that year the great ecclesiastical council was held, at the city of Constance, on the west side of the lake of that name. At this council, pope John XXIII. was present, but his right to be considered pope being questioned, he fled from the council, and was protected by Frederick, duke of Austria. The duke having thus fallen under the displeasure of the council, the Swiss confederacy were invited to invade the duke's territories, situated north-westwardly of Lucerne, in the valley of the river Aar. The earnest persuasions of the council and the emperor Sigismund (who was of this council) embodied the men of Berne first, and then those of all the other members of the confederacy, (but Uri and Appenzel,) and, within a few days, the whole territory along the Aar, and thence north-eastwardly to the Reuss, was conquered. The Swiss, hitherto, had no other object than to defend their native land from conquest; they had now become conquerors themselves. Bailiwicks were established over their new subjects. Instead of acquiring a benefit, the members of the confederacy only laid the foundation of lasting contentions among themselves. To the honor of Uri and Appenzel, they would take no part in the new conquests.

There is not space to enter into the causes of the contentions and wars among the confederates themselves. The conquests which had been made—the arrogance of some of the members—the dissatisfaction of others—the right of passing with merchandise—the imposition of tolls and duties, were among these causes. There may be added another cause, which embraces and includes all others: the natural disposition of mankind to unite in conquering others, and to quarrel among themselves when that is done. Thus, by a series of offensive measures, Zurich had drawn upon herself the united hostility of all the other members. In 1440, this city and its territories experienced the full force of that military spirit which had been so often used by herself and associates against the common enemy, the empire and Austria. The cantons of Schwitz and Glarus had respectively conquered territories of Zurich, and, when peace was made, insisted on retaining them. Humiliated and mortified, Zurich sought to retrieve her fortunes by forming an alliance with Austria.

In July, 1443, all the confederates appeared in arms against Zurich and her new ally, Austria. None of the people of Zurich canton were safe, except within the walls of the city. A garrison at Griefensee, ten miles east of Zurich, surrendered to the confederates after a siege of four weeks, and sixty-two of the captured were beheaded. This act imparts a new character to Swiss affairs. It was the first case of putting to death, in cold blood, among the old members of the league. Probably the spirit of enmity was more bitter and implacable among the members, than between themselves and any enemy against whom they had united.

While this war was raging, the dauphin of France, (son of Charles VII.,) so well known afterwards as Louis XI., had embodied an army, and was moving to attack the city of Basle, which is at the great bend of the Rhine, one hundred and ten miles nearly north-west from Lucerne. Basle had been in alliance with the confederates, and was, itself, at this time, one of the free cities. The Swiss sent sixteen hundred to the assistance of Basle. The battle of "St. Jacob by Basle," was fought in 1444, in which the conflict continued ten hours, and all the Swiss, but ten, were slain. The French purchased a very costly victory, and acquired such knowledge of Swiss bravery as to avoid an encounter with it in future. In the course of this year (1444) peace was established. The alliance of Zurich and Austria was annulled, and the confederates resumed their ancient relation.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Wars of the Swiss with German Emperors—With Louis XI. of France—With Charles of Burgundy—Remarkable Battles—Character of the Swiss in 1500.

THE prominent characters in the affairs of Switzerland, within the period from 1450—1477, were these : 1. Sigismund, duke of Austria. 2. Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy. 3. Louis XI., king of France. Ambition, envy, hatred, and avarice, brought these three persons into action, and brought the whole force of the Swiss cantons into action also. The lessons which the house of Austria had received from the cantons were forgotten, and every new successor to the ducal sovereignty still asserted a right over ancient hereditary do-

minions. Sigismund was the admitted sovereign of some territories situated along the valley of the river Aar, and of Alsace, a country situate along the west bank of the Rhine, and was claimant of sovereignty over towns and territories within the limits of Switzerland. As to these towns and territories, Sigismund was nominal sovereign only, and was without ability to enforce his claims. Charles the Rash was sovereign over all the Netherlands, that is, over Holland and Belgium. Adjoining the Netherlands on the south, and west of Alsace, was the duchy of Lorraine, (now part of France,) which then belonged to the duke Renè, of the ancient house of Anjou. Lorraine separated Luxemburg from Franche Comptè; both of these were within the dominions of Charles. If Charles could acquire Alsace and Lorraine, he hoped to extend his dominions from the North sea to the Mediterranean, and to erect them into a kingdom superior to that of France, and little inferior in unity and effectiveness, even to the German empire. With such views, Charles advanced to Sigismund a large sum, and took a mortgage on all the Austrian dominions in Switzerland, and between this country and France, and west of the Rhine. Charles went immediately into possession of the ceded property, except that in Switzerland. To possess that portion, he had something more to do than to demand it of the Swiss. The third personage in this new drama, was Louis XI. of France. Cold, calculating, malicious, perfidious, he cherished an inveterate hatred for the duke of Burgundy, and had abundant reason to fear that the duke would acquire a mastery. Louis understood the character of the Swiss, from his personal experience at, and near Basle. To secure himself and his kingdom both from Charles and the Swiss, he devoted his talents and his money, to bring these two parties into conflict, remaining neutral himself. Charles was so unfortunate in his policy, as to promote essentially the purposes of Louis.

Charles appointed a cruel, tyrannical, and rapacious governor to rule over his new Austrian acquisitions, immediately on the north-western frontier of Switzerland. The conduct of this man, Peter Von Hagenbach, excited the indignation of the people whom he was sent to govern. Remonstrances were offered to Charles, but were answered only by neglect or insult. The Swiss were reminded that they were interested in this matter, and that Charles had them in view, to be dealt with in due time. The proper occasion had arisen for the Swiss to move. They authorized the city of Berne to make

an alliance with Louis of France, to resist the duke of Burgundy. Louis readily entered into this alliance, so far as to advance money for public uses, and as his practice was, to purchase every man whom he thought capable of serving him. These arrangements having been made, the means of coming to blows were of daily occurrence. Some audacious act of Hagenbach caused him to be taken and beheaded by the opponents of Charles. The inhabitants of Alsace, desirous of getting rid of Charles, offered to advance the money to Sigismund, to redeem from Charles the mortgaged territories and towns. Charles refused to release his mortgage. Austria now gladly joined the Swiss against Charles. Thus the ambitious Charles the Rash had united Austria, France, and Switzerland against him. These were not all; for at the same time, in some negotiations with the German emperor, now Frederick IV., he also was added to the enemies of Charles. But Charles was rich, abundant in resources, skilled in war, and was the last, among friends or foes, to think of defeat and disaster in connection with himself.

The execution of Hagenbach, which Charles took no measure to prevent, placed the parties in the relation of belligerents. In October, 1474, the Swiss penetrated into Franche Comptè, defeated all opponents, and returned enriched by plunder. Immediately after, an order was passed in a Swiss council, which shows the growing degeneracy. The excessive use of wine, in battle, was prohibited; and a guard was placed in the rear ranks, commissioned to cut down all who should leave fighting, to gather plunder.

An alliance between such enemies as the Swiss now had, and from the most selfish and sordid motives, was liable to terminate, in whole, or in part, whenever like motives, more powerful, should arise. The emperor of Germany, hoping to obtain Charles's only daughter and heiress for his son, made peace without regard to the Swiss. Louis, from similar motives, made a truce of nine years with Charles. The Swiss had been warned by some of their sages, that such might be their fate. As the aid of Austria was insignificant, the Swiss had now to encounter Charles, alone. Meanwhile Charles had conquered Lorraine, and had nothing more to do than to subject and to punish the audacious confederacy of Switzerland.

It is represented by a contemporary historian, (Philip de Comines,) that the warriors assembled by Charles in the beginning of the year 1476, to chastise the Swiss, amounted to

fifty thousand. The followers, or associates of this army, male and female, are computed at an equal number. In fact, this camp was the court of Charles the Rash: not only were the distinguished personages usually found in a camp, present, but Charles had brought with him his precious treasures in silver, gold, and jewels. The whole scene is described rather as an excursion for social pleasures, on an extended scale, than as the progress of an invading army.

At the south-west end of the lake Neuchatel, and at the distance of seventy-five miles west from Lucerne, and about the same distance south-west from Basle, is the small territory of Granson: the chief town has the same name, and was a fortified place. In February, 1476, Charles took Granson by storm, and forced the garrison into the citadel. Famine and promises induced the garrison to surrender. If Charles had known the character of the people, of whom a few had thus fallen into his power, he would have taken a very different course with these few. Relying on his numbers and power, and expecting to intimidate all Switzerland, he ordered half of the captives to be hung on the trees, and the other half to be drowned in the lake.

An army of twenty thousand Swiss had been gathered on the other side of the lake, (Neuchatel,) but near enough to have heard of this tragedy, on the very day when it occurred. Very different were the feelings and emotions in the two camps, on that day. In that of the Burgundians, confidence, security, and pleasure, reigned; while in that of the Swiss, every bosom felt a deep, determined, insatiable desire of revenge. On the 3d of March, 1476, the Swiss moved from the neighborhood of Neuchatel, along the north-western side of the lake, towards Granson, where the duke was skilfully posted with a force thrice as numerous as that of the Swiss. The force of the duke comprised artillery, which had come into general use at this time. It was impossible for the Swiss to assail the duke, so entrenched. In the hope of drawing him forth, a castle, in which some of Charles's followers had taken their residence, was attacked. This measure drew Charles into the conflict; and the Swiss awaited him in a position where neither his artillery nor cavalry could be brought into action. A tremendous conflict ensued.

The exact circumstances, and the very agents, on which the fate of most battles turned, are set forth in historical accounts with a precision which is somewhat surprising. If one were giving an account of a single battle, he would inquire into

minute particulars, and do justice (to the best of his ability) to good conduct, and to professional excellence. But, knowing how difficult it is, in one's own time, to arrive at facts, military or civil, some distrust is awakened as to statements of ancient events. Besides, these statements have been recast so frequently, that they are often inconsistent and irreconcilable. There are many versions of this battle of Granson. All of them have a basis of truth; which of them is *truest*, no one can affirm. It is enough, for so general a purpose as this, to state that there was a battle, the time, the place, and the consequences. All accounts agree that Charles the Rash, and his host of armed and gallant nobles, knights, and gentlemen, were completely defeated, slain, or put to flight; and that the defeat was so effective, and so rapid, and so thorough, that there must have been a general panic; for the whole of Charles's camp, his provisions, his baggage, and his treasures, fell into the possession of the Swiss. Comines says, this defeat was so ruinous, so distressing, and so humiliating to Charles, that he is supposed never to have had the full use of his understanding, at any time, afterwards. It will not be doubted, from the character of this age, and the disposition of the Swiss, that they spared no one; nor that they took vindictive, perhaps savage vengeance, on such prisoners as fell into their hands.

There are many accounts, not agreeing with each other, as to the treasure found in Charles's camp. At this time, (towards the end of the fifteenth century,) there had been and was, an enriching commerce in the Netherlands, where Charles was sovereign. Several opulent cities there had commerce with the north of Europe, with London, and with the south of Europe. Charles had the means of accumulating great riches without oppressive exactions. He is represented to have been much given to magnificence and splendor. It is very possible, therefore, that "gold was shared by hatfuls;" and that "diamonds, which now adorn the most magnificent crowns in Europe, were first ignorantly thrown aside, and then sold for trifling sums." A credible authority says, "Plate was flung away as pewter. The large diamond which the duke usually wore at his neck, was found in a box of pearls; at first rejected as a bauble, it was taken up, and sold for a single crown. It was afterwards purchased by the pope, for twenty thousand ducats, and still adorns the papal tiara. Another diamond, taken there, was bought by Henry VIII., of England: his daughter Mary gave it to Philip II., her husband; and it now belongs to Austria."

Charles well deserved the name of Rash. He devoted himself to gather another army ; and, disdaining to listen to any terms of peace or truce, he found himself at the head of a force little less strong in numbers than that so lately overthrown. In the month of June, in the same year, (1476,) he besieged a Swiss garrison at Morat. This place is situated on a lake of the same name, on the south-east side of lake Neuchatel. The town of Morat is fifty-five miles west of Lucerne, and fifteen, nearly, west of Berne. The Swiss who were of the forest cantons, and others still more remote, were disinclined to engage, anew, in this warfare. They regarded it rather as an affair of the canton of Berne, than of themselves. This feeling gave way to better ones, and a force appeared near Morat, to encounter the enemy. A body of Austrian cavalry were allied with the Swiss, who advised that a defence should be made of baggage-wagons, and that the attack of the enemy should be waited for. But Felix Keller, of Zurich, answered, that the confederates were wont to be beforehand with their enemies. If the words spoken, and the acts done, at this time, have been truly recorded and transmitted, they were, according to one historian, these : "God with us against the world," cried Hallwyl to his followers. At this instant the sun broke through the heavy clouds which had veiled it. "Heaven fights us to victory," he exclaimed, waving his sword. "Forward! think of your wives and children! Youths! think of your loved ones; yield them not up to the lewd and Godless enemy!"

In this battle, as in that of Granson, the Burgundians were defeated with great slaughter. A large body of English had been taken into the duke's service. Their skill and valor had no other effect, than to make the defeat more costly and destructive to their number.

Meanwhile the province of Lorraine had revolted from Charles. He next turned his attention to reconquer it. The young duke Renè, who had fought with the Swiss at Morat, prevailed on them to aid him in defending his inheritance. He led eight thousand to Lorraine, and, at the close of the year 1476, in a battle fought near Nancy, (two hundred miles east of Paris,) Charles was slain. Thus, in one year, the duke of Burgundy, by his own ungovernable will, and against the counsels of able men, lost a great amount of personal property, sacrificed thousands of lives, and at last his own life. In all this, he caused numerous and heavy calamities, and gratified no mortal but his cunning enemy, the king of France.

- These victories, however glorious to Swiss bravery, changed the motive from the original one of patriotism and love of liberty, to avarice and venality. From this time may be dated the regular sale of Swiss blood to foreign countries; and the making of Swiss skill and courage, marketable articles. No one sooner perceived this, or more effectively used the Swiss, than Louis XI. From this time, also, may be dated the loss of that extraordinary and admirable spirit which first disclosed itself in the solitude of the meadow of Rutli, overhung by the solemn mountain. Henceforward the young men of Switzerland thought of the intense interest of military life, and of the gold it would obtain, whether in plunder or wages. The whole population of Switzerland is supposed to have been about two millions. Of this number there were, as it is said, from fifty to sixty thousand who were warriors by profession. When not engaged in war, they became dissolute and unmanageable. They gave themselves up to practices which demanded the severest penalties. In a single year, one thousand and five hundred are supposed to have been executed for various descriptions of crime.

Before the end of this century, (about 1480,) the Swiss are heard of in Italy. They had passed beyond Mt. St. Gothard, from the south end of the canton of Uri, and had invaded the territories of Milan. Here they encountered Visconti, duke of Milan; at first, much to their disadvantage. But on another occasion, they flooded the meadows, through which the Ticino flows southwardly, with the waters of that river. When the ice had formed sufficiently to bear them, six hundred of them put on *skates*, and attacked and defeated an Italian force of fifteen thousand. Peace followed, and Uri acquired the *val Levantina* and the *val Bruggiasco*.

Very serious difficulties had arisen among the confederates on two subjects: the one was the partition of the Burgundian spoils; the other, the admission of the two towns, Freyberg and Soleure, into the confederacy. The forest cantons strenuously opposed the admission of these towns. A great meeting was held at Stanz, eight miles south of Lucerne. The discussion assumed a very serious character. All hope of compromise had vanished. All parties believed that the sword must be the only arbitrator. In this moment of extreme excitement, historians recount the sudden appearance, in the assembly, of a hermit, named Nicolas of the Flue. If there was such an austere and secluded person, if he did appear on that occasion, if he uttered the words imputed to him, he certainly rendered

a most important service to his countrymen. Nicolas had been a brave warrior, but had long been secluded, leading a most abstemious life, and intent only on his pious duties. The accurate knowledge which his speech discloses of the state of the world, (of which he could not be said to be a member,) is not accounted for. "You have become strong," he said, "by the force of union; and will you now sever that union for the sake of a wretched booty? Far be it, that surrounding lands should ever hear such things of you. Let not the towns insist on claims injurious to the old confederates. Let the country places remember how Soleure and Freyberg fought at their sides, and freely receive them into the confederacy. Beware of foreign intrigues. Confederates! beware of internal discords! Far be it from any to take gold as the price of their father-land." This very sensible speech had the desired effect. The two towns were admitted; and Nicolas could not have had time to reach his cell, before all controversies were amicably adjusted. Freyberg is west by south from Lucerne, sixty miles; and Soleure is on the Aar, about forty miles north-west from Lucerne.

At this meeting the *covenant* of Stanz was adopted, which was a revision of the principles of the confederacy. This covenant (as might be supposed in that age) was not founded on political science, nor does it contain any division of powers, checks, or balances. The sole object seems to have been to point out the rights and duties of the confederate members. Force was the only remedy when disagreements arose, if the great council of delegates could not find a remedy. The several members having reserved many powers to themselves, difficulties often occurred on the point, whether, in the exercise of these powers, the interests of the confederates were affected. If the people of Uri chose to engage in a foreign war, for example, ought this to be regarded as involving the confederacy?

Such questions necessarily arose, because the neighboring countries were almost incessantly engaged in war. Germany was contending with the Turks on its eastern border, and with France on the west. France was contending with Germany and with Italy; while Italy was contending, internally and externally, without cessation. The Swiss were in the midst of these contending parties, and courted and feared by all of them. The part which the Swiss took with France against Italy, and consequently adverse both to the empire and to

Austria, (as to their interests in Italy,) brought these two powers again into conflict with the Swiss. The emperor Maximilian represented both these powers, and approached the Swiss on their eastern frontier through the Tyrol. The principal seat of the war was in the territories of the Grisons, which is east of Uri, south of Appenzel, west of the Tyrol. Some severe battles were fought here, in which the Grisons (who, as warriors, now make their first appearance) were eminently successful. The people of the neighboring cantons assisted them, and the Grisons were received as allies, but not into full confederacy. At the end of the fifteenth century, (September, 1499,) the emperor made peace with the Swiss, and thereby confirmed their ancient rights and conquests. From this time no attempt was ever made to dissolve the union of the confederates, or to annex their territories, or any part of them, to the German empire. Thus, it required about two centuries (1307—1499) and many serious battles, to establish the independence of the Swiss people. At the end of the fifteenth century, the confederacy comprised the cantons of Schwitz, Underwalden, Uri, Zug, Appenzel, Glarus, and the cities of Lucerne, Zurich, Berne, Freyberg, Soleure, and their appendages; besides these, many free towns and cities were in alliance with some of these members. The extensive regions of the Grisons were in alliance, but not members.

Geneva is situated at the western end of the lake of the same name, and on the extreme west of Switzerland. It was not numbered among the confederates of the Swiss cantons until after the end of the fifteenth century. It was a very ancient city, existing when Helvetia was first known to the Romans. After the fifteenth century, Geneva acquired great celebrity; before that time, its history has nothing interesting. It was part of Charlemagne's empire, and, in common with Helvetia, part of the German empire. Nearly the whole of the fifteenth century was passed in contending with the dukes of Savoy, who attempted, unsuccessfully, to make the city and its dependent territories part of their dominions. Savoy lies south of Geneva lake.

Neuchatel is usually included in ancient Helvetia and in modern Switzerland. Its chief city is situated on the north-western side of the lake of the same name. The whole territory is thirty-six miles long and eighteen wide, and well peopled. Its origin must be found in the territorial partitions

which arose on the dismemberment and fall of the Roman empire. The first of its sovereigns, mentioned in history, was Ulric. In 1214, his son Bertold "made a convention with the inhabitants concerning the rights, liberties, and franchises of the citizens and people of the country." These rights and liberties have been confirmed at different times. Neuchatel has passed, in respect to its sovereign, (who had not much more than nominal power,) through many families, by marriage and inheritance. In 1406, a person called John of Chalons, was the sovereign prince; next, the house of Orleans Longueville; then William, prince of Orange and king of England, claimed as heir of the house of Chalons. After his death, the heirship of the king of Prussia was asserted and admitted. Neuchatel is now distinguished (in 1837) on the maps as part of the Prussian dominions. It was never one of the confederated cantons, but maintained a fellow-citizenship of very ancient date, with Berne, Lucerne, Freyberg, and Soleure. Berne was regarded, ever since 1406, as its particular friend and protector.

In the south-east of Switzerland is the extensive country of the Grisons, comprising a large part of ancient Rhetia. Three leagues had been formed in this territory, known in modern times as the league of the ten jurisdictions, the league of God's house, and the Grey league. This confederacy was formed in 1472, or, rather, re-formed at that time. The whole country is about one hundred and five miles by ninety miles in extent. The aspect of this country is rather towards Italy, as that of the north of Switzerland is towards Germany. The Grisons appear very little in the affairs of Germany and the north, during the centuries now under review. Their country is even more extraordinary than other parts of the Alpine regions, in its mountains and vallies. No one of its vallies is less than 3234 feet above the level of the sea; the highest village is 5600 feet above that level.

The Tyrol, eastwardly of the Grisons, has fallen under Austrian dominion, and its history mingles with that of Austria.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Swiss are seen to have met the armies of Germany, France, and Burgundy, with numbers far inferior to those of their enemies, and to have been almost invariably victorious. They once met the Italians with adverse result, but at all other times with as favorable results as attended them in the north. Whence

came this remarkable trait in national character? It has been suggested that the Swiss were of Grecian descent. If this were so, they had preserved no evidence of language or customs peculiarly Grecian. Was it the nature of the country which they inhabited? Their deep vallies and awful mountains, their simple and pastoral vocations, do not appear to have been adapted to cherish a warlike spirit. They were not imitators. They knew none whom they could imitate. They did not follow the example of those who had come within their knowledge. They were triumphant over their foes, not only when they attacked them from mountain summits, but when encountered in the low-lands, and where the battleground secured no superiority. Their valor was not surpassed by Greeks or Romans, even in the best days of either of these nations. We know not that Swiss skill and courage has ever been accounted for.

In other respects, this people were not superior to their contemporaries. They were not an educated people. They were superstitious, but not subjected to the priesthood. The secluded portion, occupied in agriculture, simple manufactures, and pastoral life, were innocent and moral, compared with their northern neighbors; but no superiority is affirmed of them, in these respects, in their towns. It may be, that, having little to engross attention, and having been so entirely successful in their early conflicts, they cultivated a sentiment of national glory to which all other sentiments were secondary. They were, comparatively, poor. Success was not only victory, but riches. It may be that the hope of plunder became one of the motives which led to their eminent renown as warriors. This is the more probable, since it is seen that they were willing, before the close of the fifteenth century, to appropriate their skill and valor to any power that could best tempt their avarice.

We here leave the Swiss, to bring them again into view during the three last centuries.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ITALY.

Gothic Kingdom—Reign of Theodoric—Lombards—Belisarius—Narses—Italian Language.

From the year 500 to 1000, there is neither instruction nor interest in Italian events. In the next five centuries, they were highly important, and produced lasting consequences. The repeated invasions by the German emperors—the resistance of the Italian republics—their commercial grandeur—their wars with each other—their internal revolutions, and their final subjection to usurpers, are among the elements of Italian history. The temporal dominion of the Roman church belongs to this portion of history, as its seat of empire was the city of Rome. Hence it sent forth its commands, its menaces, and its terrible judgments. That astonishing delusion, which spoiled Europe of millions of lives, and nearly all its treasure, during two centuries, began, and was continued, on the papal throne. The far more important fact is, that to tenants of this throne must be imputed the deliberate purpose (whatever motives may have been) to establish a despotism, not only over property and personal liberty, but over the human mind. The audacity, the profligacy, and the crimes, of some of these self-styled representatives of saint Peter, are hardly paralleled among the most depraved of temporal princes.

After having drawn, from the first five centuries, such introductory facts as the present purpose requires, such of the second five centuries as are deemed material, will be brought to view. But this view must be a very general one, since a few pages only can be devoted to the train of events to which the indefatigable Sismondi has devoted sixteen volumes.

The notice of Italy in the first part of these sketches, ended with the conquest of the Romans in 476, by Odoacer, who led the Heruli, (a division of the Goths,) and who made himself king of Italy. The city of Ravenna was this king's seat of government. It was nearly 200 miles north of Rome, and was on or very near the shore of the Adriatic sea. Between 476 and 500, Theodoric had defeated Odoacer in several battles—had besieged him three years in Ravenna—had made a treaty with him to rule jointly and equally together in Italy—had assassinated him at a feast, and had become sole king of Italy.

This outline shows, that Theodoric may have been a barbarian, no less than Odoacer; but not more so than other persons, in any age or country, who have to shed blood to acquire, or to keep crowns. Theodoric was derived from the Gothic race, and claimed lineal descent from Amala, whose memory was cherished and venerated for military exploits, in remote generations. He was a genuine Goth; but Italy had not seen for centuries before, nor did Italy see for centuries after his time, any thirty years of equal prosperity and happiness, as in the first thirty of his reign. He was born near what is now the city of Vienna; was sent to Constantinople in his early youth as a hostage. He learned there manly and martial habits, but declined all study of letters, and could not write nor read. Having become king of his nation, and being a very expensive friend and ally of the emperor, at Constantinople, his offer to recover Italy from Odoacer, was gladly accepted. He embodied a powerful force, which was followed, as was the manner of the Goths, by wives, children, flocks, and herds. What was done in the numerous battles which produced the result of making Theodoric master of Italy, need not to be told. It is rare to find any thing in a battle itself, which deserves minute narration. It is slaughter and conquest in all cases, and for any general or philosophical purpose, consequences only are to be regarded.

At this time there were two, and only two sorts of Christians in the world—the Arians, and those who were of the Nicene faith, as established by a council at Nice, in the year 325. The latter had acquired the name of Catholics, and have ever since been so known. Theodoric was an Arian, but he did not disturb the Catholics, nor did he make any distinction between the two classes, until near the close of his reign, which lasted 37 years from his first coming to Italy, and 33 from his exclusive possession of the kingdom. He kept his Goths in arms, and in habitual discipline. He had always an army of 200,000 men distributed over Italy. The conquered, in Italy, he encouraged to cultivate the soil, and to employ themselves in useful arts. He restrained his Goths from rapine and violence. Property was protected, and all personal rights were enjoyed. Among other rights, those of religious worship, with a liberality which is almost peculiar to the reign of Theodoric. Peace and plenty prevailed in all his realm, at no time surpassed, if ever equalled. Although he had no literature himself, and affixed his name by means of a golden stamp, on which his name was engraved, (between the letters of which he made marks with a pen,) yet he favored learning, and patronized

learned men. Two persons deserve special notice at this time, Boethius and Symachus; and that so much is known of these two, and of Theodoric himself, history is indebted to Cassiodorus, who was the king's confidential secretary, and who wrote twelve books on him, and his government.* It is said that Cassiodorus had influence enough with Theodoric to induce him to protect and preserve the monuments of art and science, which yet existed in Rome. At this time it was fairly questionable, whether the twelve magnificent aqueducts which supplied Rome with pure water, or the subterranean sewers, which had existed more than a thousand years, to purify the city, best deserved the admiration of the spectator.

The deep and inexcusable reproach of Theodoric, was his ungrateful and cruel treatment of Boethius and Symachus. The former was a noble Roman, who had spent eighteen years in the Grecian school of Philosophy, at Athens, which yet preserved the warmth of former intellectual light. When he came back, he was made a senator, and soon invited to take the place of master of the offices at Ravenna. This was the highest civil rank, and implied the highest confidence of the king. His virtues and his abilities were his best title to this rank. He was called "the oracle of his sovereign, and the idol of the people." Unhappily for his own fame, and more so for Boethius, Theodoric lived too long. At about the age of 70, he became jealous and irritable. Such men as Boethius have ever the most secret and unrelenting foes. It was whispered to Theodoric, that this excellent man had engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the emperor at Constantinople. He was imprisoned in the tower of Pavia. Here, bound in fetters, and momentarily expecting a violent death, he composed the work entitled "The Consolations of Philosophy," which Gibbon distinguishes as "a golden volume, not unworthy the leisure of Platoon Tully." This is the work which the Great Alfred translated, as mentioned in his life. The manner in which Boethius was put to death, is too shocking to be narrated. If Theodoric not only ordered death, but the manner of it, he well deserved the remorse, and the death, which soon overtook him. Symachus was the father of Boethius' wife, and held a high rank, of like order with that of his son-in-law. He

* This work is known only from an epitome of it in the work of Jordanes, (or Jordanes,) on the Goths. The work of this person is known only from the compilations of Muratori, a learned Italian, who died in 1750, leaving 27 folio volumes on Italian affairs, from 500 to 1500. Muratori is often quoted by the most respectable historians.

could not suppress his sorrow at his loss, nor his indignation at the manner of it. This offence cost him his life, at such accumulation of years that time would soon have saved the stroke of the executioner. Soon after these events, so irreconcilable with the general character of Theodoric, his remorse disturbed his reason. Seating himself at dinner, he imagined that he saw in the head of a fish the countenance of Symachus, the eyes glaring with fury, and the teeth moving to devour him. He rose with intolerable anguish, retired to his bed, and passed the three or four days that remained to him in lamenting his cruelties to these illustrious men. There is one other reproach to the memory of Theodoric. He retaliated the intolerance of the emperor at Constantinople, towards the Arians, on the Catholics of Italy. The way to the worst exercise of the worst of passions, is ever opened by vindictive persecution in matters of faith. Thus the peace of Italy was put to flight; the Goths became Goths again; and from that age to the present, Italy has seen no such happy days as this king, and his wise and virtuous ministers, were able to bestow.

A grandson of Theodoric, at the age of ten, succeeded him. The government was conducted under the regency of his mother, Amalashanta, who erected a suitable monument to Theodoric, on an eminence near Ravenna. It was a circular temple of marble and granite. As might be expected from the state of things at Theodoric's death, the minority of a Gothic king, and the government of a female, wars, intrigues, crimes, and miseries, followed. This was a favorable opportunity for the emperor of the eastern empire to attempt the recovery of Italy. In a short time, the famous Belisarius, general of Justinian, appeared in great force in Italy, after having destroyed the vandal empire in Africa. This is the same Belisarius of whom a song is still sung called *date obulum Belisario* which supposes a state of adversity to this illustrious man, which is destitute of historical truth. After him, came the Eunuch Narses, who was a more successful military chief than Belisarius was, though less so than he would have been, if he had not been sacrificed to gratify the malice of undeserved foes at Constantinople. Narses effected the conquest of nearly all that part of Italy (which had not been conquered by Belisarius) called the boot or peninsula; that is, from the river Po, southwardly. Thus, part of Italy was governed under the authority of the eastern emperors for nearly 200 years, (552 to 752,) by successive officers, called by the name of exarch, a Greek word, used in the Greek empire to signify the office

of provincial governor. Tuscany, Naples, and also Sicily, will be mentioned hereafter, separately from this exarchate government. The river Po runs from the west to the east, nearly through the middle, and whole extent of north Italy. On the north side of the Po, and thence to the Alps, was the kingdom of Lombardy, which is one of the important elements of history, taken in connexion with the events of France and Germany. The extinction of Gothic power in Italy was effected by the conquest of Narses, in the middle of the sixth century. A short notice is required of the rise and fortunes of Lombardy. We are then to pass rapidly over the miseries and woes of southern Italy, till the middle of the eleventh century. If we except the admiration which the world bestows on personal qualities in war, there is nothing to relieve the monotonous current of crime and suffering.

Whether the Lombards were so called from the length of their beards, (Longo-bards,) or from the length of their spears, or the shape of the strips of land which they are said to have occupied, anciently, on both sides the Elbe, is alike uncertain and unimportant; whether they were Goths or Scandnavians, originally, is equally so. They fought their way from north to south, like other barbarous tribes, and appeared on the banks of the Danube about the middle of the sixth century. Here their forces were augmented by taking 20,000 Saxons with them, and, pouring down from the Alps, became masters of all northern Italy, soon after the time when Narses had conquered next below to the south. The leader of the Lombards was Alboin, equally renowned for savage vices and virtues. He had conquered the king of the Gepida, a barbarous people north of the Danube, had married his daughter, and had made a drinking-cup of his skull. After conquering northern Italy, at some carousal, after the manner of his people, and times, he filled this drinking-cup and sent it to his wife, Rosamond, with orders to drain its contents, and rejoice with the master of Italy. Rosamond, for this, or some more efficient reason, as would seem from the infamy of her character, caused Alboin to be assassinated. She had a favorite ready to place on the throne; but, this project failing, she fled with him, and her treasures, to Constantinople. At this city she attracted the notice of Longinus, who was high in office, and who was disposed to make her his wife. The obstacle was the existence of her lover, Helmichis, who was yet with her. This obstacle she intended to remove by poison. She attended this person to

the bath, and when he came out she offered him a goblet, of which he drank; but, immediately suspecting her, he presented his sword to her breast, and compelled her to drink the remainder. Here, at the same time, and from the same poisoned liquid, this treacherous couple, by an unlooked-for justice, ended their lives in mutual reproaches, and with no other consolation than each other's groans. This is rather a prominent illustration of the morals of these times; but many such occurrences might be stated.

Clepho was chosen king in 573, but was murdered in about eighteen months, and the usual scenes of turbulence and tyranny, under ducal chiefs, mark the next years of the Lombards. The kingdom became more tranquil under Antharis, the son of Clepho, who successfully resisted a French invasion; and, before the end of the century, he had extended his conquests to the extreme south of Italy. Several dukedoms arose, and, among others, those of Spoleto and Beneventum; from the latter of which a celebrated statesman, of the present day, has the title of Prince of Benevento.* The divisions and subdivisions of Italy were numerous in the two hundred years which followed the first conquest by Alboin. It was the policy of the Lombards, as of most of the barbarian conquerors, to parcel out their territory in more or less extensive divisions. Over these, chiefs were placed, who exercised a mixed authority, civil and military, having subordinate officers under them. From these territorial divisions arose the titles of nobility. The dukedoms of Italy became sovereignties under their dukes, and as such occupy an important space in Italian history.† The Lombards were slow in changing their rude habits for those which are acquired by intellectual and moral improvement, founded in letters and chastening religion. Agriculture was conducted by the conquered Italians: commerce had no attractions. War, the chase, and festivity, occupied their hours when they were not engaged in councils and contentions. Among their amusements, new to Italians, was the training of the hawk or falcon. This bird was capable of receiving a tuition which enabled it to know the voice and to obey the commands of its master, while moving in the air, as

* Conferred by Napoleon, when master of Italy, on Talleyrand.

† It is not intended to go minutely into their history; curiosity, on this point, may be fully gratified by the *Histoire des republiques Italiennes du moyen age*, par J. C. L. Sismonde de Sismondi. Paris, 1825.

far as the voice could reach. This is an amusement still known and resorted to in England. But the noble Lombard regarded his falconry and the use of his sword as equally valuable accomplishments. Gibbon intimates that falconry (or the training of the hawk to conquer in the air, as dogs are trained to do on the ground) is of Norwegian origin.

We may pause a moment here, to consider the origin of the Italian language. The Latin had attained to great perfection, before the close of the Roman empire, throughout Italy. It was enriched by words borrowed from the literature of Greece. Then came the barbarian nations, who brought and spoke their own languages, and they necessarily intermingled with all those who spoke the Latin.

What the Latin was in the days of Cicero, and long before and after the Christian era began, is well known. What languages were spoken in Italy before this Roman tongue was reduced to order, and made to be the dignified and elegant dress of thought, is only to be conjectured. The whole country was held by small and independent tribes. It is supposed that they were kindred tribes with the first inhabitants of Greece, and that the languages of all these tribes may have had a common origin. Doubtless, the Latin gradually arose from amalgamations, and kept pace with the progress of refinement. When it became that language which accomplished scholars delight to recur to, for elegant illustration, it was doomed to be lost in the barbarous dialects which were spoken in Italy.

Centuries of barbarism followed, in which the Latin language was used only in the official transactions of the popes and other ecclesiastics, and in all important affairs of civil government. The Latin ceased to be *spoken*, as a distinct language, about the year 580.

The spoken language of Italy, from about 580 to 1200, was made up of Latin and of Greek, and of various dialects of the Teutonic or Goth, called Tudesque, from the Gothic god, Tuet. Sismondi says, that he has not been able to discover that this spoken language was ever a written one; and what it was is never to be known. The Latin, as written, partook of the common debasement of these ages. It has been said that the Latin was never the language of the common people of Italy, and that the Italian was not spoken by them after Latin ceased to be spoken, which implies that there was some vulgar tongue in use, distinct from both; if so, it is not to be traced. When the barbarous compound, which was in

use up to the year 1200, came to be subjected to the rules of construction, it must have made a rapid progress in refinement. About the year 1300, the Italian, as now known, was written by Dante, and it is not supposed to have been made better since that time. Before the Italian had been established as the language of science and literature, a passion arose for the study of ancient literature, especially the Latin writers, and their own tongue was neglected by the Italian scholars. The Latin is considered to be the original foundation of the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese; and, though these are very different languages, differences are easily accounted for by lapse of time, and the effects produced by use on what may be called a *growing* language.

CHAPTER XLIX.

LOMBARDY.

Lombard Kingdom—Conquest by Pepin, of France—Dominion of Charlemagne, and of his Successors—Normans in Italy.

WITHIN a century after the conquest by the Lombards, this people had emerged from their barbarism sufficiently to form a code of laws. They had deliberative councils and courts of justice. It was the practice with them as with all the nations of Teutonic origin, to compensate crimes, murder not excepted, by the payment of fines, in money. There was an established rate, in valuing life, for all classes. Trial by combat was in use among them. It is believed to be peculiar to the Lombards, that they did not permit the priesthood to take part in political affairs. The church of Rome had not established its power among them. The character of the Lombards bears a comparison very favorably to them, with most other barbarous nations who had possessed themselves of Europe. But they were destined to a short duration. About 752, they attempted the conquest of Rome. The pope sought assistance from the sovereigns beyond the Alps, who were devoted to the church. Pepin came from France with a sufficient force to repel the Lombards, and force them to a humiliating peace. New assaults on Rome having occurred, Charlemagne appeared in 774, when Desiderius was the Lombard king, and

this person having been subdued and taken prisoner, Charlemagne became the king of Italy as well as emperor of the Franks, or of the west; or, in other words, added that kingdom to his own, and took the title to himself.

From the death of Charlemagne, in 814, to the middle of the eleventh century, or about two hundred and fifty years, is the period of the greatest debasement of Italy. Historical accounts of this time are few, and not much to be relied on. The impression taken from the perusal of the most respected historians who have treated of these times, is, that the very worst passions which can direct human actions, were in continual operation. Religion, intended to restrain and chasten the common propensities of human nature, served only, in this lapse of time, to minister to folly, vice, and crime. If we assume the entire abolition of all laws, human and divine, and the subjection of society to fraud, violence, and rapine, in a period of extreme ignorance, we can deduce the condition of Italy in these truly dark ages. The elements are, so far as names and agents are known, these:—The popes still held the city of Rome and adjacent country, with something of temporal as well as ecclesiastical authority. While the Carlovings were sinking into insignificance, from 814 to 888, the popes were often assailed by the Lombards and the neighboring dukes. The Greek emperors sometimes attempted to resume dominion in Italy. The Saracens had possessed themselves of Africa, Sicily, Spain, and frequently invaded Italy. Meanwhile, the chiefs of dukedoms, into which south Italy was divided, were contending with each other. To these causes of affliction are to be added the civil wars which arose in the dukedoms. The sword, pestilence, and famine, were in close alliance. The most cruel punishments were inflicted on captives; that one which seemed to be most agreeable to the taste of the age, was to mutilate the person. Some of the statements, in these respects, are too shocking to be narrated.

When the Carlovings disappeared, in Charles the Fat, in 888, and Henry the Fowler, his successor by election, had overawed the barbarians on his northern and eastern frontier, he turned his attention to Italy, and desired to resume dominion there. The first Otho who followed him, established this dominion; the second of that name maintained it. These emperors dealt with the popes as they pleased. They placed on the papal throne whomsoever they thought proper, and displaced the tenants of it as suited their caprice. This German authority over the successors of St. Peter was preserved, with

little interruption, until the time of the famous Gregory VII, of whom it will be necessary hereafter to give an account. But these German emperors, in thus visiting Italy with armies, came in contact with the Saracens, the dukes, and the forces of the Greek emperors, who held some territories in south-eastern Italy. Thus were four distinct parties contending for Italy; and if we include the spiritual and temporal claims of the popes, there were five. At this time, (about the year 1016,) the Normans appeared in Italy, and gave a new character to the scenes which were passing there.

It will be remembered that in 912, Rollo, from Norway, established himself in that part of France called Normandy. He was surnamed the Walker, because he was so large and heavy, that no horse could carry him. His descendants and followers readily intermingled with the Franks, and became zealous, but barbarous Christians. They cherished the original spirit of heroic adventure, and, under their Christian impulses, this spirit found gratification in pilgrimages to the holy land. United with this enthusiasm, was the hope of conquest, or at least of plunder, by their military force. All of these adventurers appear to have been thoroughly trained to arms. On the bay of Salerno, about thirty miles south-east of Naples, was the town of Amalphi, or Amalfi, which has been made memorable from three causes. Here, it is said that the mariner's compass was invented; here was found the long lost code of civil law, compiled by the orders of Justinian, and here was compiled the first maritime code, or system of laws for the regulation of commerce. (1 vol. of Sismondi, p. 242.) Hallam, (History of Middle Ages, 2 vol. p. 276, Amer. ed.) says, The mariner's compass is clearly alluded to by a French poet, about 1200, which is more than a century earlier than the supposed discovery at Amalfi. He mentions two others who appear to have known of the magnet at an earlier period. Hallam also questions the discovery of the Pandects, (or part of the Roman, or civil law,) at Amalfi in 1135. About the year 1025, forty of these Norman adventurers, in their way from the holy land, arrived at Amalfi. They were ready for any enterprise which promised glory or wealth, or even bread. They were invited to engage in the wars then going on in Italy, and became very formidable assistants. Their success attracted other adventurers from Normandy. Their numbers so increased, that they were enabled to become masters of a large portion of the south of Italy, including Naples and its territories; and, at length, to assume a royal dignity. In the

year 1053, the pope, Leo IX., attempted to subdue them, and so far forgot his pacific character, as to accompany his forces. The Normans vanquished him, and then fell at his feet to supplicate forgiveness of their sin in warring with his holiness. The result of this matter was, that the Normans were contented to accept, and the pope glad to bestow, the right of sovereignty over Naples and its territories; and they were thus held, through successive centuries, as a dependency of the pope. The right of the pope to bestow this territory, was as well founded as the assumption of the like potentates, in after ages, to bestow sovereignty over other territories, savage, or civilized. This may be the first instance of the exercise of such power.

Among those Normans who distinguished themselves in Italy, one family attained to great power; and from this family came a race of kings, which was associated by intermarriages, with most of the royal families of Europe. Tancred of Hauteville, (a castle in lower Normandy, in France,) had twelve sons, ten of whom went to Italy. Robert, surnamed Guiscard, (adroit or cunning,) was the first among the seven brothers of the second marriage. He was alike distinguished for the grandeur of his person, his skill in war, and his strength of mind. The brothers founded the republic of Apulia, along the north-east coast of lower Italy, of which Robert was the chief, or duke. He added to his dominions, under the sanction of the pope, nearly all the south of Italy, to the full extent of what has long been the kingdom of Naples; that is, all southern Italy up to the papal territories. He included Amalfi, which had already begun a commercial course of dealing. Here, in Robert's time, towards the close of the eleventh century, is supposed to have been the first school of that age which preceded the revival of letters. It was, however, only a medical school, founded by one Constantine, an African Christian, who had acquired, by a residence of thirty-nine years at Bagdad, the learning and the arts of the Arabs. Robert boldly attempted to conquer the Greek empire. He crossed over to Greece with his heroine wife, and proceeded towards Constantinople. The wreck of his fleet, pestilence, and complicated misfortunes, and not the skill and courage of his opponents, defeated his purposes. The German emperor, Henry IV., was induced by the Greek emperor to invade Italy; and thus Robert was compelled to return not only from a fruitless, but a disastrous expedition. In a second expedition to Greece, he was seized by an epidemic, and died in July, 1085, at the age

of seventy. The youngest brother of the family, Roger, conquered Sicily from the Arabs, and his son became the king of that island. His son, of the same name, united Sicily with Calabria and Apulia, (the two latter being the extreme south of Italy,) and these territories acquired the name of the kingdom of Naples. Afterwards, Sicily and the Neapolitan kingdom acquired the name of the two Sicilies, and this name was used in historical records, for some centuries.

CHAPTER L.

NORTHERN ITALY.

State of Northern Italy in 1100—Guelfs and Ghibelines—Frederick Barbarossa's Wars with the Italian Republics.

UNDER the general name of Italy, the country is to be noticed which lies southwardly of the Alps, and between the Tuscan, Adriatic, and Mediterranean seas. Historical events are, —1. The efforts of the German emperors to hold Italy in subjection. 2. The conflicts between these emperors and the popes. 3. The efforts of the republics to free themselves from the emperors. 4. The efforts of the popes to subject all civil authority to spiritual tyranny. 5. The tumults and revolutions in Italian cities, in which the Guelfs and Ghibelines appear. 6. The wars between the Italian republics. 7. Commerce. 8. Revival of learning. 9. Attempts of France, Germany, and Spain, to conquer Italy. 10. The loss of liberty, throughout Italy.

These subjects comprise many facts, and various agents. A selection of such events as will give a clear and connected narration, is intended. A brevity which makes narration obscure, and a particularity of detail which makes it tedious, are alike to be avoided. Many great cities, with their surrounding territories, each one independent of all others, ought to have, respectively, separate histories. But their fortunes were so interwoven, and their action with and against each other so closely connected, that historians have commonly treated of them collectively. This was the more unavoidable, because the efforts of the German emperors to subdue these cities, were directed against several of them, in each invasion.

This is the course of Sismondi, in his elaborate history. It is admitted that he has superseded the laborious compiler, Muratori. Taking Sismondi as the guide in this labyrinth of facts, names, and dates, but comparing him with other authorities, and especially Hallam, the history of Italian states and republics will be treated of, separately, as far as may be practicable. Historians usually assume that readers are familiar with geographical names and relations. This is not always so; and therefore the events related will be connected with the time when, and the place in which they occurred.

Northern Italy is bounded on the west by the Alps which separate it from France; on the north by the Alps, which separate it from the Alpine country; on the east by the Adriatic sea; on the south by the Tuscan sea, and by a line near the 44th degree of north latitude, drawn from the Tuscan to the Adriatic. The whole extent of northern Italy, from west to east, is about three hundred miles; and from north to south, an average extent of one hundred and fifty miles. The river Po has its sources in the Alps, which separate Italy and France, and runs eastwardly nearly through the middle of Northern Italy, and empties into the Adriatic in four principal streams. In its course it receives numerous tributaries from the northern Alps, and from the Appenines, which rise between it and the Tuscan sea on the south.

The city of *Pavia* is situated in the great plains through which the Po runs, and very near the confluence of that river with the Tecino. It is nearly midway between the northern end of the Tuscan sea, and the Alps; and about one third of the distance from the western Alps, (which separate Italy and France,) to the Adriatic sea. This city often occurs in the history of Northern Italy. This fact, and its position, make it the most convenient central place from which to point out the relative bearing and distance of the many cities which are to be mentioned. Pavia is in north latitude, 45, 10. east longitude 9. 9.

After Charlemagne had subdued the kingdom of Lombardy and had annexed it to the German empire, it was sometimes called by its former name, and sometimes the kingdom of Italy. From A. D. 900, to the middle of the eleventh century, the events which occurred in northern Italy were never recorded, or the records of them have been lost. It is known, however, that in these one hundred and fifty years, the Italian cities had been growing rich and populous, and that most of them had been surrounded by walls, and that some of them

had, within the walls, strong citadels. Compared with the extent of the country, the number of cities was very great, and the strong holds or castles were more, in proportion, than in Germany. These facts indicate a highly belligerent state of society. Sentiments of republican freedom are supposed to have arisen, and to have been cherished in these cities, in these one hundred and fifty years. A condition approaching to independence of the German empire existed in all northern Italy, when Frederick Barbarossa was elected emperor in 1152. The claims of the German emperors to be the sovereigns of northern Italy had continued, though the utmost military power of the empire was incompetent to enforce them. Frederick Barbarossa so found it to be, throughout the whole of his reign, (1152 to 1190,) thirty-three years of which he devoted to a costly, desolating, and unsuccessful warfare to obtain the mastery. He crossed the Alps no less than six times, with numerous armies. This is one of the most striking examples, in the thousands recorded, of the misery which one man may inflict upon millions. Yet Frederick was neither a bad man, nor a tyrannical monarch, for the age in which he lived.

There were different routes from Germany into Italy over the Alps. Frederick passed through most of them; sometimes coming from Bavaria through the Tyrol, and the bishopric of Trent, and entering at the north-east part of Italy. Sometimes he came from the kingdom of Burgundy, then part of the German dominions, and now southern France. His route, in this case, was through Savoy, over Mont Cenis, and through Piedmont. His first descent on Italy was through the Tyrol, from Bavaria, in 1154. He had then two objects, to chastise his rebellious subjects, and to be crowned at Pavia, as king of Italy, and at Rome, as emperor.

At this time, Milan had become the richest, the most populous, and the most strongly fortified of the cities. It is situated in the plain, between two tributaries to the Po, the Tecino and the Adda, and about seventeen miles nearly north from Pavia. This city had taken the lead in the opposition to the empire, and had formed an alliance with several other cities; and was, consequently, in a state of hostility to those cities which from choice, fear, or jealousy of Milan, still adhered to the empire. The inhabitants of northern Italy, at this time, may be comprised in these classes: 1. The nobles, of various grades and wealth; most of whom resided in castles on their estates, and were divided into the two factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines.

2. The agriculturalists, some of whom had estates of their own ; but most of them were vassals of the nobles, or tenants under them, with a relaxation of strict feudal rights. 3. The cities and their inhabitants, who were divisible into many classes, the most numerous of which were the merchants and mechanics, both of them free, and inclined to preserve their freedom. The whole population of the cities and villages were trained to arms, and were formed into militia. Among the nobility, the profession of arms was the only one. There were many villages on the great plain, which depended on some one of the cities for protection.

The character of this age may be illustrated by noticing two subjects: 1. The manner of conducting war. 2. The relation of the two factions (Guelfs and Ghibelines) to each other.

The inhabitants of cities being formed into bodies of militia, in every city there was a heavy car, drawn by oxen, which was called the carroccio. It was used to bear the flags and armorial insignia of the city. A high pole rose in the middle of the car, bearing the colors, and, before it, the figure of the Saviour, with extended arms, as though bestowing a benediction. There was an altar in front of the car, at which the priest daily performed religious ceremonies ; and, in the rear of the car were seated the trumpeters, whose employment it was to sound the charge or retreat. The carroccio was sacred, was the rallying point in battle, and was, at all events, to be defended and preserved.

The origin of the Guelfs and Ghibelines has been mentioned in another place. They were first heard of about the year 1140, at the battle of Winsberg, in Swabia, in which the emperor Conrad III. and his vassal, Henry the Lion, were the opponents. Henry's family name was Guelf, and his partisans distinguished themselves by his name. Conrad was of the Hohenstauffen family, and that family arose in the town of Ghiblingen, in Wirtemberg. His partisans called themselves Ghibelines. Hence, as Henry was regarded as a rebel, Guelf came to be (among Ghibelines) a general name for the rebellious. In the long-continued conflicts between the emperors and the popes, the Ghibelines were commonly found on the side of the emperors, and the Guelfs on the side of the popes. Afterwards, in the wars and contentions which arose among the people of the Italian republics, these party names were always in use, even to the end of the fifteenth century. It has been said that the Guelfs were those who maintained the prin-

ciples of liberty; the Ghibelines those who supported arbitrary power. It is much more probable, and much more consistent with the well-known effects of party spirit, to suppose, that these names were convenient, if not necessary distinctions, in the long-continued conflicts among the Italians, in which there was no other principle than a strife for mastery. Both parties were alike ambitious, rapacious, cruel, and tyrannical. Both names were applied to noble families, who held castles and rich domains, and who had numerous followers, sustaining their chiefs with force and bloodshed. It is also true of these parties, as of most others, that they sometimes changed sides as to principles, (if any they had but the impulse of personal enmity and vengeance,) and that Guelfs changed to Ghibelines, and Ghibelines to Guelfs. It is not reasonable to assume, that, in the convulsions, tumults, and bloody civil wars which continued through three centuries, and which divided the cities and people of Italy, there was a dominant principle always to be known by a mere party name. The Guelfs were sometimes in alliance with monarchs and with popes who were very far from being the friends of liberty; but it is also true that they were frequently on the popular side, and very certain, that when they were the ruling party, they were as oppressive and tyrannical as their adversaries. Some of the cities were distinguished by one of these names, and some of them by the other. But when northern Italy had freed itself from the subjection to the empire, and its members engaged in contentions among themselves, and the inhabitants of the same city were engaged in the most vindictive warfare with each other, these names were still used by the hostile parties.

Frederick's first visit to Italy was that of a sovereign exasperated by the conduct of rebellious subjects. His route, through northern Italy to Pavia, and thence to Rome, (in both of which places he was crowned,) was marked by violence, conflagration, and cruelties. He was limited in such exercise of power only by his ability, which the oppressed Italians were enabled so far to control, as to force him to retire over the Alps. The people of Milan were his most efficient opponents; and, after his retirement, they avenged themselves on the cities which had adhered to him, while they rebuilt the places which he had destroyed. Pavia, seventeen miles south of Milan; Cremona, about thirty-eight miles east of Pavia; and Novara, about twenty-five miles north-west of Pavia, were made to feel the displeasure of Milan; while Tortona, twenty

miles south-west of Pavia, and several villages, were rebuilt, by the aid of the Milanese. The relative position of these places shows how much the Italians were weakened by their internal divisions.

In 1158, Frederick appeared again, with a numerous army of German barbarians. The same desolation again marked his course. His principal object was to reduce Milan. He could not force an entry into the city, and attempted to reduce it by famine. The Milanese could see their fields desolated from their walls. Wearied, at length, he made a treaty. One of the provisions was, that he should send into the city a foreigner, with supreme power, called a *podesta*, (from the Latin *potestas*, power or authority.) These, and other conditions, were so oppressive, that, in the following year, Milan drove out the *podesta*, and again took to arms. Frederick did not attempt to reduce Milan, but applied his force to the city of Crema, one of its allies. Crema is on the river Adda, twenty-two miles north-east of Pavia, and twenty-five nearly north-east of Milan. Frederick had a number of young persons as hostages, children of citizens of Crema. He erected a moveable tower, and bound these children to it in the most exposed position, and forced the tower, containing armed men, close to the walls of the city. The besieged had the election to be subdued, or to destroy their children in repelling their foes. They called to their children to die nobly, and they were killed, if not by the hands of their own parents, within their view. The tower was repelled; but, after six months, famine conquered these gallant people. They were allowed to retire to Milan, but their city was given up, first to pillage, and then to flames. (January 26, 1160.)

Frederick remained in Italy, prosecuting the war. Reinforced from Germany, in 1161 he renewed his attack on Milan. In March, 1162, he reduced the city by famine, and its inhabitants surrendered at discretion. On the 25th of that month, he had ordered every living being to depart, and then utterly destroyed the whole city, literally leaving not one stone on another.

The measures of Frederick had alienated some cities which had supported him, and a feeling of sympathy and compassion for the Milanese, generally gained strength. Five years afterwards, and even while Frederick was employed in controversies in Italy, near Rome, the people in northern Italy met and formed the League of Lombardy, in 1167. Even the Guelfs and Ghibelines now united to resist the common oppressor. The

towns and cities of the Verona territory joined in this league. Verona is a very important city, in the north-eastern part of Italy, ninety miles east by north from Pavia, a territory through which the river Adige flows. These cities also joined the league, viz. Treviso, one hundred and forty miles north-east; Ferrara, one hundred and twenty-five east by south; Mantua, eighty miles east; Brescia, forty-five miles north-east; Bergamo, thirty-five miles north-east; and Lodi, fifteen miles north-east, from Pavia. Venice, on the east coast of northern Italy, joined the league. Nearly all the considerable cities on the north side of the Po had combined in the common defence. Ferrara, on the south side of the Po, joined the confederates.

In April, 1167, the militia of six of these cities assisted the people of Milan, and, under their creditable zeal and perseverance, Milan rose again from its ruins, and was soon prepared to oppose itself anew to its relentless enemy. Meanwhile, the emperor was occupied in attempting to reduce Rome to obedience. This patriotic spirit, on the north of the Po, extended itself to the cities on and south of that river, and these cities soon joined the northern confederacy, viz. Placentia, east twenty miles on the Po; Parma, fifty-five south-east; Modena, eighty-five south-east; Bologna, one hundred and twenty south-east from Pavia. Other cities afterwards joined, viz. Novara, twenty-five north-west; Vercelli, thirty west; Como, thirty north; Tortona, twenty south-west, and Asti forty south-west from Pavia. When Frederick returned from Rome, he found nearly the whole of northern Italy confederated to oppose him. In the month of March, 1168, he departed over Mount Cenis into Burgundy, (now Dauphinè in France,) to recruit his forces and re-commence his profitless warfare. Pavia and Montferrat still adhered to the emperor. Montferrat is a territory of considerable extent in the south-west corner of Italy, adjoining Piedmont. To sever Pavia and Montferrat, the confederates built the city of Alexandria, twenty-five miles south-west of Pavia, near the confluence of the two rivers Tanero and Bormio, which unite, and soon after fall into the Po, on the south side.

In 1174, Frederick came with another army, but met with little success. An attempt to treat, failed, from the exorbitant demands of the emperor. He gained nothing during the winter. Having strengthened himself by new forces from Germany, in the spring of 1176 he resolved to crush the Milanese army, which encountered him north-west of Milan, a few miles. Fortune, at first, favored him, when nine hundred

young men, in a body, having knelt and invoked God, rushed to the conflict; and their example, re-animating the Milanese, all united in one deadly effort. Frederick was, at length, completely vanquished, and escaped, himself, with extreme peril. A truce of six years followed.

At the end of that time, a diet or congress was held at Constance, in the north-east corner of Switzerland, (on the lake of Constance,) and on the 25th of June, 1183, a final treaty of peace was settled. The following is Sismondi's account of the terms of this peace:—The emperor renounced all regal privileges which he had claimed in the interior of the cities. He acknowledged the right of the confederate cities to levy armies, enclose themselves within fortifications, and to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction, by officers of their own appointment, and to choose consuls by the nomination of the people. The cities were authorized to take measures to strengthen their confederation, for the maintenance of the rights acknowledged by this treaty.

The rights of the emperor were also defined; but the confederates had the further right to buy out these, by an annual payment of two thousand marks of silver.

Thus, after a relentless war of the third of a century, the cities of northern Italy had fought themselves free against the whole German empire. The annual payment was only the form in which that liberty was acknowledged. This was the first instance of a treaty between a monarch and his subjects, in which the rights of independent self-government were established. (June, 1183.)

The restless Frederick was soon after induced, at a very advanced age, to engage in a crusade to the holy land. In his way thither, he accidentally lost his life, from bathing (as it is said) in a river, (the Cydnus or the Salef,) near the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, in the year 1190.

CHAPTER LI.

ITALY.

From the Peace of Constance, in 1133, to the death of Frederick II., Emperor of Germany and King of the Two Sicilies, in 1250.

THE events of these sixty-seven years require a more extended view of Italy, and some description of the agents who were engaged in them.

1. *German Emperors.*—Henry VI., son of Frederick Barbarossa, succeeded his father, and died September 28, 1197. Henry had married Constance, heiress of the Two Sicilies, and, in her right, was king. On his death, the crown of the Two Sicilies went to Henry's infant son, Frederick II. Two emperors were elected on Henry's death: Philip I., brother of Henry VI., by the Ghibelines; Otho IV., son of Henry the Lion, by the Guelfs. While these two lived, civil war raged in Germany. Philip was assassinated in 1208. Otho reigned till 1212, undisturbed, when the pope, Innocent III., caused Frederick II., son of Henry VI., to go to Aix-la-Chapelle and be crowned. Then Otho IV. and Frederick II. were both emperors until May, 1218, when Otho died.

2. *The Popes.*—Innocent III. reigned from 1197 to 1216, and was the greatest man in Europe, in his time. Honorius III. from 1216 to 1227; Gregory IX. from 1227 to 1241; Celestine IV., then Innocent IV. from 1243 to 1254.

3. *The Noble Families of Italy.*—While the Italian cities and Frederick Barbarossa were contending, the nobles seem not to have taken a conspicuous part on either side. These families had formerly been feudal lords throughout Italy. Their castles still crowned the summits of the hills, and were scattered on the plains. When the cities became free, and were powerful enough to take and hold the lands around them, the nobles had no resource but to join the cities. Very few of them were sufficiently powerful to retain their dominions and their vassals in a state of independence; and even these few (now disconnected from the German empire) were obliged to continue, without a country, or to join some one of the cities. Thus, all the nobles became members of cities, and brought with them their enmities as Guelfs and Ghibe-

lines. These two parties became prominent agents in these sixty-seven years.

4. *The Subjects of Contest.*—The emperors and the popes were still contending for dominion. The Ghibeline cities sustained the pretensions of the former; the Guelf cities those of the latter. These two different descriptions of cities were, therefore, hostile. Not only the north, but the middle and the south of Italy, engaged in these contests.

Although the events from 1183 to 1250, in Italy, are many and complicated, and embrace the whole surface of Italy, they arose from a policy which explains all of them. The Ghibeline party adhered to the emperors of Germany, the Guelfs to the popes and the church. The emperors and the popes were always hostile rivals. But these relations were not invariable. If a Guelf emperor happened to be elected, (as was the case in the election of Otho IV.,) the Guelfs changed sides. If it suited the papal policy to oppose the Guelf emperor, which was the case as to Frederick II. (Ghibeline) when opposed to Otho, (Guelf,) the pope, for the time, became Ghibeline. But the general aspect of Italian affairs for this period of sixty-seven years, is this:—The popes used every effort, founded in spiritual domination, in artful intrigues, in exciting wars and rebellions, to control the imperial power. They had well-founded apprehensions of being reduced to the humble condition of Roman bishops. The crowns of Lombardy, of Germany, of Naples and Sicily, were united in Frederick II. This prince was one of the ablest men of his time, and surpassed only by Innocent III., who was of middle age, noble by birth, and entitled to be ranked with Gregory VII. in his ecclesiastical zeal and ambition. The territories over which Frederick had dominion, enclosed the papal territories.*

Frederick II. was placed under the guardianship of Innocent III. when about four years old, by his widowed mother, Constance, who soon after died. Innocent had caused Frederick to be crowned from interested motives; but when Honorius III. succeeded Innocent, Frederick naturally returned to hostility to the papal authority, and to alliance with the Ghibeline cities and nobles; while Honorius necessarily relied on his spiritual power, and on the cities, nobles, and people, distinguished as Guelfs. Among the Guelfs was the powerful family of Este, which had long been sovereign over

* See chap. iii. part I. of Hallam's *Middle Ages*, as to the extent and title of the church estates.

an extensive territory north of the Po, in eastern Lombardy, west of Venice, including Padua and Verona. North of this territory, and extending to the Alps, was another territory, held by the family of Romana, of which the dukes or marquises were called Ezza, or Eccelino. This family were Ghibelines. Thus, in many parts of northern and middle Italy, were intermingled the families of these two parties; and in every city the same party distinctions appeared, the Guelfs being, usually, on the popular side.

By the peace of Constance (1183) the cities of northern Italy were left to choose their own forms of government, and this freedom extended itself to all the cities in the middle part of Italy. Various forms of popular election were adopted. Security against the abuse of power was sought in frequent elections and from rotation in office. But sudden and violent revolutions were of frequent occurrence. To guard against these, the expedient was adopted, in most of the cities, of choosing an eminent person, of some other city, to come and rule for a year. To this officer the name of podesta was given, and he exercised military and judicial power, amounting almost to despotism. It was hoped that a stranger, disconnected from interior factions, would be able to exercise his authority impartially and usefully for all. This hope was seldom realized. Councils of citizens were sometimes chosen to regulate or control the podesta. The Italians were never able to balance powers in such a manner as to secure themselves from usurpations and tyranny. The legislative, the judicial, and the executive authorities were so united in the same individual, or body, that no check of the one on the other existed, and tyrannical use of power was inevitable. But that which added to the social insecurity of these cities was, that the military power was usually added to the other three, and often silenced all of them. Citizens were armed for self-defence, and dwelling-places were, more or less, fortified. On the first alarm, the shops were closed, and chains thrown across the streets. Whole families were butchered or exiled, and palaces razed to the ground. Sometimes the Ghibelines were expelled and banished, and sometimes the Guelfs. As fortune favored the exiled, they returned to take vengeance on their adversaries.

One of the most detestable tyrants that ever appeared on earth, was Eccelino, of the family of Romana, appointed by Frederick II. to rule at Verona. He was of diminutive stature, cold and merciless, unequalled in bravery and military

skill. It would require a volume to narrate all the instances of his cruelty. It was said to be common all over northern Italy to see persons who were either without hands, without ears, without eyes, or otherwise disfigured and maimed, who declared themselves to have been reduced to such miserable condition by this Eccelino. He had eleven thousand Paduans in his army. Padua revolted. These eleven thousand were imprisoned, and all but two hundred met a violent or lingering death. He, at length, fell into the hands of his enemies, in September, 1259. After he was made prisoner, he refused to speak, rejected medicine, tore the bandages from his wounds, and expired on the eleventh day of his captivity, at the age of sixty-five. In the following year, his brother and all his family were massacred.

The power of the church, acting on the superstition of the age, at length subdued Frederick. Repeated excommunications, and especially that pronounced by a council convened at Lyons by Innocent IV., in the year 1245, terrified the emperor's friends, and induced them to forsake him. He retired to Naples, and died there in December, 1250, in his fifty-sixth year. The papists draw his character in very dark colors. While, on the other hand, many excellencies are ascribed to him, as a prince and as a man. It is not denied that he was much in advance of his own age in his acquirements. Under other circumstances, he might have been ranked among those who would have promoted intelligence, and have essentially aided in dispelling barbarism.

From 1250 to 1313.—These sixty-three years exhibit the people of Italy in a series of internal tumults and vindictive wars. They had earned freedom at great expense; but they proved, as so many other people have done, that to drive out despotism is one thing, and to substitute rational liberty is entirely another. The external pressure having been removed, the thought and action devoted to that removal, had now to find objects at home. The party names continued, but they served only to designate virulent, insatiable factions. Before the end of these sixty-three years, the republics of Italy had prepared themselves for masters, and were willing to be at rest under a severer despotism than that which they had expelled.

In the year 1250, there were more than two hundred political communities in Italy, exercising the rights of government independently of each other. The same events involved, in

general, several of these communities. Historians have, therefore, found it exceedingly difficult to seize on any leading principle, and so to adhere to that as to make an intelligible, connected narrative, out of such complication of facts. Nothing more is necessary, and nothing more will be attempted, than to give a concise view of the principal communities, considering, as far as may be practicable, each one by itself.

In northern Italy, *Milan* was always regarded as the leading city. There were several villages and cities in its neighborhood, whose political fortunes were inseparable from those of Milan. The population of this city consisted of Ghibeline and Guelf nobles, and their respective followers, and of merchants and mechanics, priests and laborers. Its government was vested in councils, variously chosen, at different times, and of a chief executive officer, always a foreigner, and chosen for one year, and exercising his power as *podesta*. Besides the incessant personal quarrels between the two noble factions, there was a contest for power between three parties, the Ghibelines, the Guelfs, and the citizens. If there be any general principle in the historical events of Milan, from 1250 to 1500, it is found in the action of these three parties on each other. To which may be added, that this action often took a temporary character from external causes: that is, the position in which Milan stood, at different times, in respect to foreign communities; and, finally, from the absolute dominion of a single family.

It often happened in Milan, as it formerly did in ancient Rome, that some distinguished noble (whatever the real motive may have been) would join the popular side. Pagan della Torre, lord of Valsassina, a territory north of Milan, at the foot of the Alps, commended himself to the people of Milan. He had raised and employed a body of cavalry for the defence of the city. He, and others of his family, acquired a popularity which was soon connected with office. That of *podesta* was followed by the title of *elder*, and then, *lord of the people*. Philip, one of this family, had been raised to like honors, in 1264, over several cities around Milan. Thus, in less than fifteen years after the sovereignty of the German emperors became merely nominal, the Milanese and their neighbors had prepared for themselves a master.

The elevation of the della Torre family could not fail to bring out envy, jealousy, and rivalry. These sentiments were exhibited in the noble family of Visconti, who were lords over another territory, northwardly of Milan, towards the Alps.

While the della Torre family ruled at Milan, the archbishop of that city was one of the Visconti family. He, with others, was exiled. The Ghibelines, who had been previously exiled, united with the archbishop, and formed an army to reinstate themselves. The della Torre party went forth from the city in January, 1277, to meet the archbishop and his forces, but were surprised and defeated; the Visconti triumphed, and Milan and its dependencies became a principality, under that family. It so continued till 1302. In this time the Visconti had become rich and powerful, and had formed many family alliances tending to the exaltation of their house. Their reign was that of the Ghibelines. Then the Guelfs prevailed, and Guido della Torre, after an exile of twenty-five years, was restored, and the Ghibelines banished. But in 1311, when Henry VII appeared, he required the banishment of the Guelfs, and the restoration of the Ghibelines. The Visconti resumed their power, and made it little short of absolute. Matteo Visconti ruled Milan as its lord and master, but in a manner which was useful to the governed, and creditable to himself, until 1322. This was the reign of the Ghibeline faction. Galeazzo Visconti succeeded Matteo his father. The Guelfs displaced him for a short time. He was recalled and reinstated with the lordship of Milan.

In 1348, the Visconti family had enlarged their territories around Milan, and now ruled over the central part, from the state of Genoa on the south, to the Alps on the north. On the west, the limit extended to the lands of the marquis of Montferrat, and on the east, to those of Mantua and Parma. There were now only six independent states in northern Italy: Montferrat, Milan, Verona, Padua, Mantua, and Ferrara, all of them under the government of noble families; the whole was included in the dominions of one or other of them. In 1351, the Visconti lord of Milan ruled over sixteen cities of Lombardy, which had been so many independent republics. Bologna was added by military force, and an attempt made on Florence. In 1368, the Milanese lordship had been still enlarged, and was then held by two brothers of the Visconti family, who were exceedingly powerful in money and military force, and allied by marriage to the royal families of France and England. A more odious picture of cruelty and tyranny does not appear in history, than that drawn of these two brothers. Ingenuity was exhausted to invent tortures for the accused and condemned.

Pope Urban V. attempted to oppose the usurpations of the

Visconti, who were extending their power into Tuscany. The pope issued his bull of excommunication, and sent it, by two legates, to Milan, who presented this terrible anathema to Barnabas Visconti, one of the two brothers. But the effect expected by the pope did not follow. "Barnabas forced the two legates to eat, in his presence, the parchment on which the bull was written, together with the leaden seals and silken strings." From 1375 to 1378, the Visconti, and Florence, and the church, were involved in war. In the latter year a congress was held to negotiate a peace, which ended without effecting that object. But the terror which the Visconti had inspired throughout northern Italy, subsided as Barnabas, the surviving brother, yielded to the inroads of time and infirmity. The brother whom Barnabas survived left a son named Gian Galeazzo, who appears to have been jointly entitled with Barnabas to sovereignty, and the family riches. In providing for his children, Barnabas intended to deprive his nephew of his share, for their benefit. The nephew had discovered several plots against him, but uttered no complaint. He shut himself up at Pavia, and devoted himself to rigorous observance of religious duties, always in the presence of men of the church. In 1385, Galeazzo informed his uncle that he was about to perform a pilgrimage to a shrine near lake Maggiore, north of Milan; and that he desired the gratification of seeing his uncle as he passed. Barnabas and his two sons met Galeazzo a short distance from Milan, the latter having with him a guard suited only to his expedition, though numerous. When the parties drew near to each other, Galeazzo respectfully dismounted, and while he embraced his uncle, said in German to his guards, "Strike!" The uncle and the two sons were seized and transported to a prison, where Barnabas finished his days, at the close of the same year. No one avenged or regretted the fate of Barnabas; and no one hailed the accession of Galeazzo. The Milanese, once so free, and so proud and worthy of freedom, had sunk to the level of slaves, and were indifferent by whom the rod of a tyrant was held.

Galeazzo Visconti ruled Milan and its territories from 1385 to 1402. In this time, he extended his dominions to the Adriatic sea, and had made conquests in middle Italy. Florence purchased, at great cost, a peace of ten years; but this did not prevent Visconti from seizing the city of Sienna, part of the Florentine territory. A more detestable character than Galeazzo Visconti is of rare occurrence in any age of the world. The scale of his morality was to acquire whatsoever he want-

ed: his means were, bribery, perfidy, fraud, force, poison, the dagger, and the rack. He had not the merit of being a frank, acknowledged villain; for that which is most odious in his character, was the meanness that governed the perpetration of his crimes. In the autumn of 1402, the plague scourged Italy, in addition to the calamities which this tyrant and usurper had poured forth. Visconti immured himself in his castle of Marignano, fifteen miles north of Milan, and cut off all communication with the outward world. But the enemy he sought to escape penetrated to his seclusion, and put an end to his crimes and his life in September, 1402.

The necessity of having arms, and of knowing how to use them, had driven the Italians to many expedients. That of forming independent military bodies, for the express purpose of selling their time and skill to the highest bidder, was the most dangerous of all these expedients to the peace and security of the country. "Companies of adventure," as they were called, composed of English, French, Gascons, and others, who had served in the wars between France and England, appeared in Italy. Companies were also formed of Italians. In the year 1378, Alberic, count of Barbiano, formed a military force composed of Italians only, under the name of St. George, which acquired the first rank for military science, and became the school of the soldier. Other military schools had arisen under the patronage of Galeazzo Visconti, and he had in his court several captains who were as destitute of every virtue as they were skilful in the arts of destruction. Such had been Galeazzo, and such his policy, that when he was forced to think of protectors for his young sons, and of guardians of his dominions, there were no men better adapted to his purpose than these military chiefs. The widow of Galeazzo was associated with four of these chiefs in this trust; and her favorite was a person of very low origin, and who had been a servant of her husband. Such guardians soon exhibited their respective characters. The military chiefs divided the Milanese cities and dominions among themselves. The widow soon found her appropriate place, in consequence of her violence, perfidy, and insatiable cruelties, in a prison, where she died by poison. (1404) Almost every city became a separate principality, some under Ghibeline, and some under Guelf government. This period may be selected, perhaps, as that in which crime, profligacy, and debasement of every description, were more triumphant in Italy, than at any other. This appears to have been so, notwithstanding learning had been successfully

cultivated in several cities, within the last fifty years, as will be shown in another place.

Gian Maria Visconti the oldest son of Galeazzo, was called duke of Milan, though bereft of nearly all that his father held. His taste and ambition did not inspire him with the desire of governing. He contented himself with ministering to a singular passion, that of torturing human beings. He fed his hounds with human flesh, and procured the condemned from the tribunals, that he might see them torn in pieces by his dogs. When the supply fell short, he increased it, by causing the condemnation of those in whose crimes he had participated. In 1412, he was assassinated.

The second son, Filippo Maria Visconti, was about twenty-one in 1412. He is said to have been ambitious and timid, and so sensible of his singular ugliness, that after the first year he secluded himself entirely from public view. On the death of his brother he appeared at Milan. The whole power had been in the hands of a military chief, named Facino Cane, who died on the same day that the brother was assassinated. Filippo immediately married the widow of Cane, and thus acquired an influence over the soldiery. Though destitute of all merit himself, Filippo was able to discover it in others, and to employ it usefully for himself. He attracted very able men into his service, and especially one named Carmagnola, a Piedmontese soldier of fortune. Before the end of 1422, this fortunate soldier had brought all the states and cities held by Filippo's father, again under dominion; and had added thereto the republic of Genoa, as a dependency on Milan.

That part of Italy which extends south-eastwardly from the vicinity of Bologna and Ravenna along the north-east coast of Italy, having Tuscany on the south-west, was called Romagna. The states of the church are now, in part, within Romagna. Filippo having subdued northern Italy, turned his arms upon Romagna and Tuscany. Florence, Venice, Sienna, Alphonso of Naples, the duke of Savoy, the lord of Mantua, and the marquis of Ferrara, united (1425) in a league against Filippo. Meanwhile Carmagnola, who had earned the confidence and the gratitude of Filippo, became an object of jealousy and fear. He was dismissed and disgraced, and was not even permitted to know the nature of his offence. He found his way to Venice, and entered the service of the league. At first, Carmagnola was victorious over the forces of his former master. In 1431, fortune deserted him. On this occasion, the peculiar policy of Venice comes into view. That government never

employed its citizens in military service, either as officers or men. It employed foreigners, but never had the least respect for, nor confidence in any, whom they knew only as adventurers, making a traffic of their blood. Venice employed such persons, but always with the secret reservation of making them responsible, by any means, however mysterious and perfidious, for all disasters. After Carmagnola had been unfortunate, he was invited to Venice to arrange a new campaign. He was received with great deference in the council chamber, detained in conversation till the shades of evening came on; was then seized, imprisoned, and next day put to the torture to obtain secrets. At the end of twenty days he was brought forth, (5th of May, 1432,) his mouth gagged; and being placed between two columns on the square of St. Mark, his head fell in the presence of a multitude, who knew of no other principle of government than that of terror.

The battles which Carmagnola had fought against the Milanese, were in the eastern part of northern Italy, near the banks of the Po, and mostly on the northern side of that river.

The residue of Filippo's reign was spent in war with Venice and Florence. The latter state had employed a soldier of fortune named Francisco Sforza; the former employed Bartolemeo Coleoni; and both are mentioned as able generals. Peace having been made in 1441, Filippo gave his daughter Bianca in marriage to Sforza. The war was renewed, but Sforza adhered to the Florentines. In 1447, Filippo being hard pressed by the Venetians, made offers to his son-in-law which were accepted; and Sforza withdrew his army, and marched for Milan. On the way he learned that Filippo died 13th of August, 1447.

Filippo left no legitimate successor. No one of the Visconti family was living but Bianca, the wife of Sforza, the natural daughter of Filippo; and Valentina, a sister of the last duke Galeazzo. She was then the wife of the French duke of Orleans. Females were excluded from the ducal succession. Four of the citizens of Milan excited an insurrection, and the republic was declared to be restored. Sforza, and other generals, agreed to support the republic. The duke of Orleans asserted his claim by a hostile invasion on the west side. Sforza employed himself against the Venetians on the east. By force, by intrigue, and by cruelties, Sforza procured himself to be proclaimed duke of Milan, February, 1450; and reigned till his decease in March, 1466. This person appears to have been greatly the superior of all who had preceded him,

in talents, disposition, and usefulness. His son and successor, Galeazzo, was weak, profligate, and tyrannical; and not the superior of the worst of those who had preceded him. Three young patriots conspired to put him to death. They studied most diligently, the best means of effecting their object. The day selected was the 26th December, 1476; the place, a church at which the duke was to appear in a public religious ceremony. The duke was slain, and two of the conspirators were killed on the spot. The third escaped, but was taken and tortured to death. While a prisoner, he wrote an account of the conspiracy, and of the motives. This account is said, by Sismondi, to have come down to the present day; and he bestows on it the commendation of having been "composed in a strain of noblest enthusiasm, with a deep religious feeling, with an ardent love of liberty, and with a firm persuasion that he had performed a good action." This young hero of twenty-two years, was called Olgiati. His heroism was rewarded by being torn in pieces with red-hot pincers. The widow of the slain duke, Bonne of Savoy, was made regent. She exiled the brothers of her husband. They returned, and deposed her; and declared her son, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, though only twelve years old, the reigning duke. But the oldest of these brothers, called Louis the Moor, assumed the government. Little is said of Louis's exercise of power, until he was called on by the king of Naples to give up Milan to his nephew, who had married a Neapolitan princess. At this time, (1494,) Charles VIII. of France had entered Italy to enforce his claims to the crown of Naples. While Charles was moving triumphantly to his object in the south, the duke of Orleans, (grandson of the person of the same name, before mentioned,) was left in northern Italy, he having asserted his claim as the heir of his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, to the duchy of Milan. Louis the Moor, (or, as he is sometimes called, Ludovico Sforza,) armed to meet the duke of Orleans, and besieged him at Novara, thirty miles north-west from Pavia. Charles, returning from Naples to France, halted at the neighboring town of Asti, to negotiate for the delivery of the duke of Orleans, which he accomplished.

On the death of Charles, Louis, the claimant of the duchy of Milan, became king of France under the name of Louis XII. He seemed much more ambitious of gaining Milan, than of reigning in France. It was at this time, (during the presence of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. in Italy,) that the Swiss became known on the south side of the Alps, as soldiers

who let themselves for wages, regardless to whom, or on which side, or of the object of the war.

In August, 1499, Louis passed the Alps with a powerful army, and took two small fortresses, where he put every living creature to the sword. The army of Ludovico Sforza, terrified by this ferocity, dispersed, and Ludovico escaped to Germany. In October, 1499, Louis entered Milan without opposition, and was received as its lawful sovereign. But the rapacity and insolence of the French, combined the Italians against them. Ludovico re-appeared the following year with a considerable army, and was joyfully received in several cities. There was a numerous body of hired Swiss in Ludovico's army. Louis XII. prepared to suppress this *rebellion*, as he considered it, and in April, 1500, came with an army in which were ten thousand Swiss. Thus it happened that two bodies of Swiss were opposed, and about to cut each other in pieces in an affair that interested them in nothing beyond their wages. Ludovico's Swiss were in the fortified city of Novara. Louis's Swiss were employed to take that city. The Swiss, on both sides, hesitated, and came, at length, to an understanding, that those in Novara should surrender, and should take with them and deliver up to the French all the Italian soldiers in that place. Ludovico and his two brothers could obtain no other favor than to be allowed to march out with the Swiss, in the disguise of Swiss uniform, and intermingle with the common ranks. This ingenuity did not save them. Ludovico was soon known, and transferred to France as a prisoner. Such he remained during life. Milan and its dependent cities and territories remained subject to the king of France, till June, 1512.

CHAPTER LII.

THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

VENICE has been celebrated for its commerce, riches, and maritime grandeur; but more for its singular and self-devoted policy, and its deliberate crimes, *as a state*. Its origin is referred by some writers to the fifth, by others, to the sixth century. It undoubtedly began when some of the inhabitants of northern Italy fled from the barbarians, (who crossed the

Alps,) and sought security in the low marshes formed by the deposits of the many rivers which descend from the Alps on the one side, and the Apennines on the other, and empty into the Adriatic. In this retreat they were protected by the difficulty of approaching their abodes, but more by their poverty. These people were first employed in extracting salt from the sea, and in fishing. The sea was their only resource. Separated from the land which they had inhabited, and having none of their own but these low marshes, they were necessarily directed to navigation and commerce, which began with their salt and their fish. From this humble origin arose, in more senses than one, from the sea, mighty and magnificent Venice, and which preserved the name of republic through a longer lapse of time than any other state. It is believed that Venice is the only capital in Europe that was not entered by a hostile power, before the time of the French revolution. As early as the seventh century, the Venetians had found their way to Constantinople, and the Levant, and to Egypt. They traded not only with Christians, but the Saracens. They are reproached with having purchased slaves of the latter, to sell again, and with having sold arms to the Saracens, which were used against Christians. The spirit of commerce was not more chastened then, than it has been in posterior ages.

The traffic with infidels had given great offence to the church, and was interdicted, under severe penalties, about the end of the eighth century. But the Venetians found means to evade this prohibition. In the year 809, an island called the Rialto was the most considerable of the many, (said to have been ninety,) which were peopled, and this became the centre, and all the islands were connected with it by bridges, more than four hundred and fifty in number. Thus was formed the city which took the name of Venice. The origin of this name is not stated. In the year 828, (the prohibition of the church notwithstanding,) twenty vessels of Venice were near the port of Alexandria, and were, as was alleged, forced to take refuge there from a tempest. However these vessels came there, they obtained from the Saracens the body of the evangelist, St. Mark, and conveyed it to their city, and St. Mark became their tutelary saint.* Their cathedral, their grand palace, their armorial bearings, were named from their saint, and even the country of Venetians was expressed in the comprehensive name of St. Mark. The grandeur of Venice

* *Essai sur l'influence des Croisades*, par Heeren, p. 317.

was considered, by its inhabitants, at least, to be superior to that of any other city. They vaunted that Rome was built by mortals, but their own Venice by the gods. Its grandeur continued until the discovery of the maritime route to India, at the end of the fifteenth century. It then began to decline. This remarkable city, in which the carriages are gondolas, and the streets canals, is still visited with admiration; grand in its decay, though degraded to an appendage of the Austrian empire.

The first political state of Venice, in the seventh century, was that of a republic, having a supreme duke, (doge,) its legislative power residing in the people, and its executive power vested in certain nobles. It soon distinguished itself by commerce and navigation. Its early political history is a succession of violent tumults, arising from the usurpations of the executive power on the one hand, and the vindictive reaction of the people on the other.

While the princes, nobles, and people of western Europe were intent on rescuing Palestine from the infidels, Venice became their most common route. The ships and the location of Venice, afforded facilities in these enterprises, and, during more than a century, (from 1150—1250,) many thousands of crusaders passed through this city. Besides the money which Venice accumulated from the crusaders, the means of commerce were extended in the east, and merchandise imported thence, was distributed in the west.

In 1173, Venice was desolated by pestilence, and an attempt was made, when this calamity subsided, to reform the government. There was then a judicial tribunal called *The Forty*. The forty ordered that the six quarters of the city should choose two electors each, and that these twelve should choose four hundred and seventy, to be the grand council. The same opportunity was taken to provide, that for *the present occasion only*, twelve persons should be chosen, who should elect a doge. This proved to be the last of popular power in elections. The forty also provided that the grand council should annually choose six persons to be the council of the doge, whose concurrence should be indispensable in all his official acts. It was under this reformed government that Venice attained to a commercial grandeur surpassing that of all other cities.

In the contest which arose between Frederick I., (Barbarossa,) emperor of Germany, and pope Alexander III., the latter took refuge in Venice, in 1177. The republic, taking

the part of the pope, sent ambassadors to the emperor to propose peace, and the recognition of Alexander as the lawful head of the church. Frederick answered by demanding the delivery to him of his fugitive enemy, and threatened, on non-compliance, to plant his eagles before the portal of St. Mark. An attack on Venice followed, but the emperor was defeated, and his son Otho taken prisoner. Alexander went to meet the returning victors, and then established the ceremony of the *wedding* between Venice and the Adriatic, celebrated annually for centuries afterwards, by the casting of the ring into the sea, in proof that the sea was subjected to Venice as a wife to her husband. By the perseverance of Venice, the emperor was obliged, at length, to appear there and negotiate a peace, acknowledge Alexander, and prostrate himself before his "fugitive enemy."

In the year 1310, the people attempted to free themselves from the dominion which the grand council had usurped. But, as in all similar and unsuccessful attempts, the government seized the opportunity to strengthen itself, and declared that the members who then composed the grand council should hold their places during life, and should be succeeded in office by their descendants, without the form of election. This measure excited great discontent, and caused insurrections, evils which came not alone. Genoa had been the commercial rival of Venice, and had gained two important victories in a long-continued war. And, about the same time, pope Clement V. (1309) having asserted pretensions to the city of Ferrara, Venice opposed him, and was subjected to a bull of excommunication. This instrument, as usual, absolved all Venetians from their oaths of fidelity; declared them all infamous, incapable of making testaments, or exercising any political power, and disqualified their children, to the fourth generation, from attaining to any secular or ecclesiastical dignity. This denunciation had all the effect that was intended. The superstitious people of Venice attributed all their misfortunes to this papal indignation. The remedy they relied on was a revolution; and in June, 1310, a tremendous battle was fought by the people on one side, and the government on the other. The people were defeated. Trials, convictions, and sanguinary executions followed. The people, however, had only given the opportunity for another innovation, which proved to be the finishing step in establishing an aristocratic despotism, which endured for ages.

The secrecy with which the insurrection had been planned,

and its near approximation to complete success, was the foundation on which this despotism arose. The intention was to surround the council by a competent force, to rush into the public apartments, and exterminate, at the same moment, every member of the government. One conspirator desired to save one member of the council, and therefore went to him, only the evening before, and besought him to remain at home the following day. The secret was wrung from this person. The government, informed of its peril, devoted the night to preparation, as the conspirators were doing; and, in the morning, the adversaries met.

To secure the state against similar attempts, the doge, Gradenego, proposed the establishment of a perpetual aristocracy of the nobles, to be called the Grand Council of Venice. Hence, in 1311, arose the tribunal of *Ten*, so powerful and so detested. Its jurisdiction, obscure and tyrannical, sacrificed all individuals to the safety of the state—placed in the rank of the greatest crimes the most indirect faults against government—considered all those as accomplices in a plot who did not give information of it—and made every person who was accused, regard himself as a lost man. The Council of Ten was, in fact, composed of seventeen. It included the doge and his six councillors; and yet the doge and the whole of the members appear to have been subjected to its inquisition. Among the devices of this council was a mode of obtaining information without peril to the informer. The hollow figure of a lion was prepared, and so placed, in connexion with the wall of the governmental palace, that a written communication thrown into the lion's mouth would descend to a box in the interior of the palace, of which the tribunal of *Ten* kept the keys. Over the "lion's mouth" were words meaning "secret denunciation." It may readily be imagined what uses could be made of such an instrument, and what fate must have befallen those whom the basest passions could consign to the jealous scrutiny of this terrible tribunal. While Venice still retained the name of a *republic*, there arose in its bosom, as a consequence of failure to recover liberty, "a tribunal of blood, which cast the chill of terror, not only through those who attempted, but through all who meditated, the least reform." The certainty of accusation, the secrecy observed in the inquisition, the impossibility of escape, the horrible mysteries which attended the trial, and the fate of the accused, are realities in the agency of man upon his fellow, which make one shudder. In general, the accused was despatched in secret. If the

publicity of execution was expedient, it was no otherwise public than by the exposure of the dead body in the square of St. Mark, with a label thereon—*For a serious crime against the state.* Occasionally, executions were public, as when the desired effect could be thereby produced. It is the common destiny of human inventions and combinations which are, in themselves, violations of the principles of justice and the laws of nature, to come to an end by their own inherent vice. And this is so, though the change which supervenes may be only a renewal, in some other form, of the evils which have been endured. This was not so in Venice. Its horrible system of tyranny grew stronger with time, and continued in full vigor till the close of the last century.

The social state of Venice was no less remarkable than its political constitution. The citizens of the republic were thus classed:—1. *The nobles*, the whole number, thirteen hundred. They were not of the same rank. The highest ranks comprehended the descendants of those who assisted in the election of the first doge, in the sixth century, and, consequently, the oldest noble families of Europe. The *second* rank comprehended those who were of the grand council when that became perpetual and hereditary, (1310.) The names of these were inscribed in *the golden volume*, and the names of their descendants were there inscribed. The *third* comprehended those who purchased nobility with hereditary rights, at the price of one hundred thousand Venetian ducats, at a time when the government was in great need of money. The *fourth* comprehended counts and marquises, who enjoyed no political distinction, and were not employed in the public service. The *fifth* comprehended all other persons, variously classed, whose vocation was to obey, and never to act, or speak, or think, on public affairs, but as they were commanded.

The election of the doge, for life, was a singular process. The nobles of thirty years of age and upwards, of the first three classes, assembled in the palace of St. Mark. As many balls as there were persons were put into an urn. Thirty of the balls were gilt. Those who drew these thirty balls retired to another chamber. These thirty drew from another urn an equal number of balls, nine of which were gilt. Those who drew the gilt balls elected forty. The forty, by a like process, reduced their number to twelve, who elected twenty-five, who were reduced to nine. The nine elected forty-five, who were reduced, by lot, to eleven, and these elected forty-one, who were thus made electors of the doge; twenty-five concurrent

votes being necessary in the choice. It might be expected that an officer so cautiously chosen, must be entrusted with high authority; but he was only "a king in appearance and external parade; a mere senator in power, a prisoner in the city, and a simple citizen out of it." The coin bore his name, not his figure. His name stood first in letters of credence, but he neither signed nor sealed. He could not open despatches addressed to him, but in the presence of his counselors. He presided in all councils, but could decide nothing, nor do more than make proposals. He nominated the clergy, and could create knights of St. Mark. He only was not subject to sumptuary laws. No one of his relations could be appointed to any office. He could not abdicate, but might be deposed. His salary was two thousand ducats, less than five thousand dollars. He was subject, as all others were, to the inquisition of the *Ten*, who might ransack his most secret apartments. Even death did not release him from inquisition, for then his acts were scrutinized, and his heirs might be made answerable. Who would be a doge of Venice? Any and every one, as elsewhere in the world, who can be in that eminence which only one can have. A single instance occurs, in centuries, of refusal to accept the office. The crown, the mantle, the precedence, were there, bereft of power and perilous as the office was.

The history of this singular republic turns on its wars and conquests, and on its enriching commerce. In 1202, the doge of Venice was Enrigo Dandolo, an eminent statesman and warrior. A crusade was undertaken in that year by the Venetians, French, and others, against Palestine. Dandolo was eighty-four years old at his election, and lived till he was ninety-seven. A numerous army was embarked in flat-bottomed boats, supported by a powerful fleet. At this time, Isaac Comnenus had been driven from the throne of Constantinople by his brother, Alexius. Alexius, the son of Isaac, applied to the crusaders to aid himself and his father, in recovering the throne. The promises which he made, operating on the commercial cupidity of the Venetians, and other motives arising from ancient enmity, and the hope of plunder on the part of the French, diverted them from Palestine, and made Constantinople the object of their enterprize. Gibbon's sixtieth chapter contains an account of the successful attack on this splendid city, March, 1204.

This conquest established the *Latin* kingdom at Constantinople, of which Boudoin, (Baldwin,) count of Flanders, was

the first king. In the partition of the spoils, the Venetians had in sovereignty, a portion, Hallam (Middle Ages,) says three-eighths, Professor Heeren, (Essay on the Crusades) says three-fourths of the Roman empire. This difference of expression is explained by Gibbon, chap. LX. One fourth was appropriated to the Royal domain, and the remaining three-fourths equally divided between the Venetians and Franks. The doge was called "Lord of one fourth and a half of the Roman empire." [Meaning one-fourth and one half of one-fourth.] They selected a part of the capital, the shores of the Hellespont to the Ionian sea, Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus; Negropont, Candia, Corfu, and most of the Greek islands, including the seven isles since known as the Ionian isles. These selections were made with a view to commerce, and necessarily required the establishment of a colonial system. Before this time, Venice had acquired very important commercial privileges in the Levant, that is on the coast at the east end of the Mediterranean; and also in Alexandria, in Egypt. Their ships visited the ports of Spain, London, and ports in the Netherlands. They were sovereigns, also, over most of the coast on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and were, at this time, the greatest commercial people of the world.

The republics of Genoa and Pisa were the commercial rivals of Venice. The clashing of their respective interests led to the most obstinate and vindictive wars, in which many naval battles were fought, with various success. That one of these many battles which is specially remarked upon by historians, was fought on the 13th Feb., 1352, in the straits of the Bosphorus. The Venetian fleet, consisting of 78 vessels, of their own and their allies, was commanded by Nicolo Pisani. Paganino Doria commanded the Genoese fleet, consisting of 64 vessels. In the midst of the battle a violent tempest arose, which continued through the night, as did the conflict; but in the darkness of the night the vessels of the combatants were intermingled. The loss on both sides was ruinous, and neither were able, when day returned, to continue the contest. In the next year the Genoese were defeated with immense loss, and the like fate awaited the Venetians in the following year. This warfare continued, with few intermissions, till 1381, when both parties, equally exhausted, concluded a peace.

The earliest of the serious misfortunes of Venice may be dated from its ambition to become possessors, by conquest, of northern Italy. It made this attempt early in the fifteenth century, and thus became involved in the desolating wars of that

country, a scene of continued misery, not surpassed in the history of the world. Venice was warned of the perils which would attend this enterprise. The doge Mocenigo, is represented to have said, when dying, that a war with Milan ought not to be undertaken. "Through peace," said he, "our city has every year, ten millions of ducats employed as a mercantile capital in different parts of the world, with an annual profit of four millions. Our housing, 7,000,000 of ducats; annual rent 500,000. Our ships are 3000; our gallies 43; smaller vessels, 300; sailors, 19,000. Our mint has coined 1,000,000 of ducats within the year. From Milan we draw annually a like sum, in coin; 900,000 in cloths; our profit, 600,000. You may become masters of all the gold in christendom; but war, unjust war, will inevitably lead to ruin. You have men of probity and experience; choose one of them, but beware of Francesco Foscari. If he is doge, you will soon have war; and war will bring poverty and loss of honor." Yet, Foscari was elected. War was undertaken against Milan, and with the disadvantage of carrying it on entirely with mercenary troops. No Venetian ever bore the title of general, nor were Venetians ever armed as soldiers.

An army was hired, and two commissioners were delegated to accompany and watch over it. Their special duty was to exercise their vigilance over the chiefs of the army, whom their employers always distrusted.

In the first half of the fifteenth century the Venetians conquered and held several duchies and territories on the north side of the Po, and northwardly of the duchy of Mantua, having their most westwardly boundary at the river Adda. The members of the reigning families, whom they conquered, they carried to Venice, and put to death, as the most certain mode of preventing revolt, and attempts to reinstate themselves. It is said, however, that the Venetians were lenient masters, and that the conquered lost nothing by the change of sovereignty. They were severe and relentless against the military chiefs in their service, when not victorious, from whatever cause. The fate of Carmagnola, when in their service, has been mentioned in notices of Milan. These conquests were achieved, principally, between the years 1423, and 1449, while Francesco Foscari was the doge. He hoped to dismember Milan, and even to extend the banner of St. Mark over the whole of that duchy; and, therefore, rejected all overtures of Milan to make peace.

Meanwhile, the Turks had found their way into Europe, and were threatening the territories of Venice in the east. The

Venetians were thus compelled to forego their projects of ambition in northern Italy, to defend themselves; peace was made with Milan in September, 1449; their apprehensions being quieted as to the Turks, they returned again to the warfare with Milan. Alliance was made by them, with Alphonso, king of Naples, and with the duke of Savoy. But in May, 1453, the Turks having taken Constantinople, all Italy felt the necessity of establishing peace among themselves, to be able to resist a common enemy. By the treaty signed at Lodi, in April, 1454, the cities of Bergamo and Brescia, and their dependent territories, were secured to Venice. Thus the Venetian domain, from the Adriatic to the river *Adda*, and from the Po to the Alps, (excepting Mantua,) was established, and was known as the *terra firma* of Venice, as distinguished from the legunēs, or marshes, on which their capital was situated. But these were far otherwise than fortunate acquisitions. Venice was now drawn into the convulsive and afflictive politics of Italy; and was destined to experience a full share in the misery which awaited that unfortunate country.

In 1454 the Venetians made a treaty of peace with Mahomet II., who employed himself in conquering the territories which were situated between Constantinople, and the Venetian possessions on the east side of the Adriatic. But in 1463 the war with the Turks was again renewed. An attempt was made, in vain, by the pope and Venice, to unite the west of Europe in a crusade against the Turks. Venice still had the command of the sea, and was able to annex the island of Cyprus to their dominions. This island was not in the possession of the Turks, but of the family of Lusignan, who held it as a kingdom, established by Richard I., of England, when he was in the east. Meanwhile the Turks despoiled the Venetians of their territories, and even threatened to pour down their forces on the *terra firma* of Venice, north of the Po. Venice purchased a costly and disgraceful peace of the Turks, in January, 1479.

Notwithstanding the conflicts which Venice had to sustain with the Turks, it had acquired, by treachery or purchase, several territories in Romagna, which extends southwardly, from near the southern branch of the Po, along the north-eastern coast of Italy. These acquisitions were, in part, claimed by the pope, and are now within the estates of the church.

Before the end of this century, (as will be elsewhere noticed,) France, Spain, Germany, and the Swiss, had made Italy the seat of their warfare. In this, Venice was involved. But it was more seriously engaged in resisting the encroachments of

the Turkish sultan, Bajazel II., who had renewed the war. In the pacification of 1479 Venice had preserved a part of Dalmatia, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. This was now assailed. They had also preserved certain commercial privileges in Constantinople. But now all the Venetians in that city were put in irons. The perils of this war detached Venice from the warfare in Italy, and forced on her the defence of herself, against the Turks, during seven years. They still preserved a part of their territories on terra firma.

The most cruel and odious warfare was now raging in Italy between the French, Germans, Spaniards, Swiss, and Italians, including the popes. On the 22d Sept. 1504, Louis XII., of France, and Maximilian, of Germany, made a treaty, by which they agreed to divide the Venetian territories between them. Meanwhile, Venice had lost, in a new war with the Turks, from 1499 to 1503, all its possessions on the east coast of the Adriatic.

The contract of Louis and Maximilian, in 1504, was more formally recognized in a new treaty of the 10th Dec. 1508, in which other parties joined. This treaty, signed at Cambray, (on the Scheldt, in the Netherlands,) is called the league against Venice. The king of Spain, and the pope, as well as the monarchs of France and Germany, were parties. No treaty was ever more perfidious, nor was any ever made between parties who so justly distrusted, or more thoroughly detested each other. The war of the league began in Jan. 1509. Venice had prepared too meet it; but her forces were defeated, and the cities of Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, and Cremona, near the rivers Adda and Oglio, surrendered. The residue of its domains, between these cities and the Adriatic, including Verona, Padua, Vicenza, were attacked by the allies. Venice released her subjects there from their allegiance, and left them to their fate. Every misery which man can inflict on man was experienced by these people. The most excruciating tortures were applied to extract their treasures, and every thing dear in domestic life was violated with a barbarity which could characterize only the spirit of demons. Oppression and cruelty drove the vanquished subjects of Venice to unite and defend themselves, and they again displayed the banner of St. Mark. They gained possession of Padua, and though Maximilian besieged them there, with 100,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon, he was compelled to retire.

Pope Julius II., terrified by the ravages of these barbarians, repented of having joined in the league, and resolved to detach

the Swiss, and to call to his aid the Spanish forces, then in possession of Naples. In the battles which ensued between these new parties, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, then only twenty-two years of age, distinguished himself at the head of the French. In an attack on the Spanish infantry, at the close of the bloodiest battle which had been fought, he fell, on the 12th of April, 1512. His fall, the acquisition (through the pope) of Henry VIII., of England, and Ferdinand of Aragon, as enemies to France, and the perfidy of Maximilian, overthrew the French, and drove them from Italy. Venice made peace with France, but not with Maximilian. The German troops still desolated the territories of terra firma. But on the 14th Dec. 1516, peace put the Venetians in possession of all the territories they had lost in consequence of the execution of the treaty signed at Cambray, (1508.) The wealth of Venice was annihilated, and one half of her population was destroyed. Thus truly had been verified the dying prophecy of the doge Mocenigo. About the same time a total change in the routes of commerce, by the discovery of America, and the maritime course around Africa to the east, settled the fate of Venice. From this time Venice declined, notwithstanding all her efforts to defeat the Portuguese in their commercial enterprizes in the east; and to recover her own superiority. During the last three centuries Venice does not appear conspicuously, in the history of nations; but it preserved its independence till 1796, when it was overcome by Napoleon. Throughout twelve centuries Venice was, at no time, a conquered city. In the survey of the three last centuries, the remaining fortunes of this singular *republic* will be noticed.

CHAPTER LIII.

Bologna—Ferrara—Genoa—Pisa.

FROM Pavia to the Adriatic sea, in a course directly east, is about one hundred and sixty-five miles. The river Po flows nearly in the same course, from Pavia to that sea. South of the Po, and at the distance of about fifty miles, are the Appenines. Between the Appenines and the Po are the territories of Parma, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara, in succession from west to east. South of Ferrara and extending along the coast

of the Adriatic fifty miles, was Romagna, now called the *estates of the church*. In Romagna, on the coast of the Adriatic, or near it, was Ravenna, the seat of empire of the Goth, Theodoric. It was formerly on a bay of that sea, but is now three miles from the sea. These several territories formed republics in the twelfth century, and continued to be governed as such for a long time, like the states on the north side of the Po; and like them, experienced a series of violent revolutions in the conflicts between the two parties, the Guelfs and the Ghibelines. They had, also, the afflictions which arose from the attempts of distinguished families to acquire an exclusive government, and the popular resistance of these attempts. The circumstances of these revolutions are not of sufficient importance to be described; most of them are involved in the historical facts of Milan, whose chiefs were able to hold most of these portions of Italy for a long time in subjection. There are some facts in the history of some of these territories on the south side of the Po, which require a short notice.

The city of Bologna, about one hundred and thirty miles east by south from Pavia, and about fifty-five miles north of Florence, is situated near the foot of the north side of the Appenines, and is an ancient and celebrated city. Its form being oblong, and having a tower called *Asinelli*, three hundred and seven feet high, it has been compared to a ship. Its public edifices are magnificent. It had, next after Rome, the finest collection of paintings in Italy. It is supposed to have been the first Italian, perhaps the first European city, in which a university was founded. About the year 1113, the celebrated Irnerius was a professor of the civil law at this university, and the number of students from various parts of Europe, are computed, by some writers, at ten thousand, and by others at fifteen thousand. This city enjoyed, about this time, a high celebrity for its learned men, and has not yet lost all claims to such distinction. The civil law was designed by its patron Justinian, to inculcate submission to imperial authority, and the students in this law in other cities, as well as at Bologna, are supposed to have acquired opinions unfavorable to popular liberty. But the form of a republic was preserved here, under various changes and revolutions, till after the fifteenth century, and as long as in any of the Italian republics. The history of Bologna is, like many other cities further south, so much connected with that of Florence, that further remarks on it will be referred to those which are to be made on the Florentine republic.

The city of Ferrara, with its surrounding territory, in the ninth century was under the government of the celebrated family of Este, in the character of vicars, or viceroys of the emperors of Germany. Ferrara is situated on the north side of one of the southern branches of the Po, in a low plain. While the dukes of Este reigned there, from before the year 1000, to nearly the end of the sixteenth century, it was distinguished among the cities of Italy for its comparative elegance and refinement. It is now one of the most forsaken and decayed. Ariosto (died in 1533) was buried here. Tasso was confined here as an idiot, or maniac, for seven years, about 1580—90. (Died at Rome, 1595.) The Adriatic shore is about forty-five miles east, and Bologna is about twenty-two miles nearly south-west from Ferrara. The three duchies of Mirandola, Modena, and Reggio, were annexed to the sovereignty of Ferrara, and so held for several centuries—Bologna and its territories being south of Ferrara, and east of Modena. The dukes of Ferrara were among the leaders of the Guelf party. One of these, Guelfo IV., was invested with the duchy of Bavaria, and was the founder of the house of Brunswick, from which the royal family of England derive their descent.

From 1000 to 1500, the dukes and people of Ferrara were less involved in the revolutions and miseries of Italy, than other of its inhabitants. Some of these dukes were patrons of science and of learned men; and though violence, tyranny and crimes were not rare in the political events of this city, perhaps Ferrara may be selected as that part of Italy which suffered less than any other, during these five centuries. So far as it is material to notice the political scenes of Ferrara, they are connected with those of Florence, as are those of all the republics which surrounded that city.

We have now to pass over the Appenines, and consider the republics on the south side of them, and along the coast of the Tuscan sea. With the exception of Genoa, all of them are so intimately connected with Florentine events, that they will be most easily understood in treating of that celebrated republic.

The republic of Genoa is situated along the northern shore of the Tuscan sea, in length about one hundred and twenty miles, in breadth from eight to twenty. Not far from the centre of the territory is the city of Genoa, which has been called "the magnificent," and "the proud." Situated on the shore, and on the hills which soon rise from the shore, it presents a grand appearance from the sea. It is forty-six miles south of Pavia, sixty-three miles south of Milan.

When the German power in Italy was overthrown, with the Carolingian race, in the tenth century, Genoa became a republic, and is first heard of in the wars with the Saracens who had possessed themselves of the islands in the Mediterranean. Afterwards, in the twelfth century, Genoa appears in the crusades, and conspicuously in the commerce of the East. In the next century, Genoa had conquered the island of Corsica.

The city of Pisa, situated on the river Arno, near the sea, about one hundred miles eastwardly (from Genoa,) was the commercial rival of Genoa. The two republics had been frequently at war. In 1282 a new war commenced. Astonishment is expressed, by several historians, at the number of vessels of war which these two small republics could send forth. They account for it by assuming that nearly all the male population were mariners. In August, 1284, Pisa was vanquished with great loss and slaughter, in a battle wherein both republics exerted all their strength.

In this battle of Meliora, (1282,) fought near the coast, and within a few miles of Pisa, the Genoese were so completely victors, that besides the slain, eleven thousand of the Pisans were carried prisoners to Genoa, and refused to be liberated on the terms which Genoa prescribed. They languished in prison many years, and a very small number of them survived their captivity. Pisa lost her commercial distinction by this event, and never appeared afterwards on the ocean as a maritime power. This city always ranked as Ghibeline. How far this rank was caused by rivalry with Florence, always Guelf, and how far by principle, is, at least, doubtful.

There remain, to the present day, noble monuments of the commercial grandeur of Pisa. She was the first who introduced into Tuscany the arts which flourish only where there is a liberal use of wealth. Within one and the same view, may yet be seen her dome, her baptistry, her leaning tower, her campo santo, structures which have rarely been surpassed in subsequent times, though erected between the middle of the eleventh, and the end of the twelfth century. The name of Nicolas de Pisa is associated with these monuments. The great architects who adorned Italy, in the thirteenth century, were all of the school of Nicolas.

The future destinies of Pisa were all unfortunate. Driven from the ocean, in a great measure, and intermingling in the political turmoils on the land, she was a sufferer from all parties, and especially from Florence, whose natural road to

the ocean was through the Pisan territory. No city in Italy suffered more, nor so long, without the power to find a remedy. Her noble spirit was the last of her possessions to be subdued.

Genoa was the commercial rival also of Venice. The fleets of these two republics often encountered each other in the East, and it was easy for rivalry to ripen into enmity. Genoa was dissatisfied that Venice had gained a superiority in the conquest of Constantinople, and in the establishment of the Latin kingdom in that city. It was, therefore, well disposed to aid the Greeks in recovering Constantinople. In 1261, the claimant of the Greek throne, Palæologus, was successfully aided by the Genoese in recovering it, and they were rewarded by an assignment of the territory called Para, opposite the north-eastern side of the city, across the harbor. Here the Genoese strengthened themselves by fortifications, and extended their commerce into the Black sea. Around its shores they had several settlements, and enjoyed an enriching traffic in corn, and in a preparation of the sturgeon, called caviar. Their principal port was at Caffa, in the Crimea, where four hundred vessels have been seen in forty days, employed in the corn and fish trade. They received through the Black sea, by the way of the Caspian, the products of the East.

In a war between Venice and Genoa, (1293,) the latter is said to have had (Hallam 1, p. 250) one hundred and fifty-five gallies, manned with from two hundred and twenty to three hundred men each, making nearly forty thousand men. But this was an unusual armament. The Venetian and Genoese fleets did not usually exceed half that number. This warfare was continued, with little intermission, throughout the fourteenth century. Some of the battles were, probably, as well fought on both sides, as any recorded in history. About 1378, Venice was in so much peril from an attack of the Genoese, that the Venetians resolved to abandon their city, and establish themselves on the island of Cyprus. An unexpected arrival of one of their fleets from the East, turned the tide of events in favor of the Venetians, and the Genoese were compelled to retire with great loss. Doria, on the part of the Genoese, and Pisani, on the part of Venice, appear to have been the most celebrated among the naval commanders. In 1379, both parties, exhausted by the profitless contention, accepted a mediation, and made peace. After this century, the commercial grandeur of Genoa declined, but rather from the furious and implacable factions which arose among its citizens, than from any other cause. In Genoa, as in so many other Italian cities,

the principal cause of internal misery (until Italy became the theatre of war of France, Germany, Spain, and the Swiss) was the rivalry and craving among noble families. The four most eminent families in Genoa were the Grimaldi, the Fieschi, the Doria, and the Spinola; the two former Guelfs, the two latter Ghibelines. These factions were alternately successful, and the triumphant party always caused the destruction or flight of the other. The assistance of neighboring powers was called in. In 1318, the Ghibelines being driven out, the Guelfs, to prevent their return with such allies as they might find, actually surrendered Genoa to the sovereignty of Robert, king of Naples. These contentions, long continued, ended, as most civil wars have done, not in securing liberty, but in losing it. In 1339, a duke or doge was chosen by acclamation of the people. But this change was of short duration; and the vibration was again towards a more popular, and also a more turbulent rule. It would be as tedious as unprofitable, to follow out the many changes which the rivalries in this city occasioned; many of them attended with violence and bloodshed. As a final refuge, the republic was placed, in the year 1396, under the protection of Charles VI., king of France, and a French garrison admitted within the walls.

The Genoese maintained their possessions in the suburbs of Constantinople, until some time after the Turks, in 1453, possessed themselves of that city. Soon after, they were objects of jealousy to the new sovereigns, and were despoiled of their commercial establishments within the Black sea, and on the Bosphorus. The irreconcilable factions of Genoa, compelled its citizens again to invite a foreign master, in the duke of Milan. The history of these factions is narrated by Sismondi in full detail, but they show no more than the like scenes which were passing about the same time, in other cities of Italy, of which some notice has been already taken, and which must be again noticed in the history of Florence. Genoa needed that terrible tranquillizing power which resided in the despotism of the council of Ten, at Venice; and having none such, it was continually agitated by violent revolutions, sometimes from the conflicts of the nobles, and sometimes from the conflicts of the citizens and nobles. No city seems to have understood less than Genoa, the means of balancing its factions, or of establishing an authority which could keep them in subjection. Towards the close of the fifteenth century this republic had lost its commercial importance, and, like Venice, became comparatively insignificant.

The power and the grandeur of Genoa depended entirely on its commerce. Its warfare was on the ocean. It maintained no military force on shore, composed of its own citizens. When compelled to engage in conflicts on the land, it depended on hired auxiliaries. It consequently had to encounter the disasters which ever befall those republics whose citizens know not how to protect and defend themselves. The Genoese merchants imported from Egypt, and from the Levant, and from the Black sea, great quantities of costly merchandise, and sent them, in their own vessels, throughout the western ports of the Mediterranean, and around Spain into the ports of the North sea. They established banking houses in many of the cities of western Europe, from which they derived great profits. This people were also furnished with articles of commerce of domestic origin. Its territories were fertile and well cultivated, and there were some enriching manufactures, especially in the article of silk. With all its advantages, no one of the cities of Italy less understood the means of preserving the rights of person and property.

Near the close of the fifteenth century, Genoa had again sought a respite from its internal commotions, by a surrender of itself to the duke of Milan, who assumed the absolute sovereignty. But Louis XII. of France, who claimed to be the duke of Milan, (as elsewhere mentioned,) had driven out the reigning family (Sforza) from Milan, and claimed Genoa as an appendage to that duchy. Genoa entered into a capitulation with Louis, and he assumed the sovereignty. Every stipulation made by him was violated, and the Genoese revolted. Early in 1507, Louis entered Italy with an army which Genoa could not resist, and the Genoese nobles taking part with him, he was enabled to enter the city as conqueror, on the 29th of April, in that year. The first exercise of his power was to send the doge and the most distinguished citizens, who had vainly attempted to defend their country, to the scaffold.

CHAPTER LIV.

Middle Italy—Tuscany—Republic of Florence from 1000 to 1500.

THE Apennine mountains run, from the southern end of the Alps, (where they separate France and Italy,) eastwardly, and take a circuitous course around the northern end of the Tuscan Sea, till they come midway of the peninsula, where that joins northern Italy. Thence the course of these mountains is south-eastwardly through the peninsula. Soon after the mountains turn to the south-east, they furnish the sources of the river Arno, which flows south-west through the beautiful valley to which that river gives its name, and empties into the Tuscan Sea. The part of Italy called Tuscany is situated between the mountains and the sea. Its ancient name was Etruria. It extends from the Genoese territory along the coast, south-eastwardly, about one hundred and twenty miles, to the states of the church. The breadth between the sea and the mountains may be seventy or eighty miles. The mountains form its northern and north-eastern boundary.

In the year 1000, Tuscany contained many independent republics. The principal ones were Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Sienna, Perugia. Relative positions will be computed from Florence. This city is in $43^{\circ} 47'$ north latitude, and $11^{\circ} 15'$ east longitude. On the south-west of the Apennines, in the valley of the Arno, the river divides Florence into two parts, at the distance of fifty-five miles from the Tuscan Sea. From this city, Bologna (over the mountains) is about sixty miles distant, north by east. Ferrara is thirty miles north-east from Bologna. Ravenna is sixty-five miles north-east from Florence; Ancona, one hundred and fifteen east by south on the Adriatic; Rome, one hundred and twenty-five miles south-south-east, and Sienna thirty-five miles, nearly in the same direction. Between Sienna and Rome there were numerous republics. The cities situated westwardly of Florence, and between it and the Tuscan Sea, were Pistoia, distant twenty miles west by north; Lucca, forty-eight miles, nearly west; Pisa, fifty miles, nearly west; Lucca is ten miles northwardly of Pisa, on a small river, and thirteen miles from the sea; Pisa is five miles from the sea on the river Arno. Spoleto is forty miles north of Rome, and Naples about one hundred and ten south-east from it.

Florence was founded in the first century. It is mentioned by Tacitus under the name of Florentia. It was destroyed by the barbarians; re-appeared in the time of Charlemagne, and became a republic about the end of the tenth century, when his race lost dominion in Italy. All Italy was, at this time, divided into the two parties, Guelfs and Ghibelines, which had already forgotten the origin of these names, and used them only as names of habitual and hereditary hostility. The Ghibelines, however, are found to have arranged themselves, usually, on the side of the emperors, whenever there was a conflict between them and the church. The Guelfs are found to have taken part with the popes, and are considered, by some writers, to have been the supporters of popular liberty. Yet, they do not appear to have been less inclined to use power tyrannically, whenever they obtained it, than their adversaries. Both parties were composed of noble families, and their hostility may well be accounted for without assuming that the Ghibelines were devoted to the maintenance of arbitrary power, and the Guelfs to the maintenance of liberty. The adherence of the Guelfs to the popes is not an indication that civil liberty was the object of their party.

When Florence begins to be the subject of historical notice, about the middle of the twelfth century, it was a turbulent republic, in which the Guelfs and the Ghibelines were in continual conflict. Slight dissensions, of frequent occurrence, were sufficient to bring both these parties into violent action, in which mere physical strength was the only arbiter. In 1215, a nobleman of the Guelf party, named Buondelmonte, had engaged himself to a lady of the Ghibeline party, of the house of Amidei. The marriage-day was appointed. Buondelmonte was passing the house of a noble Guelf lady, named Donati, who invited him to come in. He was conducted to an apartment in which the daughter of this lady was presented to him; and the mother reproached him with the intention of taking a wife from among the enemies of the Guelfs and the church. The suddenly enamored visiter immediately renounced the Ghibeline lady, and sought and obtained the lady of his own party. Such an incident was sufficient to arm both parties, and to cause the resolution among the Ghibelines that Buondelmonte should be put to death. He was assassinated in the streets, in open day, and a civil war raged in Florence, from this cause, during thirty-three years. This incident sufficiently explains the true meaning of the terms Guelf and Ghibeline, and that they were like other party names, in every

age, distinctive appellations for enmities incident to human society.

The people of Florence acquired a commanding influence in the affairs of Italy, far more so than their numbers, or the extent of their territory, or their military power, would enable them to acquire. Sismondi finds, in the peculiar character of this people, the source of this influence. They were intelligent, active, devoted to liberty, and resolved to preserve it, though they were not agreed in the means of accomplishing their object. Their government was a popular one, and liable to sudden and violent commotions. In the year 1282, Florence had attained to eminence as a manufacturing and commercial community. Its government was conducted by a numerous council, and by fourteen officers, (prudent-men,) of whom eight were Guelfs, and six Ghibelines. This government was found incompetent to keep the city tranquil, and was, in itself, a prolific cause of contention from the irreconcilable views of the individuals by whom it was conducted. In this year, (1282,) a new form of government was instituted, entirely democratic. The manufacturing and mercantile citizens were divided into six classes, and each one elected two *priors*, from six different quarters of the city. Six of these priors exercised the executive power, and represented the state for two months; and, during this time, they were compelled to dwell together in the same palace, and, on no account, to be absent from it, by day or night. At the end of these two months they were not again eligible for two years. The successive executive priors were elected by their predecessors. All nobles and gentlemen were excluded from any share in the government. Thus was formed a strictly popular authority, renewed at the end of every sixty days. To enable this authority to execute its decrees, an officer was chosen called *gonfalonier*, or standard-bearer, who was required to reside in the palace. Each of the six classes of citizens had military companies, and when the *gonfalonier* displayed his standard from the palace window, these companies were held to repair to the palace, and place themselves under his command. A similar form of government, from this example, was established in several of the Italian republics.

The nobles being thus excluded from all share in the government, combined and exercised, by force of arms, a power which often intimidated the magistrates and defeated their purposes. One of these nobles, Giano della Bella, renounced his privileges, and made himself one of the people, and became a

popular leader. At his suggestion, several noble families were excluded from all rights of citizenship. He thus made himself an object of hatred among the persecuted. He so conducted himself as to become suspected by the people, and united both nobles and people against him. Within two years he was banished from the city. The Florentine government soon after fell into the hands of the rich and most powerful citizens, though the form, as established in 1282, was preserved. It is very obvious, that a government so composed, and intended for the preservation of the rights of property and person, and the public security, in such a community, must have been irregular and turbulent, and rarely free from commotion.

About the year 1300, a series of events began wherein Florence and the neighboring republic of Pistoia were first involved, and afterwards several other governments. These events deserve a particular notice, because they show what the practical effect of these popular governments was; and for another reason, they disclose the nature of Italian society, in this age, and show what were the objects of desire and aversion, and how human passions sought gratification.

There was at Florence, at this time, (1300,) a noble family named Donati. The principal member of this family had been distinguished in causing the banishment or death of Giano della Bella. This Donati exercised a powerful influence in the affairs of the city. A family of humble origin, named Cherchi, had become rich by commerce, and had purchased a palace near to that of the Donati family. Riches being the only claim of the Cherchi to distinction, they sought, by the splendor of their display, to cast the Donati into the shade. They endeavored, also, to attach to their interests such poor, but noble families, as could be won by their munificent favors. The hostility thus engendered was of a nature to grow stronger by time, and to attract partisans on both sides. This hostility, like all other excitements, brought into its train, on the one side and the other, the imperishable feud of the Guelfs and the Ghibelines. A similar state of feeling and of action may be found in almost any community or age, with no other difference than as to the objects, and as to the manner in which human propensities manifest themselves.

While Florence was in this excited state, its attention was drawn towards the republic of Pistoia. This republic, consisting of a city, (and surrounding territory,) is distant nearly north-west from Florence, about twenty miles, on a plain, lying

near the foot of the south side of the Apennines. The noble family of Cancellieri, of Pistoia, were of the Guelf party, and were numerous and rich. They numbered one hundred of their name, who bore arms. Several of this family had assembled at a tavern for social and festive intercourse. Two young men were present; they were descended from a common paternal ancestor, who had been twice married. Those of the first marriage were called, from the name of their mother, Bianci (or white) Cancellieri. Those of the second marriage, to distinguish them from the others, were called the Neri (black) Cancellieri. Under the excitement of wine, a quarrel arose between these young men, Carlino of the white branch, and Dore of the black branch. Sismondi remarks, that Pistoia was the most turbulent, vindictive, excitable, and bloodthirsty community in all Italy. It was a principle of action among its nobles, that when an insult had been given, (worse than among American savages,) the vengeance was not to fall on the offender, but on the most distinguished of his family, though no party to the insult, and though entirely ignorant of it. Dore (the black) was the person who considered himself offended by Carlino, (the white.) On leaving the tavern he encountered Vanni of the white branch, and who was ignorant of the quarrel, and wounded him in the hand and on the face. The father of Dore surrendered him to the father of Vanni, in the hope that the quarrel might be terminated by this confiding act. But the father of Vanni caused Dore's hand to be chopped off with an axe, and sent him back to tell his father that such wounds might be cured with iron, but not by words.

A ferocious war ensued, in which all the nobles and principal persons of Pistoia and its territories were involved. The names of Guelf and Ghibeline were soon connected with these conflicts. Florence had expelled the Ghibelines, and considered itself a Guelf city at this time. Apprehensive that the exiles might connect themselves with the war at Pistoia, and thus extend the war to Florence, and, perhaps, reinstate themselves, the government undertook to restore peace at Pistoia. The considerate men in both cities deliberated, and it was agreed that Pistoia should be submitted to the dominion of Florence for three years. A new podesta and gonfalonier were sent, with orders to choose a council of twelve, half from each party, and the chiefs of the two factions were exiled to Florence. The portion of the Cancellieri called white, were hospitably received by the family of Cerchi, before mentioned; and those called the black were received by the

friends and allies of the family of Donati. The chief of this family, Corso Donati, became the leader of the blacks, and Vieri des Cerchi the leader of the whites. The growing feuds of Florence thus found banners, imported from Pistoia, under which to arrange themselves. Here, again, the distinctions of Guelf and Ghibeline appeared, the blacks inclining to the former, and the whites to the latter. These parties soon came to blows and to the shedding of blood, and the government of Florence had no alternative but to exile their respective chiefs. The blacks were ordered to Pieve in Perugia, sixty-three miles south-east from Florence, and eighty-four north from Rome; and the whites to Sarzana, about one hundred and fifteen miles north-west from Florence, on the frontiers of the Genoese.

The chiefs of the party now called the blacks, being Guelfs, and near enough to Rome to communicate with the pope, (at this time Boniface VIII.,) always the Guelf chief as the head of the church, sought his protection. The pope had three objects in view: to restore peace in Florence, to punish the Ghibelines, and to conquer Sicily. He therefore invited Charles of Valois, brother of Philip le Bel, king of France, to come into Italy with an army, and offered him very tempting inducements. He came, went to Rome, and having strengthened his military force by the addition of many volunteers, presented himself before Florence. After making a treaty in the most solemn form, and ratifying it with oaths, whereby he bound himself not to assume any sort of jurisdiction, or exercise any power in Florence, he was admitted and received with respectful honors. He entered with eight hundred mounted soldiers, and was soon joined there by many others. Having obtained possession of the keys of one of the gates, Charles disregarded all his solemn engagements, admitted the exiled Florentines of the party of Corso Donati, who were of the Guelfs or blacks. The houses and palaces of the Ghibelines or whites, were abandoned to fire and pillage during six days and nights, as well as their castles in the vicinity. Charles remained at Florence five months, exacting riches from its inhabitants by threats and torture; and on the 4th of April, 1302, this pacificator of Italy, whom Boniface had called in, departed with the maledictions of all Tuscany. It is the principal reproach of the Florentines, that they were not, at any time, capable of protecting themselves by a military force, formed among their own citizens. They had thirty thousand men, capable of bearing arms, within their own

walls, and an equal number in their surrounding territory. But they do not exhibit, at any period of their history, a military spirit consistent with other characteristics wherein they were the superiors of all their contemporaries. In most other cities, such a visiter as Charles would have been soon driven out, or made to pay with his life for his perfidy and robberies.

In the month of May, 1303, the pope, Benedict XI., sent the cardinal de Prato to Florence, to make peace. The black party then ruled in that city, and the white party at Pistoia. The cardinal reformed the constitution, but failed to effect his object. In June, of the next year, he departed, leaving the Florentines under malediction, since they preferred to be so dealt with, and to be at war rather than in peace and repose. Soon after his departure, civil war was renewed, and the richest part of the city burnt, and many opulent families were ruined. The incensed cardinal invited the Ghibelines and white party of Pisa, d'Arrezzo, Bologna, and Pistoia, to attack Florence. An attempt was made, but failed, not from the defence of Florence, but the want of concert among its enemies. Florence next engaged the duke of Calabria, son of Charles II., king of Naples, to lead its military force, in alliance with the republic of Lucca, against Pistoia. This attack reduced Pistoia to the necessity of sending out all women and children, and all non-combatants from the city, and they were submitted to the cruelties of the besieger. Such was their fate, (says Sismondi,) that history ought not to preserve the memory of it. In April, 1306, Pistoia surrendered to Florence and Lucca. The terms of surrender were disregarded, and the fortifications of the city and its walls were demolished. When the Pistoians heard that a man of low condition was coming from Lucca to rule over them, with one accord, men, women, and children, united to fortify the city anew. The noble resistance of this people softened the hearts of the Florentines, who interposed for them, and eventually secured to them their former liberty and independence. (1309.)

In the years 1312 and 1313, Henry VII., emperor of Germany, was in Italy, attempting to reinstate the imperial authority. Florence distinguished itself by a firm resistance of this attempt. The sudden death of Henry, in August of the latter year, changed, at once, the state of Italian affairs. At this time there had been formed in Italy many military bands, called *condottieri*, or companies of adventurers, whose business it was to let themselves for the best wages they could obtain; and when not so employed, they sustained themselves by

plunder. The Florentines depended on these hired troops, and were often deprived of this dependence when their enemies could seduce these adventurers by offering more profitable terms.

In 1320, a new Guelf and Ghibeline war had arisen, in which Florence was one party, and the cities of Lucca and Pisa were united as the other. Pisa is near the sea-coast on the north side of the Arno, and Lucca north-east of Pisa, ten miles, and west of Florence about forty-eight. The enemies of the Florentines were led by Castruccio Castracani, an accomplished soldier and a very able man, who had made himself lord of Lucca. In this war the Florentines attempted to perform the duties of soldiers, but only proved their utter incompetency. Castruccio desolated the beautiful valley of the Arno, took possession of the environs of Florence, and used the race-ground under the walls of the city, and in view of its inhabitants, for sports adapted to exasperate and mortify these spectators. The men within the walls much exceeded the number of their enemies without; but they had no such martial qualities as the occasion required. Castruccio returned to Lucca at his leisure, with an immense booty, and made a triumphal entry into the city. (1325.)

Florence was compelled to submit itself to the protection of the duke of Calabria, who appeared in Tuscany as the chief of the Guelf party. Louis IV., the German emperor, called Louis of Bavaria, appeared at this time in Italy to re-establish the imperial power. The Ghibelines rallied around him, and, among others, Castruccio. The cities of Lucca and Pisa were on the same side. A destructive war ensued. The death of Castruccio, through exposure and fatigue, was received by the Florentines as the most fortunate event for them. The emperor lost in him his ablest supporter, and was soon compelled to retreat.

The retreat of Louis IV., and the death of Castruccio, permitted Florence to attend to her affairs at home. Between the years 1330 and 1340, this city appears to have attained to great prosperity. Her territory was not more than 20 miles square. Within the city the population (as estimated by Sismondi) was 150,000; and about thrice that number in the surrounding territory. 1500 families were noble. There was a class below them called gentlemen. Below this class were merchants, bankers, retailers, mechanics, laborers. Between 8 or 10,000 children were instructed in reading; 200 in arithmetic; 5 or 600 in logic and grammar. There were many religious estab-

lishments, and among them 110 churches; 300 priests; 80 hospitals, in which were beds for 1000 poor patients. The average number of strangers was 15,000. The manufactories were numerous; the principal one was cloth, and English wool was used in this. From 70 to 80,000 pieces of cloth were made yearly, and 30,000 workmen employed. The cloth was valued at 1,200,000 florins.* There were divers other factories. The agricultural products of the Florentines were very considerable. They had no sea-port nor ships. Strangers came to purchase, and Florentines sent their merchandise abroad. They had banking-houses in many cities, and loaned money to princes and kings. In 1345 the house of Bardi, of Florence, became bankrupt; Edward III., of England, owing them 900,000 gold florins; about 450,000 pounds sterling. The Peruzzi, another banking-house, failed about the same time, to whom Edward owed 600,000 florins. The king of Sicily owed each of these bankers 100,000 florins. Suppose, for all other debtors, 300,000 florins, there would be two millions of florins, or one million of pounds, which would be four millions, at least, of the present value of money. These facts show a most enriching commerce for that age. The annual revenue of Florence, in 1336, was estimated at 300,000 florins. The annual expenditure not half that sum. Public officers were not paid.

The environs of Florence were exceedingly beautiful—highly cultivated, and adorned with costly buildings. The city disclosed the opulence of its inhabitants in many palaces, and public edifices. Strength, rather than beauty, was at this time the characteristic of building. At a later period taste and elegance appeared.

The Florentines are thus described by Sismondi:—"They discovered, sooner than others could, the shortest way of arriving at their object; and better understood the advantages, and inconveniences, which might be expected. In politics, they discerned the projects of their enemies, and anticipated the course of events. Their natural vivacity did not prevent a cool and determined pursuit of their purposes. They deliberated before they acted; and persisted, when action began, undisturbed by unexpected checks. They united vivacity and force—gaiety and philosophy—pleasantry and severe medita-

* According to Sismondi's estimate, the gold florin was equal to two dollars and sixty cents; and gold was four times as valuable as it now is. But Hallam values the florin at ten shillings sterling, equal to two dollars and twenty-five cents.

tion. They were devoted to liberty, and desired it not only for themselves, but for all others. They have the merit of having first thought of *the balance of power*, and of uniting all Italy to preserve the independence of each state." They were, however, deficient in one quality indispensable to the accomplishment of their purposes; they had not a military force of their own citizens. They had good counsel, and riches; but these did not secure them against afflictive reverses in foreign wars, nor against the miseries of internal commotion.

In 1328 Florence had been governed by the duke of Calabria, at its own request. His death permitted a revision of the form of government. Soon after this time a controversy arose between Florence and Milan. The latter desired to possess Lucca, and the Florentines, to prevent the presence of so troublesome a neighbor, preferred to have possession for themselves. Pisa, also, desired the same acquisition for itself. Lucca was, at this time, conquered, and in possession of the Germans, who were ready to sell for the best price. War followed, in which, as usual, the Guelf and Ghibeline factions took part, as well as the German emperor, and the church. Besides this war, all Tuscany, and especially the valley of the Arno, was deluged by rain—its villages were overwhelmed—three of the four bridges of Florence were swept away—a part of its walls undermined and thrown down, and a severe loss of property and lives experienced. Meanwhile, the war had extended into northern Italy, and Mastino della Scala, then the sovereign of Verona, had come in contact with the Florentines, as enemies.

It was the ill fortune of Florence to confide its destiny in the war to Gaultier de Brienne, called the duke of Athens. This person was born in Greece, and had ruled over a territory there, and had some reputation as a military leader; but was, in all other respects, a detestable character. Having lost his duchy, he was passing through Tuscany to France, when the Florentines placed him in command of its military forces. By a series of base and perfidious measures, he made himself Lord of Florence, and reigned there nearly a year as an unsparing despot. He exacted treasures by torture, and gave way to every evil propensity which could find a victim. Three different conspiracies were formed, each ignorant of the other, and when they were brought into action, it was found that nearly the whole city were engaged in the same purpose. The duke was subdued—capitulated, and was permitted to withdraw, having sent immense sums of money to places of safety, while his power continued. The day of his overthrow (the 26th of July,

1348,) was annually celebrated by the Florentines, by a solemn festival.

While the duke tyrannized in Florence, all its treasures, and all the territorial possessions which it had gained in Tuscany, were lost. Ten years before, it was the richest in annual revenue, of any power in Europe, France only excepted. In these ten years, Pisa had obtained possession of Lucca, and had grown powerful in the same proportion in which Florence was impaired. Florence, in attempting to reinstate itself, reformed its constitution, but excluded the nobles from all participation in the government. This measure had not the desired effect; as the nobles became impatient and factious, while the citizens, who were entrusted with power, in order to counteract them, assumed greater authority, and degenerated into a more odious oligarchy than could have been exercised by the nobles. These citizens preserved the forms of the republic, but so managed as to secure the elections of themselves, or their own creatures.

Between the year 1346 and 1350, Florence, in common with all Italy, as to scarcity of food, and in common with all Europe as to pestilence, was grievously afflicted. Excessive rains prevented the usual products of the earth. The humane and considerate character of the Florentines appears to great advantage in this calamity. In April, 1347, the number of persons who received bread daily, at the public cost, was 94,000. No poor person, nor stranger, was left without reasonable provision. Yet the mortality, from the epidemic and privations, was not less than 4,000, in that year. The collection of debts was suspended. These afflictions were trifles compared with those of the following year (1348.) The plague, said to have originated eastwardly of the Mediterranean, extended to Italy and throughout Europe, and continued its ravages through the two following years. Sismondi gives a mournful description of this calamity. Three, out of every five persons, died at Florence. In one town in Sicily, all the inhabitants perished. The usual exhibition of selfishness, in cases of universal peril, is described; and also that recklessness which approaching and inevitable destruction is often seen to occasion. The Florentines abandoned themselves to pleasure, as the best mode of forgetting, and possibly of escaping, the common foe. The deaths at Florence were computed at 100,000; while at Pisa 7 in every 10 died. It was a common expression: Help us to carry these dead to the ditch, so that we, in our turn, may be carried thither. Sismondi remarks that the history of Giovanni Villani, and many other Italian

histories, terminate in 1348, whence, he concludes, that the authors, (as is known to have been the case with Villani,) perished in this pestilence.

In the year 1354, Charles IV., emperor of Germany, came to Italy with the intention of having his authority acknowledged, and for the purpose of being crowned with the iron crown of Lombardy, and the imperial crown at Rome. He was attended only by 300 unarmed gentlemen. In some of the cities, as in Milan, Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, and Sienna, his sovereignty was acknowledged, but with different modifications, while the Florentines declined receiving him within their territories, or to acknowledge his dominion. Charles had no means of enforcing his claims, nor was an admission of his imperial authority of any value to him. His object was to exact money. Florence consulted its own interest in purchasing amity with Charles at the cost of 100,000 florins; and stipulated a formal acknowledgment, (and consequent right to protection,) of being a city of the empire; but with the condition that no imperial officer should reside among them, and that there should not be any interference, on the part of the Emperor, with its internal government. Though Charles had been more successful in the other republics, all his authority vanished as soon as he departed in the following year. He left the impression every where, that while he could amass riches he was indifferent to public opinion; and that he had debased the imperial dignity far below the point at which the Italians themselves were too disposed to regard it. His presence had no tendency to establish peace and harmony between the republics and the empire; nor among the republics themselves. Comotions and violence soon followed in most of them. Besides these evils, Italy had to contend with the armed companies of adventurers, who lived by plunder, when not hired by the republics, to aid them in their wars. A very formidable body was gathered by the count de Lando, which was terrible to all these republics. Another affliction which these republics had to contend with was the perfidious and insolent ambition of Gian Galeaz Visconti, duke of Milan, who sought to subject all northern and middle Italy to his power. The ancient hostilities still continued, arranged on the one side and the other under the familiar names of Guelf and Ghibeline.

Hitherto Pisa had been the port by which Florence had conducted its foreign maritime commerce. The former had always been Ghibeline, and unfriendly to Florence, (which was always of the Guelf party,) and had given repeated causes of

dissatisfaction. Instead of waging war with Pisa, for these causes, Florence contracted with Sienna for the use of the port of Telamone, which is situated on the Tuscan shore, 85 miles S. E. of Pisa, and 65 south of Florence. This port was less convenient to the Florentines than Pisa, as it was one third more distant, and connected with Florence by less passable roads; but the control of the port was acquired, which was a full equivalent. This measure was ruinous to Pisa, as many merchants established there, withdrew to Telemone, and among them many native Pisans. Even the mechanics felt this blow severely; and such was the rapid decline of that city, that new and very advantageous offers were made to Florence to return; but these were not accepted. The Florentines had resolved to show that Pisa was not necessary to them, and that they would not make war, while they could preserve peace.

Similar causes of enmity, though not commercial, had brought two other republics into open hostility, about this time. One of these republics was Perugia, about 67 miles S. E. of Florence; and the other Cortona, (the ancient capital of Etruria,) about 52 miles from Florence, nearly in the same course. Sienna, in the same neighborhood, was drawn into this conflict. Florence offered its mediation; but the parties were too much enraged to accept it. The company of Count de Lando, then in Romagna, on the north-eastern side of Italy, was invited to take part in this war. When this war ended, Count de Lando threatened Florence, and led his army north-westwardly, towards Lucca. He demanded a large sum of Florence to save its territories from pillage. But Florence refused all terms with Lando, and prepared for defence. An army of sufficient power to check Lando was sent down the valley of the Arno; and after mutual menaces, Lando withdrew, and passed over the Apennines, northwardly, into Modena. These military adventurers were never disposed to battle unless they were under pay, or could see, at the end of a conflict, the certainty of booty.

In 1360, a conspiracy was engendered at Florence, in which the name of *Medici* first appears in history. The administration of public affairs, as to all exterior relations, had been prudently and successfully conducted, but it had caused dissatisfaction at home. Both the higher and the lower orders of persons were excluded from all authority, unless an occasion arose in which some matter, as a public treaty, was to be acted upon. In such cases, there was sometimes a convention of all the people. At this time, a small number of citizens had

managed to engross the whole of the administration, though the constitutional forms were preserved. This plot to overthrow the government was discovered. Forty-five citizens of a superior class, and eighty inferior ones, were arrested and condemned, but a small portion of them were put to death.

South of Florence thirty-five miles, and about the same distance south-east of Pisa, was the small republic of Volterra, situate on a lofty mountain. This republic was an object of desire, both to Pisa and to Florence. The latter obtained the dominion. This fact, with others, some of which have been noticed, ripened the long-continued rancor of these two republics into open hostility. Pisa, formerly so powerful on the ocean, had long ceased to be a maritime power, or to maintain a single ship of war. For the first time Florence displayed a flag on the ocean. Ships were hired of the Genoese, and added to others. Pisa was attacked from the sea, and the great iron chain which protected its harbor, was taken up and sent to Florence, (1361,) where some parts of it are said to be still suspended in honor of the achievement. This war gradually involved most of the states of Italy, and disclosed various scenes of cruelty and perfidy, especially on the part of the hired chiefs. It ended in August, 1364, by a restoration to the Florentines of all their commercial privileges at Pisa, and the engagement of Pisa to pay Florence one hundred thousand florins, ten thousand a year.

In 1368, Charles IV., emperor of Germany, again appeared in Italy to levy new contributions. Having possessed himself of Lucca, he sold it to its inhabitants for three hundred thousand florins, with the right to resume their ancient liberty. At Sienna he was resisted, treated with rudeness, and was even personally endangered.

In 1375, the attempts of the duke of Milan, (Visconti,) to subdue Tuscany, and the estates held by the church, united pope Gregory XI., and Florence, in a war against Milan. The pope treacherously made peace with Milan, and thereby so exasperated the Florentines that they declared war against him. They inscribed *liberty* on their banners, and proclaimed that they sought no conquests, but to restore the people of every city and state to freedom, who desired it. In ten days eighty cities and towns threw off the yoke of papal authority. These cities and towns were situated north and north-east of Florence, in the states of the church.

In 1378, a revolution occurred in Florence. Two parties arose, the Albizzi and the Ricci, from the names of the leaders.

The former maintained the Guelf party, and this was a sufficient reason why the other should be Ghibelines; they were *new* men, but had acquired great wealth. Among them were the *Medici* family. The Ricci maintained that the names of Guelf and Ghibeline had ceased to have any meaning, and ought to be abolished; and this party were, in truth, much more disposed to maintain popular liberty than the other.

CHAPTER LV.

Medici Family.

THE Medici were an ancient family of Florence. It is intimated that the name, and the six balls seen in the family arms, indicate their original profession of medicine. But from the earliest historical notice of the Medici, till they were expelled from Florence at the close of the fifteenth century, commerce was their vocation. Giovanni de Medici is mentioned in 1351, in a military exploit. Silvestro in 1379, as Gonfalonier of Florence. One Giovanni was the father of Cosmo, who was born in 1389; and of Lorenzo who was born in 1394.

Children of Cosmo. 1. Piero. 2. Giovanni. 3. An illegitimate son, Carlo. Giovanni died without issue.

Children of Piero. This son died in 1469, leaving 1. Lorenzo the Magnificent, born 1448, died 1492. 2. Guiliano, born 1458, assassinated 1478. 3. An illegitimate son, Guilio, who became pope by the name of Clement VII.

Children of Lorenzo the Magnificent:—1. Piero, born in 1471, exiled, and drowned in 1504. 2. Giovanni born 1475; pope, by the name of Leo X., in 1512; died in 1521. 3. Guiliano, who married a French princess, and became duke of Nemours.

Grandchildren of Lorenzo the Magnificent, by his son Piero:—1. Lorenzo, who was made duke of Urbino; married Margaret of Bologna, and died 1519.

Great-grandchildren of Lorenzo the Magnificent, through his son Piero, and grandson Lorenzo:—1. Catherine de Medici, born in 1519, died in 1589, having married Henry II. of France. 2. Alessandro, an illegitimate, who was either the son of Lorenzo, or of pope Clement VII., born 1510, created

duke of Florence by Charles V.; assassinated by his cousin Lorenzo, 1537. He married a natural daughter of Charles V.

Descendants of Lorenzo, (brother of Cosmo,) who died in 1440. He had one son, two grandsons. The grandson of one of this Lorenzo's grandsons, was the Lorenzo who assassinated the duke Alessandro. The grandson of the other grandson, was Cosmo de Medici, born 1519, duke of Florence in 1537, duke of Tuscany in 1569, died 1574. From him descended the successive grand dukes of Tuscany, the last of this race being Giovanni Gaston, who died in 1737. Some of the descendants of the father of the original Cosmo, intermarried with several noble and royal families; others are seen through many generations, among the highest dignitaries of the church.

In June, 1378, Silvestro de Medici was chosen gonfalonier, and prevailed on the people to abolish a law, and the usage under it, by which the Albizzi party had, for many years, excluded all citizens from the government but themselves. The effect of this abolition was, that no person should be ineligible for the reason that his ancestors were Ghibelines. The way being thus opened, the lower order of mechanics, and poorer classes of artizans insisted on the right of being eligible. A tumult arose, and Michael Lando, a carder of wool, dressed in a short waistcoat, and barefooted, marched at the head of the people, bearing the state banner (gonfalon) which he had taken from the palace; and Lando was made gonfalonier by acclamation—an office equivalent to the modern mayoralty. Lando exercised his power with vigor and discretion, but it was of short duration. In January, 1383, the nobles, rich merchants, and higher citizens, took possession of the public places, and re-established aristocracy. Lando and his chiefs were exiled. The Albizzi party were enabled to resume their power.

The principal troubles of Florence, during the residue of the fourteenth century, arose from the plots and warfare of the Visconti of Milan to subdue Tuscany. The riches of the Florentines, and their extensive commercial connections, enabled them to seek and obtain aid in different parts of Europe. Among other military adventurers in Italy, was John Hawkwood, an Englishman, who led a numerous force, and who was considered one of the ablest generals of that age. He was employed by Milan, but was purchased into the service of Florence. He rendered most important services, and continued faithful in this employment till his death. He was buried in Florence, and an equestrian monument is said still to exist there, in honor of his usefulness. Fortunately for Italy, Gian

Galeazzo Visconti, one of the ablest, most perfidious, and criminal of men, disappeared from the troubled scenes of which he was the principal cause. He died of the pestilence which prevailed, 3d of September, 1402.

The period of the highest prosperity, and the greatest degree of rational, practicable liberty, ever enjoyed by Florence, was from the overthrow of the popular leaders in 1383, to the year 1434, under the Albizzi party. The people had learned that every citizen is not alike capable of conducting the affairs of a state. In the transactions of business, the Florentines perceived that they were necessarily connected with the intelligent and judicious in the operations of trade, industry, and commerce; and that whatsoever policy was beneficial to the owners of capital, on which all commercial action depended, was alike beneficial to those whose daily labor produced the articles which commerce could profitably exchange. They perceived also, that those who could direct the measures necessary to the common and general prosperity in private life, would be most capable of directing public measures, indispensable to secure that prosperity. The citizens were profitably busy in the manufacturing of woollen goods, which excelled those of all other countries, and which were known throughout Europe. They excelled also in silks, and gold brocade, and had many other factories. Their merchants were the greatest capitalists of Europe, and had countinghouses in every considerable city of the commercial world. The agricultural part of the Florentine state was the best cultivated, and the most productive of any in Italy. Taxes were imposed moderately and equably, founded on a just enumeration and fair estimate of property. Several of the small republics in the south and west, Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo, Volterra, were either subjected by Florence, or greatly influenced by its policy. Its influence was strongly experienced in all the Italian states; for, though it had neither fleets nor armies, it had abundant riches, and vigilant and able statesmen. In this time, the arts, sciences, and literature, took root in Florence, and flourished there as in their native land. This was, it is true, the government of an aristocracy, (or a few men,) in a republic, but it was also (as that term originally implied,) the government of the *best* men. Not only did these men preserve rational freedom in Florence, but they spared no exertion to secure like freedom throughout Italy. But these days of "glory and wisdom," as they were justly called, could not endure forever. The rulers might degenerate, or envy and

ambition in the excluded might bring them to a close. Rinaldo Albizzi, in 1433, forgot that he was only the first among free citizens; and he saw with displeasure the growing grandeur of the Medici, who felt that they were entitled to share in the power which the Albizzi had engrossed.

Cosmo de Medici was born in 1389. He was the son of Giovanni de Medici, and enjoyed an hereditary popularity in Florence as a descendant of Silvestro de Medici, who had taken the popular side in the revolution of 1378. From the time that the Albizzi were reinstated in 1383, they either could not, or thought it inexpedient to exclude the Medici from all participation in the government. Giovanni was made gonfalonier, and afterwards, in 1416, Cosmo was one of the priors. Cosmo's rank was that of the first merchant, having establishments in most of the cities in the West and the East. He dwelt in a sumptuous palace, and made it the resort of artists, poets, and learned men. His agents transmitted to him every valuable specimen of the arts which they could command. He was as liberal as he was rich, and there were few who had need of his bounty, who did not enjoy it.

Cosmo had no intention to revive the popular opinions and insubordination which were imputed to his ancestor Silvestro; but he was unrestrained in the expression of his disapprobation of the exercise of power by Rinaldo Albizzi. Rinaldo ventured, in September, 1433, to arraign Cosmo as a state criminal, and committed him to prison. It was still the custom in Florence to summon the people on important occasions, to assemble by the tolling of the great bell. When so assembled, the will of the people was supreme. The people ordered that there should be a new balia, or commission, empowered to select those citizens whose names were to be placed in a box, to be drawn thence; and those on whom the choice so made, should fall, were to exercise the powers of government. Rinaldo presented a list of two hundred, who were to be the commissioners, if the people approved of them. They were approved of, and no names were placed in the box, but of persons who were friendly to Rinaldo. The new government were the creatures of Rinaldo, and he expected from them the sentence of death on Cosmo; but they went no further than to condemn him and his friends to exile. The partial triumph of Rinaldo was short. In September, 1434, a new election gave other officers to the city; Cosmo and his friends were recalled, and Rinaldo and his friends were exiled.

Rinaldo went to Milan, and induced the duke Filippo Maria

Visconti to declare war against Florence, which continued till October, 1441. Cosmo de Medici was gradually strengthening himself in Florence, and, in fact, shared the sovereignty with Neri Capponi, without disturbing the forms of the republic. Capponi was a great statesman, an able negotiator, and an accomplished general. Cosmo was not a military man, and was the inferior of Capponi in the qualities of a statesman, but far superior as the patron of learning and of literature, as well as in riches and in personal adherents. These two chiefs maintained, in general, an amicable intercourse, and during twenty-one years, from 1434 to 1456, the people were always satisfied to renew their power. At the close of this period, the decease of Capponi left Cosmo as the sole head of the republic. A new choice of officers occurred on the 1st of July, 1455, when some jealousy had arisen as to Cosmo. Pierre Rucellai was chosen gonfalonier. This change led to dissatisfactions among the people, from various causes; and Lucas Pitti was elected in 1458. Cosmo was now too far advanced in age to take an active part in public affairs, and Pitti became the actual sovereign of Florence. He built two palaces, one within the city, and one a mile from it, of a grandeur before unknown by the Florentines. Though rich, he accepted presents from all who were disposed to make them, and even those who were liable to arrest from any cause, however criminal, were protected while laboring on Pitti's palaces. The conduct of Cosmo had been entirely different. He had never affected a grandeur above other citizens, and regretted to see that the party which he had supported had given a tyrant to the republic. He kept himself retired from public affairs, and dwelt in the country. Yet the hope that the family of Medici would preserve its power in Florence, and its eminent distinction abroad, was ever the object of his contemplation. The son on whom he reposed this hope, Giovanni, had died at the age of forty-two. His oldest son, Piero, was of feeble constitution, and not qualified to assume the cares of government. The children of Piero were very young. The cherished ambition of the decaying Cosmo, was expressed in the remark which he made, when carried through his vast palace: "This house is very large for so small a family." He died at his country residence, (Correggio,) August 1st, 1464, in his seventy-fifth year. He left many monuments of himself which still endure.

At Florence he built the convent and temple of St. Mark; the temple of St. Lawrence, and the cloister of St. Verdian.

At Fiesola, that of St. Jerome ; in Mugello, the temple of the young brothers. These were public edifices. For himself, he built the palace of Riccardi, in the city, and four palaces, at different places, in the country. He adorned the churches with statues, paintings, and silver vessels, for public use. He built, also, at Jerusalem, a hospital for the pilgrims. But none of these expenditures were *public* money ; it was all his own, derived from honorable commerce. His grandson, Lorenzo, computed, that Cosmo, and his sons, had expended between 1434 and 1471, for public uses, charities, and gifts, 663,755 florins, which may be computed, at the present value of money, at 32 millions of livres ; about six millions of dollars. The Florentines ordered that the inscription on his tomb should be, **THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.**

The days of "wisdom and glory," in Florence, ended with the life of Cosmo de Medici. Its future grandeur is to be found, not in the republic, but in the splendor of Cosmo's descendants, who substituted themselves for the republic. Sismondi bestows deserved eulogy on the citizens of Florence, in the times which had passed, and renders a just tribute to the spirit of liberty. "How could so small a state endure such heavy losses ? How could a single city produce so many powerful and illustrious men ? How was it that Florence had more historical names than all France ? That every one of its citizens, who were seen by turns, elevated or overthrown, were better known in Europe, more opulent, and more really powerful than a peer of a great monarchy, whose landed estates equalled, perhaps, the whole extent of the Florentine territory ? What was it that united the lives of these men with the history of human civilization—covered their native land with admirable monuments, wherein the taste and magnificence of illustrious citizens surpassed all that had been done by princes and kings ? One must be blind to all these prodigies, if he cannot see in them the effect of liberty."

By what means liberty was lost in Florence, is an interesting inquiry to all who are free. In some of the republics of Italy, it was lost as gradually as the tide steals onward ; in others, as suddenly as the torrents rise in the beds of its rivers. The knowledge of what liberty is, and consequently the determination to preserve it, was insensibly lost by the majority of the Florentine people. The wealth, the influence, and the supremacy of Cosmo, had attracted to him the regard, confidence and affections of the community. He probably, did not intend to destroy the republic, by accepting voluntary homage ; but

the people and himself corrupted each other. He died in the earnest hope that the Medici would be to his country, what he had been himself. Unfortunately, they had all his ambition, but neither his wisdom, talents, nor patriotism. The extensive commercial affairs of Cosmo devolved on his son Piero, but Piero was not a merchant. The management of the state devolved on him, but he was not a statesman. Incessant bodily affliction prevented all personal activity, and he was dependent on transportation in a litter, whenever he moved from the city to the country, or appeared in public. There were many among the first citizens, who desired to destroy the Medici influence in the state, and who considered the time to effect their object to have come. Among these was one (Nerone) on whom Piero placed great confidence. This person was consulted by Piero, who advised him to withdraw from commerce, and invest his money in land. This advice was accepted, and numerous debtors, at home and abroad, were suddenly called on to discharge their obligations; and, in cases where pledges of property had been made, these pledges were sold, to the great disadvantage of the debtors. These measures, and the absence of all qualities, necessary to hold the eminence which Cosmo had enjoyed, made the Florentines indignant at Piero's assumption of hereditary prerogatives.

Lucas Pitti was the ostensible head of the republic; but he was not qualified to sustain himself in that relation. Though he had numerous associates, he was incapable of availing himself of their support. The citizens divided into hostile and irreconcilable parties, among which were the *ancient* families, who regarded the Medici as *new* men, and who could not endure to be supplanted by one so little entitled to consideration as Piero. In this state of feeling at Florence, it could not be long before the parties came to violence, and called in the aid of foreign force. The opponents of Piero were defeated, and many distinguished citizens were banished. On the re-establishment of his power, Piero caused a list of the proscribed to be made out, in doing which Pitti was supposed to have furnished desired information. A general and severe persecution ensued. Pitti, suspected by all parties, disdained by the triumphant one, and despised by the republicans, was ruined in character and estate. His magnificent structure of a palace remained unfinished, a monument of his pride and folly. [Sismondi, vol. x. p. 286.]

There were illustrious exiles from Florence in many cities in Europe, not only from the recent convulsions, but from those

of former times. They assembled at Venice. A very serious war ensued, in which several powers engaged, on one side and the other. The exiles expended all their wealth in sustaining this war, and had the mortification to see it closed by treaties, in which no provision was made for them; they had only added poverty to banishment from their country.

Though triumphant over all enemies, the increasing infirmities of Piero disabled him from taking an active part in public affairs. The state was governed by his partisans, but in such a manner as to call forth the denunciations of Piero himself. The condition of Florence, in 1469, is described by an address of Piero to his assembled friends, as copied by Sismondi from a contemporary historian. "I could never have believed that the time would come, when the morals, and the acts of my friends, would make me regret my enemies; or the fruits of my victory, that I had not been defeated. I thought I was associated with men who would set some bounds to their cupidity, and who would be contented to live honored by their country, and avenged of their enemies; but I now see how much I was deceived; how little I knew the human heart, and your own ambition. It does not satisfy you to be *first*, to be princes in a great city—to engross all the honors, dignities, and advantages, which heretofore were a sufficient recompense to the whole mass of citizens. Already you have divided among you the property of your enemies, while you have cast upon others the whole of the public burthens, reserving to yourselves the whole of the public benefits. Even this does not content you, if you cannot load your fellow-citizens with every kind of injury. You despoil your neighbors of their inheritance—you sell justice—you defend yourselves against the authority of the tribunals—you depress the peaceable to exalt the insolent. I do not believe that all the rest of Italy could present such examples of violence and avarice as are gathered in this city. But hear the resolution which I take on that faith, which men of honor should respect. If you continue to conduct yourselves in such a manner as to make me repent of my victory, I shall know how to conduct myself in a manner which will make you repent of your success."

This admonition had no effect. The remedy contemplated was to recall the exiles; but in December, of the same year, (1469,) Piero died.

Thomas Soderini was left at the head of the state, and when the accustomed demonstrations of respect were tendered to him, fearful of exciting jealousies, he turned attention to the sons of

Piero, as the persons to whom these demonstrations were due. He suggested that it was much easier to sustain a power which thirty-five years had made familiar, than to found a new one. The two legitimate sons of Piero were Lorenzo, then twenty-one years, and Guiliano, of eleven years of age. Soderini assembled the principal men of the republic, and presented these two sons, and recommended the observance towards them of the consideration which their house had so long held. For several years the young Medici took no part in state affairs. They employed themselves in studies and amusements; in making their abode the resort of the learned, and of artists; and in gratifying the people with brilliant spectacles.

About two years after Piero's death, Galeaz Sforza, duke of Milan, who had made himself exceedingly odious to his subjects, came to visit Florence, with his wife and courtiers. Two chariots, ornamented with gold, were brought over the Apennines, on mules, for the use of the duchess; fifty riding horses for her, and the like number for the duke; 100 men at arms, and 500 foot soldiers, as a guard; 50 servants; 500 couples of hunting dogs, and a great number of falcons, composed his retinue, with all the splendor of royalty; the whole number of horses 2000. The sum appropriated to this parade was 200,000 florins, or about 450,000 dollars. Lorenzo received the duke in his palace, as a guest, and displayed his own magnificence, not so much in gold and diamonds as his visiter did, but in the number of antique monuments, paintings, and statues. The city entertained the duke's followers, at its own expense. Three splendid representations of events in the Saviour's life were made, in three different churches, in one of which the church took fire, and was burnt.* These were new scenes, and very bad examples, to the Florentines, whose tenor of life had been that of industry and economy, approaching to austerity.

From the year 1473, to 1478, no events occurred in Florence of sufficient importance to be noticed, although Ferdinand I., of Naples, pope Sextus IV., Milan and Venice, were respectively engaged in controversies and wars. In the latter year the Medici assumed the hereditary distinction in the republic. The government of the city was subjected to their orders—individuals were condemned without trial—arbitrary impositions and retroactive laws, were made. The whole finances

* The first Theatrical representations in Europe, were of events recorded in the scriptures.

of the state were subject to the control of the Medici, and were sometimes employed to sustain their commercial houses; one of which, at Bruges, (in the Netherlands,) would have failed, but for this resource. They had undertaken to follow the course of their grandfather Cosmo, in the business of bankers, without giving any personal attention to the subject, and without being competent to conduct such business, if they had. Notwithstanding the eulogies of Roscoe on Lorenzo, *Sismondi* says, (vol. xi. pp. 78—9,) that the Medici marched on systematically to tyranny, sustained by the powerful families who were interested to support them; by the poets, artists, and men of letters, who lived on their bounty; and by the low populace whom they enchanted with feasts and spectacles. Yet there was a strong party of the most considerate citizens, vehemently opposed to them. Among these were the family of Pazzi, of ancient nobility, who had been admitted to the rank of citizens. They were merchants, and far more opulent than the Medici. It was this family that Lorenzo considered, more than any other, as competent to rival his own. His grandfather Cosmo, had the same apprehensions of this family, and endeavored to gain them by marrying his grand-daughter, (sister of Lorenzo,) to one of their number. Lorenzo thought it more politic to ruin them, or, at least, to prevent the increase of their wealth. One of the Pazzi had married the heiress of an immensely rich man. Lorenzo caused a retroactive application, in this case, of a law, whereby the property of an intestate father must go to his nephews, to the exclusion of his own daughter. By this measure, Lorenzo's brother-in-law, on the death of his wife's father, was entirely deprived of his expected inheritance. Besides this, all the family of Pazzi were excluded from any share in the government of the city, although there were nine who were qualified for office. Francis Pazzi, the oldest of the brothers, indignant that Lorenzo thus assumed a supremacy over the laws, withdrew to Rome, where he had a commercial house, and became banker to pope Sixtus IV., preferred, herein, to the Medici. Intimate relations arose between this Pazzi and the pope, as well as the pope's son-in-law, Jerome Riario.

There were many circumstances which united these three persons in deadly hostility to the Medici. Among others, the pope had appointed one Salvati to be archbishop of Florence, whom the Medici had refused to receive. The consultation of these parties embraced all the modes in which the Medici could be assailed; and they came to the result, that none other

would be effectual but the assassination of the two brothers, at the same moment. Salvati was informed of this design, and he, with Pazzi and Riario, undertook to execute it. They gained some of the family of Pazzi to co-operate, and some of them absolutely refused to engage in it. Many others, from various causes, were found willing to become parties, including two others of the Salvati. The pope had made a nephew of Jerome Riario, a cardinal, at the age of eighteen; on such occasions festivals were usually given. It was so managed that the young cardinal should go to Florence, where several entertainments were given to him. It had been arranged to assassinate the two Medici at any place at which both appeared, as neither of them could be safely permitted to live after the other. But the two were present at no one of these meetings. The next opportunity was at the cathedral, where the young cardinal was to attend mass, from which ceremony, it was supposed, the two Medici could not absent themselves. Francis des Pazzi and Bernard Bandini had undertaken to kill the younger Medici, and Jean Baptiste de Montesecco, to kill Lorenzo. But Montesecco objected to doing this act in a church, and during divine service, though he was perfectly willing to do it at a feast. Two priests were found among the conspirators who were not embarrassed by the fear of committing sacrilege, and they undertook the service which Montesecco had declined.

The moment selected for the assassination was at the elevation of the host, when all present were accustomed to bow. The service had actually begun, but Guiliano de Medici was not present. The two who were to murder him, went to find him, and to convince him that the occasion demanded his presence. He accompanied them to the cathedral, and on the way, they, as in playfulness, put their arms around him to ascertain whether he had on a cuirass, which they knew him to be accustomed to wear, under his garments, as a defence. He had not even the sword which he usually wore, having a malady in his leg, which made the wearing it troublesome. The moment had come when the act was to be done. Bandini plunged his dagger into Guiliano's bosom, who rose, made some steps, and fell. Francis des Pazzi fell on him, and struck many furious blows, by one of which he wounded himself in the thigh. At the same moment the two priests attacked Lorenzo. One of them placed his hand on Lorenzo's shoulder, intending to strike him in the neck, and did inflict there a slight wound; but, Lorenzo rising, disengaged himself

from them, drew his sword, and defended himself with the aid of his two attendants. The two priests fled. Bandini ran towards Lorenzo, and killed one person who attempted to stop him. Meanwhile, Lorenzo had fled to the vestry of the church, with his friends, and had closed the doors.

This imperfect accomplishment of an attempt to destroy men in power, had the usual effect. It terrified enemies, combined friends, and established the usurpation it was intended to annihilate. The people assigned a body-guard of twelve men to Lorenzo. All the conspirators were detected. Many of them, and Salvati, the archbishop, among others, were hung at the windows of the government palace. At first, the people undertook to do vengeance; and, afterwards, Lorenzo cleared the city, by death or banishment, of all whom he thought proper to include among the conspirators. The family of Pazzi were either entirely destroyed or made harmless to Lorenzo. But the failure of the conspirators to kill him, as well as Guiliano, and the punishments inflicted, especially the hanging of Salvati, the archbishop, confirmed the pope in an implacable enmity. Florence, and especially Lorenzo, were made to feel this enmity by every means in which this malignant pontiff could exercise his own power or direct that of others. He did not deny his participation in the design of the conspirators. This was not an offence in the tenant of the holy chair of St. Peter, according to the moral law of Sixtus IV. But to hang an archbishop and prelates, for murder, demanded the severest denunciation. Accordingly, Florence and all its inhabitants were visited by the most ample excommunication which the pope could express. The pope and the king of Naples armed themselves against Florence. Milan was involved in difficulties which deprived Florence of its aid. Venice was under obligations to assist Florence, but declined acting, for the reason that it was not held to take part in a war, carried on, not against the state, but against one of its citizens.

Lorenzo was obliged to admit that it was a war against him. In an assembly of three hundred citizens, he declared himself ready to submit to exile, prison, or death, if his country thought he owed it such sacrifice. But, at the same time he suggested, that the prudence and perseverance of Florence were alone sufficient to resist the storm. The assembly engaged to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his defence. An embassy was despatched to Louis XI. of France, to engage him on the side of Florence, but it was unavailing. A series of unfortunate measures had brought great distress on the

Florentines ; and, while their affairs seemed to be in the most discouraging condition, notice came to them on the 24th of November, 1479, that a truce had been signed to treat of terms of peace. Lorenzo resolved to take the hazardous measure of going to Naples, to treat with Ferdinand himself. He hoped to satisfy Ferdinand that he would consult his own interests in detaching himself from the pope, and in preparing to defend himself against the claims of the king of France, to his own kingdom, under the asserted rights of the house of Anjou. Lorenzo was well received at Naples. After long conferences a peace was agreed on, and the treaty signed March 6, 1480. He returned, and was received at Florence as the saviour of his country. Some change was made in the form of government, and a council of seventy established ; composed, however, of the friends of Lorenzo. This council devoted the funds of the state to pay his debts. A portion of these were occasioned by his excessive pomp and extravagance at Naples, designed for political effect, for himself only, while Florence was in more serious distress than it had ever before experienced.

The pope continued in hostility ; but the landing of the Turks in the following July, (1480,) at Otranto, on the north-east coast of Italy, (Otranto is the province on the south-east extremity of the peninsula,) alarmed the pope and forced him to make peace. It was exceedingly humiliating to Florence. The speech of the pope to the twelve Florentine ambassadors is a singular compound of arrogance and pretended piety. (Sismondi, vol. xi. p. 197.) This invasion, terrible to all Italy, became harmless by the death of the Sultan, in May, 1481, and a civil war which arose immediately after, between two of his sons.

For some years the events of Florence are without interest. When they become so, in 1486, it is seen that the ancient policy under the Albizzi (which had made the people of that city so free, prosperous, and happy at home, and so respectable abroad) had been supplanted by that of Lorenzo, in which the republic was nothing, and himself the state. He had extreme difficulty in satisfying his own council of seventy, that it was wise, in Florence, to ally itself with Ferdinand of Naples and with Innocent VIII., the successor of Sixtus. There were yet four states in Italy which had preserved at least the name of republics, Genoa, Venice, Lucca, and Sienna. Not one of them placed the least confidence in the political cabinet of Florence. Intrigue and deception were always expected.

Lorenzo was displeased that these republics refused to consider him as any thing more than a citizen, while the pope, the ducal sovereigns, and the king of Naples, ascribed to him a rank little inferior to royalty. The pope considered his alliance to be, not with the state of Florence, but with the Medici. A marriage was contracted between the son of the pope and the daughter of Lorenzo; and when Lorenzo's son, Piero, went to Milan to attend a wedding of the duke's son with a princess of Arragon, the Florentine ambassadors, despatched in honor of the event, were regarded as secondary characters, while every distinction was proffered to Piero. His second son, Giovanni, was made a cardinal at the age of eighteen, and afterwards became pope. During all this time, Lorenzo continued to be a banker and a merchant, but through the agency of others, in the cities of the east and of the west. But his agents considered themselves to be rather the ministers of a great prince, than the factors of a merchant. The fortunes of the Medici were dissipated, and the revenues of the state covered the deficiency. The state even made itself bankrupt, to save Lorenzo from becoming so himself. (Sismondi, vol. xi. pp. 336, 337.) The public policy of Lorenzo was unfavorable to his country, and facilitated, instead of impeding the invasions, the convulsions, and the wars in which all Italy soon lost even the name of liberty. Early in 1492, Lorenzo sank under the hereditary infirmities of his family, (the gout,) in connexion with a slow fever. A very suitable sort of medicine was administered to Lorenzo the Magnificent, consisting of a decomposition (in some liquid) of pearls and precious stones.

At this time, a person named Savonarala, a native of Padua, had appeared at Florence, who thought himself inspired, and specially commissioned to reform the morals of prelates and of laity. His preaching had produced a great effect on the latter. Lorenzo sent for him, and desired absolution at his hands. Savonarala asked whether he had entire faith in the mercy of God? Lorenzo said he had. The next inquiry was, whether he was ready to restore all the goods which he had unjustly acquired? After some hesitation, Lorenzo answered he was. The last inquiry was, whether Lorenzo would re-establish Florentine liberty, and the popular government of a republic? Lorenzo absolutely refused to submit to this condition; and dismissed Savonarala without having received absolution.* Lo-

* Sismondi, ch. xii. p. 69. The account of the same scene is found in Roscoe, vol. ii. p. 235. The two statements are dissimilar.

renzo died at his country seat on the eighth of April, 1492, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

In these sketches Sismondi has been the guide, and, it is believed, a very safe one. He not only refers to the many contemporaneous historians of Italy, but there is an accordance in the general tenor of events (generally received) with Sismondi's views of Lorenzo, as a man, and as a statesman. But William Roscoe, the biographer of Lorenzo, had very different views of this eminent Florentine. This was not unknown to Sismondi, who points out, in many places, the errors, as he understands them to be, in Roscoe's history.* Whoever takes the labor of following out Sismondi, will probably agree with him in his summary of Lorenzo's character:—"Whatever may have been Lorenzo's ability, it is not as a *statesman* that he is to be placed in the rank of the great men of whom Italy may be justly proud. Such honor belongs only to those, who, elevating their views above personal interests, secure, by the labor of their lives, the peace, the glory, or the liberty of their country. Lorenzo pursued, almost invariably, a policy entirely selfish. He sustained a usurped power by bloody executions. He pressed more and more heavily a detested yoke on a free city. He took from the magistrates the authority which the constitution warranted, and turned his fellow-citizens from that public career in which they had developed so much of talent. His policy terminated, at a future day, in the establishment of the tyranny of Alessandro de Medici. It was by the active and enlightened protection of the arts, of letters, and of philosophy, that he merited to have his name associated with the most brilliant period of the literary history of Italy. Yet he was not a superior man, either as poet, philosopher, or artist; but he had a perception so lively, so fine, and so just, that he could put others on the route which he could not follow himself."

Such is Sismondi's opinion; and he very justifiably accounts for the opinions of Roscoe, by assuming that they were drawn from the writings of personal friends, who were indebted to their patron, almost for existence. Lorenzo assumed to take on himself the government of Florence, in its internal and external affairs. The delightful intercourse between himself and his friends, in his palaces, and his enchanting retreats in the country, is not the measure of his merits. But the condition

* *Histoire des Republiques Italiennes, du moyen age, par J. C. L. Sismonde de Sismondi, (new edition, revised and corrected; and printed at Paris, 1826.)*

of Florence, before, during, and after the time of Lorenzo, furnishes the facts wherefrom to judge whether impartial history should applaud or reproach him. After studying Sismondi, it is difficult to perceive the justice of the following summary, in all its parts, taken from the sixth edition of Roscoe's life of Lorenzo, (London, 1825,) page 70, vol. 1 :—

“Tall in his stature, robust in his form, Lorenzo had, in his person, more the appearance of strength than of elegance. From his birth he labored under some peculiar disadvantages; his sight was weak, his voice harsh and unpleasing, and he was totally deprived of the sense of smell. With all these defects, his countenance was dignified, and strongly indicated the magnanimity of his character; and the effects of his eloquence were conspicuous on many important occasions. Such was the versatility of his talents that it is difficult to discover any department of business, or of amusement, of art, or of science, to which they were not, at some time, applied; and in whatever he undertook, he aimed at a proficiency which would seem to have required the labor of a life much longer than that which he was permitted to enjoy.”

Roscoe has presented only one view of Lorenzo in which he is sustained by other historians, that of an accomplished, well-informed, liberal gentleman, within his own walls. Hallam's opinion (vol. 1. p. 294) is much more conformable to that of Sismondi. “As a patriot, we never can bestow upon Lorenzo de Medici, the meed of disinterested virtue. He completed that subversion of the Florentine republic, which his two immediate ancestors had so well prepared. The two councils (her regular legislature) he superseded by a permanent senate of seventy persons; while the gonfalonier, and the priors (became a mockery and pageant, to keep up the illusion of liberty) were taught, that in exercising a legitimate authority, without the sanction of their prince, (a name now first heard at Florence,) they incurred the risk of punishment for their audacity. Even the total dilapidation of commercial wealth was repaired at the cost of the state, and the republic disgracefully screened the bankruptcy of the Medici, by her own.” After these remarks of Hallam, one cannot read without disapprobation these words of Roscoe, (vol. 2. p. 240. chap. X.) “It was not by the continuance, but by the dereliction of the system which he had established, and to which he adhered, during the continuance of his life, that the Florentine republic sunk under the degrading yoke of despotic power.”

Lorenzo's oldest son, Piero, was not twenty-one, and there-

fore not qualified to hold any office. This disability was removed by altering the law, and he was placed at the head of the state. He considered himself to have succeeded to an hereditary sovereignty. Among his first measures was the arraignment, as criminals, of two of his young cousins, descended from the brother of Cosmo. They had not committed any offence, nor taken any part in public affairs; but that branch of the family had become exceedingly rich, by commerce, and Piero apprehended that they might rival him. They were exiled.

At this time it was known in Italy, that Charles VIII., of France, intended to possess himself of the kingdom of Naples, and might soon be expected. On this occasion, Piero disclosed his natural insolence and vanity, and his incapacity to sustain himself as the successor of Lorenzo. When Charles had crossed the Apennines, and was at Lucca, Florence sent ambassadors to treat with him. Piero was one of them; but, arriving first, he assumed to surrender several fortresses, and to bind Florence to pay a large sum, taking nothing in return, but the verbal promise of the French monarch that he would give up these fortresses when he had conquered Naples. The other ambassadors intended to make Charles purchase the privilege of passing through the territory of Florence. When they arrived, and were informed of what Piero had done, they were much incensed, and sent this information to Florence, where it produced a high excitement. On Piero's return to the city, he was denied admission to the governmental palace, excluded from the city, and compelled to fly. Instead of going to Charles he went to Bologna. A price was set upon his head. All who were still living, of the many exiles from Florence, in former revolutions, and prosecutions, were invited to return. The houses of Medici were pillaged by the populace, with the exception of the palace in the city, which was reserved as an abode for Charles VIII., on his arrival. But when the French came, that was pillaged by them. The precious collections which had been made by Cosmo, Piero, and Lorenzo, in three generations, were taken by the French, to the satisfaction of their cupidity; and all that remained were sold by public authority. Nothing remained of the Cosmo branch of the family, but the buildings which they had erected; and all the members of that branch were exiled, forever, from Florence. [1494.] The two cousins whom young Piero had exiled, returned; and, desiring to annihilate all remembrance of their connexion with the Medici, they changed

the arms of the family, abandoned the name, and assumed that of *Popolani*.

A new government was instituted, and new ambassadors sent to Charles; and among them the same priest, Savonarala, who addressed Charles as a person sent by divine orders to punish and reform. Charles understood nothing of the priest's harangue, and only answered that when he came to Florence he should make satisfactory arrangements. This meeting was at Pisa, which had been 87 years subjected to Florence. The Pisans besought Charles to restore them to liberty, and without considering that this was a matter in which he could not interpose, he answered that he should be content to see their liberty restored to them. This was taken, by the Pisans, as a restoration, in fact, and every emblem of Florentine authority was destroyed, and a commission raised to form the republic anew. Leaving the Pisans in possession of their city, and a French garrison in the citadel, Charles proceeded with his army to Florence, and entered Nov. 17, 1494. This body of soldiery from beyond the Alps, so different from all that the Florentines had before seen, terrified them; nor did they know whether they were only visited, or conquered. The French were not disposed to come to blows, and the Florentines had made no preparation for such an event. Negotiations ensued, in which Charles limited himself to a demand of money, but so exorbitant that it was refused. The final proposition of the French was reduced to writing, and read to Piero Capponi, the Florentine secretary, who snatched it from the Frenchman's hand and tore it in pieces. "If," said Capponi, "it has come to this, blow your trumpets, and we will ring our bells." This firmness moderated the demands of Charles, which came down to 100,000 florins, (equal to 222,000 dollars.) Charles stipulated to restore fortresses, and effected some arrangement as to the Pisans—granted some commercial privileges, in France. The Florentines agreed to withdraw the price on the heads of the Medici. Charles then departed for Sienna.

Florence, left to itself, attempted to establish a new government. Savonarala had become a great man, and had his party. He was for pure religion, sound morals, and political liberty; and, consequently, for a popular government. Opposed to this party, was the Medici party, in principle, though not in name, who desired a government which excluded the people, and vested power in a small number. The third party was that of the Medici, strictly, who dared not to disclose their views. After seven months of conference, Florence adopted an execu-

tive power, which was to be counselled by an assembly of eighty, and the sovereignty of the people was to be represented by an elected body of eighteen hundred citizens, who could prove that their ancestors had enjoyed the honors of the state. Savonarala, though an ecclesiastic, had an important agency in these political affairs, and formed the opinions of a greater number than any other individual.

Piero de Medici was, meanwhile, engaged in attempting to replace himself by the aid of foreign powers, and in maintaining a connexion with his partisans in the city. A plot was discovered, and some highly respectable citizens were executed. These events caused great popular excitement, and threatened a civil war.

The enthusiast Savonarala continued his popular harangues, and gave great offence to pope Alexander VI. and his sons and cardinals. He also offended many of the Florentines by his arrogance and by his condemnation of their morals and habits. The pope found it necessary to send a preacher of his own to Florence, to counteract Savonarala. These two competitors were not able to settle their pretensions by eloquence and preaching, and a miracle only could settle the controversy. Savonarala was a Dominican, his adversaries were Franciscans; and several partisans on each side were willing to test the truth by passing through fire. A stage was erected on a public square, and two piles of combustibles were placed thereon, each of them eighty feet long, four wide, and five feet high, separated from each other so as to leave a passage way of eighty feet in length and two in width. Through this passage way the opponents were to pass, when the two piles were fully ignited. Two champions appeared to submit to this peril. Such an ascendancy had been gained by Savonarala, and so much apprehension was had of his power, that his representative was not allowed to ascend the stage in the dress he came into the square with, but was entirely changed, in this respect, by a new dress, in which there could not be any secret protection. Savonarala put into the hand of his deputy the materials and the emblems of the sacrament, as a security against the effect of the flames. To this the other party objected; and on this point, as obstinately insisted upon, on one side, as objected to on the other, the day was wasted in disputes, and the miracle was neither wrought nor attempted. This was a fatal blow to the power of Savonarala. Means were found to cause him to be tried as an impostor, and to prove him to be such, he was subjected to torture. In his

agony, he would admit the accusation to be true, but, when free from it, still insisted that he was inspired, and divinely commissioned to reform the world. The end of this remarkable man was, that he was burnt on the same stage which had been erected for the performance of the miracle. It is a reproach to the Florentines, and inconsistent with their superiority over any other European community of that time, (1498,) that they regarded the declarations of a man while under the infliction of the most horrible bodily sufferings, as the best evidence of truth.

From 1498 to 1509, Florence was constantly harassed by wars and by internal commotions. Piero and his family connexions were, more or less, important parties in all these movements. The republic was freed from his agency by his death, in 1503. He was accidentally drowned. But the government was not suited to the people. The day had gone by in which they were capable of maintaining a free elective republic. An entire revolution took place by the appointment of all the principal officers for life. Under this new government Pisa was again subjected to Florence. But such was the detestation of Florence by the Pisans, that all of them who were able to do so, forsook their city and country.

From the year 1509 to 1512, a war was raging in northern Italy in which the French, the Spaniards, and the Swiss, were parties. Florence had preserved its neutrality. The Spaniards insisted on having a province submitted to their rapacity, and fixed on Florence as rich, and at the same time destitute of military defence. A congress was held at Mantua by these foreign powers, who had made themselves masters of northern Italy. It was proposed here that Florence should be invited to purchase its security from invasion by a heavy contribution. The two youngest sons of Lorenzo the Magnificent (Piero, the oldest, being dead) presented themselves at this congress. These were Giovanni and Guiliano. They asked to be aided in recovering Florence, and assured the congress that if this object were effected, more money could be obtained than in any other way. In August, 1512, the Medici brothers and Lorenzo, a son of Piero, crossed the Apennines. They were accompanied by Raymond la Cardona, who led five thousand Spanish infantry, alike insensible to pity and to fear. They first took Prato, a city in the valley of the Arno, twelve miles from Florence, and treated its inhabitants with a barbarity extraordinary even for the Spaniards of that day.

This conquest was terrible to the Florentines, who despaired

of defending themselves. They listened to a proposal of Guiliano, to be received in Florence, with an assurance that the liberties of the people should remain inviolate. A party immediately arose in favor of the Medici, and Guiliano peaceably entered the city on the 2d of September, 1512. On the 14th, Giovanni, then a cardinal, entered the city, and forced the government to assemble a parliament of his own selection, wherein all constitutions and laws established since 1494, (the time of Piero's flight,) were abolished. A new government was instituted, composed entirely of the creatures of the Medici. Thus, after a banishment of eighteen years, this family were restored to more absolute power than they had lost. Nor was this the most to be regretted. They had grown up aliens to their native land, destitute of all sympathy with their countrymen, with an inveterate sense of injuries to be avenged—exhausted in their resources, and as rapacious as poor. Besides, they had to satisfy the cravings of the dissolute and merciless soldiery, who had helped them into the strong holds of tyranny. No one of the two brothers, or their nephew, Lorenzo, brought with them any legitimate children, but they were accompanied by three that were illegitimate. 1. Guilio, the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and who was afterwards pope, under the name of Clement VII. 2. Alessandro, who was either a son of this Guilio or of Lorenzo, (the nephew of the two brothers Medici.) 3. Ippolito, son of Guiliano, who was duke of Nemours.

These three bastards exercised a powerful influence over fallen Florence. Its freedom and its grandeur had disappeared forever, and its future history may be read in the events sure to occur in all small states which are incapable of self-government, and which are restive under tyranny that must be endured as the only escape from anarchy.

CHAPTER LVI.

NAPLES AND SICILY, FROM 1127 TO 1516.

THE kingdom of Naples includes all that part of Italy which lies south-eastwardly of the territories held by the Roman church. The whole length is about two hundred and fifty miles, besides the promontory of Otranto, on the south.

east, and that of Calabria on the south, the latter extending to the straits which separate Italy from the island of Sicily. In the year 1127, Roger, the son of the Norman of the same name, who conquered Sicily, united all these territories into one kingdom. The population was composed of the descendants of Greeks, Romans, and Saracens; and to these were added the Norman French, which had come into Sicily with the adventurers of that name, about the middle of the preceding century. The land was held by feudal barons, and the principal part of the population were vassals, under the feudal tenure.

The political and social condition of this country, from 1127 to 1516, depended on the accidents of marriages, births, inheritance, gifts by will, usurpations and conquests. No country in Europe was subjected to a greater variety of masters in the same space of time, nor was any one more miserable. Yet the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples are, by nature, one of the most desirable portions of the earth.

Roger was harassed during his reign by the turbulence of his barons, and by a war with the emperor Lotharius, instigated by a papal contention. Roger died in 1154. He is reputed to have been able, to have had military talents, and to have known that respect was due to learning and to learned men; but also to have been rapacious, vindictive, and singularly cruel in the punishments which he inflicted. His son, William the Bad, reigned till 1166. A person of low origin, named Mayon, whom William had raised to high offices, conspired with a bishop to dethrone him; and this person was to usurp the crown, and the bishop was to receive a suitable reward. Mayon having arrived near enough to his object to have no further need of the bishop, caused a slow poison to be administered to him. The bishop discovering the nature of his malady, and not doubting its origin, availed himself of a friendly visit from Mayon, to cause him to be assassinated, and thus had the pleasure of being preceded, a few hours, by his perfidious associate in crime. William left his crown to his son of the same name, a minor, under the regency of his mother. The great mistake of this reign was the giving of Constantia, a daughter of Roger I., and aunt of this William II., in marriage to Henry VI., emperor of Germany. This event led to long and ruinous wars, in which Henry and Tancred contended for the crown, on the decease of William. Tancred was an illegitimate son of an older brother of William, who died in the life-time of his father. Thus, the people

of Naples and Sicily were to endure the evils of war, to settle the point whether the bastard of a deceased prince, or a German who dwelt beyond the Alps, should be their master. The latter prevailed, and in the year 1195, the crown which the Normans had won, and the power which they had maintained for one hundred and twenty years, passed by a marriage, to the princes of the German house of Suabia.

The House of Suabia from 1196 to 1266. Henry VI. died, leaving the crown of Naples and Sicily to his minor son, Frederick I., and the same who is known as Frederick II. among the emperors of Germany, and who has been already noticed in the sketches of Germany. His wife Zolanda, was the heiress of the Christian crown of Jerusalem, derived from the crusaders, who established a kingdom there; whence Frederick entitled himself king of Jerusalem. This fact is noticed, because this claim to the title was transmitted through centuries, as an appendage to the Neapolitan crown. Naples was made the capital, or seat of government, by Frederick. He left a legitimate son Conrad, and one who was not so, Manfred; and devised his kingdom to the latter, if the former died without heirs. Conrad died in four years, and Manfred, assuming that Conradin, the son of Conrad, had died in Germany, claimed the crown. But pope Innocent IV. claimed Sicily, because Conrad died excommunicated; and Naples, because his legate had been sent thither with an armed force, and had exacted an oath of allegiance from the people. War ensued, in which the pope took an active part. He assumed to bestow the kingdom of Naples and Sicily on the prince Charles of Anjou, son of Louis VIII., king of France. This prince appeared in Italy with an army, and was met by Manfred. A bloody battle ensued, and Manfred was slain. Pope Urban IV. crowned the prince of Anjou, king, in the year 1266. In the following year, Conradin appeared with an army from Germany, and had entered Italy before he received notice from the pope, that he was forbidden to attempt the recovery of Naples, on pain of excommunication. This threat diminished the number of Conradin's followers; but he persevered, in the expectation of finding new adherents as he approached Naples. The adverse parties met near Benevento, thirty-five miles north-east of Naples. A desperate battle ensued, which resulted favorably for Charles. Conradin and his young friend Frederick, prince of Austria, were taken and beheaded. Neither of them were then seventeen years of age. The youthful friends embraced each other on the scaffold.

Frederick's head having fallen, Conradin took it up and kissed it, and then presented his own to the executioner. While on the scaffold, Conradin addressed the multitude, and threw down his glove, desiring that it might be taken up by any one who would become his avenger. It is also said that Conradin named Peter, king of Arragon, when he threw down his glove; and that it was taken up and carried to Peter by an Arragonese knight. Thus in the year 1268, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily passed from the German House of Suabia, to the French House of Anjou, in the person of Charles I. In 1278, he had acquired the title to the crown of Jerusalem, through a person called Mary of Antioch.

Charles soon acquired, and deservedly, the surname of Tyrant of the two Sicilies. He received and employed multitudes of Frenchmen, and they were permitted to rule without restraint, and to subject the inhabitants of the country to every oppression and indignity. A day of severe retribution was at hand, through the persevering industry of one man, who is historically known as John of Procida. This person was the feudal lord of a small island in the bay of Naples, and a zealous partizan of the house of Suabia. John having disguised himself as a monk, went to Sicily, to Rome, to Spain, and even to Constantinople, to combine the enemies of Charles. At this time, Peter II. was the king of Arragon, and he had married Constantia, the daughter of Manfred, whom Charles had despoiled of his throne. The unfortunate Conradin, and Constantia, were cousins, descended from the emperor Frederick II. John of Procida influenced Peter, by appealing to his sense of justice and duty, in having been called on by Conradin, from the scaffold, to avenge his wrongs. It is probable that more powerful motives engaged Peter to promise a body of troops to sustain John in his intended revolt in Sicily. All the people of Sicily were subjected to the despotism of the French, and were ready for any measure, however desperate, that promised relief. John had been successfully industrious in promoting the hope of this relief, and the desire of vengeance. On Easter day, in the year 1282, at the sound of the bell which summoned the pious to the evening prayers, called *vespers*, the inhabitants of Palermo rose upon the French, and pursued their purpose until every French person, and even all Sicilians who had intermarried with the French, were, without exception, put to death. The same fate awaited all the French who were scattered throughout the island, with a single exception. William de Porcelet, a French nobleman

from Provence, and governor of a small town in Sicily, in consideration of his virtues and probity, was spared, and allowed to depart with his family to his own country. The whole number of French who perished, is computed at more than eight thousand; and this memorable event is known by the name of "Sicilian vespers."

The exasperated Charles gathered his forces, and proceeded to Sicily, to take vengeance on the assassins of his countrymen. But Peter of Arragon was there before him, for the purpose of despoiling him of this part of his dominions. In the fleet which Charles sent against Sicily, was his son, called the prince of Palermo. In a naval battle between this fleet and that of Peter, the prince was taken prisoner, and most of his vessels taken or destroyed. Charles had detained, in prison, Beatrice, the daughter of Manfrede, with her mother and brother. She had survived both of them in prison. The Arragonese admiral brought the prince of Palermo near to Naples, and gave notice to Charles that unless Beatrice was immediately sent to him, the head of the prince would be forthwith severed from his body. Beatrice was given up, and the prince was carried away as a prisoner. Three years afterwards, (in 1285,) Charles, having met with incessant reverses and afflictions, died of chagrin; one historian intimates, by suicide.

Sicily was separated from Naples in 1282, and passed under the dominion of the Spanish, or Arragonese princes, and continued separated from Naples, until 1435. The notices of Sicily will, therefore, be suspended here, until those of Naples are brought down to the last mentioned year.

The prince of Palermo continued a prisoner four years after his father's death. He was then liberated, on marrying a daughter of his captor, (Peter of Arragon,) and renouncing all claim to Sicily, in favor of Peter's son. The prince then returned to Naples, and reigned there, under the name of Charles II., till the year 1309. His oldest son, Charles Martel, was elected king of Hungary, and was succeeded by his son Charobert, while Naples was given to Robert, the second son, whom some historians call "good" and "wise." A son of Robert died, in his life-time, leaving a daughter Joan, who was the heiress of the crown of Naples. Robert fearing that the Hungarian branch of the family might pretend to Naples, effected a marriage between Andrew, the grandson of his brother Charles Martel, (king of Hungary,) and his granddaughter Joan. Andrew proved to be a coarse and vulgar man, while

Joan had received every degree of cultivation which that age permitted. Robert, by his will, excluded Andrew from the throne, and vested the exclusive right in Joan. The attempt to have Andrew crowned, resulted in a conspiracy, in which Andrew was strangled. Joan was suspected and accused of being a party in the murder; but she was acquitted by a tribunal formed at Avignon in France, (then the papal seat,) wherein the facts are said to have been fairly investigated. If Joan did not order, nor assent to the murder before it occurred, her subsequent conduct showed that it was not unwelcome to her. At the age of nineteen, she married the prince of Tarentum, and survived him when she was thirty-six years of age. (1362.) She afterwards married a prince of Majorca, who is supposed to have fallen in battle in 1370. The queen having no heir, and desiring to exclude the Hungarian branch, of whom her first husband was one, concluded to make Charles of Durazzo her heir, who had married Margaret, the daughter of her sister Mary. After publishing this intended heirship, Joan married Otho, duke of Brunswick. Charles, aided by his Hungarian relations, attempted to take the kingdom by force. Joan retracted the heirship of Charles, and gave her kingdom and her inheritance of Provence, in France, to her kinsman, Louis of Anjou. But Charles of Durazzo, who was already in possession of Naples, and who held Joan as a prisoner, caused her to be smothered, and assumed the crown as Charles III., in 1382.

From this time, the sovereignty of Naples, in consequence of the contradictory gifts of a female, and of her changes of opinion in disposing of herself, became a subject of contest between two alien houses, one of them from beyond the Adriatic, and the other from beyond the Alps. The House of Anjou again and again invaded Italy, and for more than a whole century, devoted great sums, and many lives, in unsuccessful attempts to get the crown of Naples. The *title* to this crown, and to that of Jerusalem, passed down by inheritance, gift, or purchase, among French princes, to the end of the fifteenth century, on no better foundation than the gift of a capricious and profligate woman. A feeling of pity and contempt naturally arises towards a people, who amounted to many millions, and who held one of the finest portions of the earth, when it is seen that they were not only disposed of like cattle, but forced to shed their blood in deciding which of many equally bad masters they should serve.

Charles of Durazzo, called Charles III. of Naples, finished

his course in Hungary under the hands of assassins. He went thither to rob the female heir of the Hungarian king, who had helped him to the crown of Naples, of her crown; but her subjects conspired and put an end to his wicked and odious career. (1386.)

Ladislaus, the son of Charles, succeeded him, and reigned till 1414. He was a vigorous and able man, but of dissolute habits, which soon closed his life, and left the crown to his sister Joan, who was more dissolute than her brother. Like her predecessor of the same name, she had no heirs. She declared Alfonso, king of Arragon and Sicily, to be her heir; but, being attacked by Louis III. of the Anjou race, she revoked that bequest, and appointed him. He died before Joan, and bequeathed his right to Renè of Anjou. But Alfonso obtained possession, and thus Naples, as Sicily had done, passed to the Spanish house of Arragon, and the union of Sicily and Naples, under this dominion, occurred in 1435.

The events of the Sicilian kingdom, under the Spanish dominion, from 1282 to 1435, contain neither interest nor instruction. A remarkable mortality among the royal race of Arragon and Sicily, transferred the kingdom of Naples, by peaceable succession, from Joan II. to Alfonso, then king of Arragon in the Spanish peninsula. Alfonso had reigned in Arragon from 1416. Soon after Joan's death he came to Naples, and dwelt there till his death, in June, 1458, in his sixty-fourth year. From the time of this king's accession, the island of Sicily and the kingdom of Naples are known in history by the name of "The Two Sicilies." The feudal relations were in full force in both the Sicilies. There were many feudal lords in both of them, who were rich and powerful enough to raise and maintain bodies of mounted men; one of them is mentioned as the commander of eighteen hundred, and another of four thousand. The revenues of the king were from various modes of taxation. Alfonso I. acquired the name of Magnanimous. He lived at a time when the ancient learning of Greeks and Romans had given a new impulse to the human mind. Among the cultivators of this learning, no one was more zealous than this prince. He had always with him the history of Titus Livius and Cæsar's commentaries. His secretary affirms, that he was cured of a malady, while at Capua, by hearing the life of Alexander read to him, and that Cosmo de Medici purchased his assent to become a member of the league formed in northern Italy, by giving him a beautiful copy of Livy. He was accustomed to

walk about Naples unattended, and replied to suggestions of danger,—“What fear can a father have, who walks in the midst of his children?” He was brave, eloquent, affable, and of noble deportment. He was also munificent to excess, and this occasioned wants which could only be supplied by excessive taxation. His queen was not a favorite, and he endeavored in vain to be freed from her, that he might marry Lucretia d'Alagna, who emulated the high character of the Roman lady of the same name. A natural son of Alfonso, called Ferdinand, was supposed to have been the offspring of Marguerite de Hajar; she, at least, permitted the maternity to be imputed to her. The queen caused her to be strangled. Others considered Ferdinand to have been the son of his brother's wife. However this may have been, Alfonso gave to him the kingdom of Naples, and Sicily to his brother John, by which Sicily and Naples were again separated in 1458.

Sismondi admits the good qualities which are attributed to Alfonso, but thinks he erred in extending the prerogatives of the feudal lords over their vassals, and thereby giving opportunities for severe oppressions. That he thereby, also, weakened the royal prerogatives, essential, in that age, to order and peace, and unconsciously facilitated the means of future civil wars. This able writer concludes his commentary by expressing his doubts whether the reign of Alfonso was favorable to the progress of civilization, though he acknowledges him to have been one of the greatest and most generous monarchs of the fifteenth century.

The qualities of Ferdinand were strongly contrasted with those of his father. Perfidy, avarice, and cruelty were prominent among them. Numerous enemies combined against him. At the head of them was pope Calixtus III., who insisted that Naples had fallen to the disposal of the holy church. He invited all claimants of the Neapolitan crown to assemble at Rome. But Calixtus followed Alfonso in less than two months. The barons of his own kingdom combined against Ferdinand, and invited John, titular duke of Calabria, son of Renè, duke of Anjou, to assert his right to the crown. Between the preparations for war and the actual commencement of hostilities against Ferdinand, Pius II., successor of Calixtus, alarmed at the increasing power of the Turks, invited an assembly of Christian powers at Mantua, and went thither himself, in great pomp. At Florence he was received with singular honors for a spiritual chief. A tournament, a ball, and a combat of wild beasts, were among the honors conferred in that city. But,

unfortunately, the ten lions which were turned loose into the arena to combat with a giraffe, (cameleopard,) could not be provoked to hostility.

Meanwhile, John of Anjou (duke of Calabria) had approached Naples with numerous allies, in October, 1459. The result of this conflict was the total defeat of Ferdinand at the battle of Sarno. (1460.) He recovered from this defeat, and was, in turn, successful, and preserved himself on the throne through the long reign of thirty-six years, but incessantly involved in difficulties. He died at the age of seventy, in 1494, leaving the reputation of an able politician, but universally odious for his deliberate cruelties and crimes. His death occurred at a period when new troubles were gathering for his subjects.

Louis XI. of France had acquired, by gift and purchase, all the rights of the house of Anjou to Provence, Naples, and Jerusalem. Provence he possessed, but the claim to the other two were merely titular. He was too much occupied at home in extending and strengthening his empire, to think of acquiring possession of Naples. Military renown was not among the objects of this prince's ambition. After his death, in 1483, his son and successor, Charles VIII., desired to distinguish himself as a conqueror, and undertook the conquest of Naples under the ancient claim of the house of Anjou, and soon began a course of preparations and conference with Italian powers to accomplish his objects.*

The design of Charles was known to Ferdinand I., and he was engaged in measures of defence when he died. He had endeavored to arm the duke of Milan against Charles, on the two-fold ground that such was the true policy of Italy, and that personal interest sustained that policy, as Ferdinand's oldest son, and intended successor, had married the duke's daughter. This son, Alfonso II., peaceably ascended the throne on Ferdinand's decease.

Alfonso II. had acquired a high reputation as a military chief, in the wars between the Turks and Venetians. His father left him a rich treasury, accumulated by exactions and avarice. Naples had many able and experienced soldiers. Yet Sismondi says, that it seemed equally impossible that Charles should conquer the kingdom of Naples, or that Alfonso should be able to preserve it.

* It is at this period that Hallam concludes his *History of the Middle Ages*, expressing the opinion that these ages should be considered as terminating at the time when Charles undertook this invasion.

CHAPTER LVII

CONQUEST OF NAPLES BY CHARLES VIII. OF FRANCE.

IN the sketches of French history, the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. was reserved for notice in this place. *Charles* was only fifteen years of age when his father, Louis XI., died, in 1483, and his own life ended in 1498. This father and son were in a state of alienation for many years. Louis had been a disobedient and rebellious son, and he had reason to fear that his own son might have like dispositions towards himself. Charles was, therefore, a sort of state prisoner while Louis lived. In all the chances which have placed the unworthy in power, no one is more surprising than in the case of this king of France. Comines, who knew him well, has described him, but not so fully as an Italian historian whom Sismondi copies.

This description is found in Sismondi's twelfth volume, page 86. His head was large, his neck short, his breast and shoulders large and high, his thighs long and slender, his complexion sallow and unhealthy, his stature short, his face ugly, all his members were disproportioned, and he seemed to be rather a monster than a man. Yet there was something of dignity and vigor in his eyes. He was ignorant of all liberal arts, and hardly knew how to read. He was always under the influence of the intrigues which were carried on around him, without being able to perceive them. He hated the fatigue of business, and when forced to attend to it, he had neither prudence nor judgment. He had a propensity to glory, but it arose from impetuosity, not reason. He was liberal, but had no discrimination as to the objects or measure of liberality. He was immovable in his will, but from obstinacy, not constancy. That which was called goodness in him was rather insensibility to injuries and feebleness of mind. Comines' description of Charles is not inconsistent with this, except in one thing: that Charles "was one of the best creatures in the world." From other sources it is known of Charles, that he was devoted to pleasure, and seemed to have no higher views of the rights and duties of royalty, than that they gave unrestrained license to appetites. Such a man and such a monarch undertook to pass from France, with a numerous army, through many independent, and, perhaps, hostile states,

more than eight hundred miles, to Naples. His object was the crown of Naples, which no ancestor of his own had ever held, and to which he had no pretence but as the heir of his father, who had purchased from one who had himself no more than a pretension, and which the lapse of time and the established dominion of another royal house had absolutely extinguished. It is a curious historical fact, that the feeble and insignificant Charles should have found his way to the throne of Naples without having fought a single battle; nor less so, that such a shadow of a man, and such a semblance of royalty, should have changed the political relations of all Europe.

These events could not have happened if motives for this expedition had not been assigned, adapted to quiet the apprehensions of other European powers. At this time the Turks were advancing in the eastern part of Europe, and were already terrible to the Italian states, as well as to Hungary, Bohemia, and the eastern frontier of Germany. Charles declared that when he had conquered Naples, he intended to cross the Adriatic, and attack the Turks through Greece. Whether such was the intention, or whether it was so received by other powers, belief in this declaration seems necessary to account for the permitted success of Charles's expedition.

The first movement of Charles was to send the duke of Orleans, (afterwards Louis XII.,) in 1494, to Genoa, with very ample funds to equip a fleet. This was done. A Neapolitan force came to Genoa, and some conflicts ensued, which terminated advantageously for the French. Meanwhile, Charles had assembled all the nobility of his kingdom who were ambitious of military glory, or disposed to the excitement of new enterprise. But it was rather an assembly for the delights of a royal court, than for the exertions of a military campaign.

In 1494, Charles passed the summer at Lyons, with all his court, in splendid gaieties, and seemed to have forgotten his intended conquest. On the 23d of August he passed the Alps with 31,600 troops, of various descriptions and nations, with a numerous retinue of attendants; and this number of armed men was nearly doubled before he reached the frontier of the Neapolitan kingdom. The states of northern Italy were so divided among themselves, and so governed internally, as not to be in a condition to resist Charles. Attempts were made by the pope, Alexander VI., and by Florence, to impede his passage. An insurrection in Rome deprived the pope of all

power to resist, and Piero de Medici, the head of the Florentine republic, made a disgraceful treaty with Charles, which opened Florence to him. The dissatisfaction of the Florentines caused the flight and the exile of Piero. Charles was received in this city in a friendly manner. But he soon asserted the rights of a conqueror, and demanded the restoration of Piero de Medici. He was firmly and nobly answered. He then reduced his claim to a demand of money, and a sum was agreed on; and Charles was to restore all the rights of Florence at Pisa. Charles took possession of Sienna, on his way to Rome, and entered Rome against the consent of the pope, and almost in the character of an enemy. The Pontiff is represented to have conducted himself with contemptible indecision, and pusillanimity, in this affair. The entry of Charles into Rome is described by Paul Jove, whom Sismondi considers to have been personally present. As no description, equally full and accurate, of a military force in this age, has been met with, an abridgement of Sismondi's account of it is here made. (Vol. xii. p.182, and the following.)

The entry took place on the 31st of Dec. 1494. The advance guard was composed of Swiss and Germans, who marched in battalions, with banners displayed, by the sound of drums. Their coats were short, closely fitted to the body, and of various colors. The officers wore plumes in their helmets. The soldiers had short swords, and lances of ashwood, ten feet long, with a sharp-edged point of iron. One fourth of them had battle-axes, fixed to the end of a long pole, (usually called halberts) instead of lances. The battle-axe was formed like a common hatchet, having on the opposite side, and connected with the head, an iron with four sharp corners. Either side of this weapon was used in battle, but with both hands. Every 1000 men had a company of 100 fusiliers. The front ranks of the advanced guard had helmets, and breast-plates for defence. The other ranks had not.

After the Swiss, marched 5000 Gascons, (from the southwest of France,) who were armed as archers, with cross-bows, and iron pointed arrows. They were of small stature, and without ornamental dress.

Next came the cavalry, composed of the selected French nobility, clad in silken cloaks, and helmets and collars, brilliant with gold. Half of them (2,500) were cuirassiers, or horsemen, defended by helmets and plates of brass on the breast and back. They carried a lance with a solid point, and other arms resembling hatchets. Their horses were large and strong.

but cropped of their ears, and of the long hair of their tails. Each man was followed by three horses; on one was a page, armed like his master, on the other two were attendants, in the character of esquires, or aids. The other half were light cavalry, bearing wooden bows, (after the English manner,) to shoot long arrows. They had defensive armor like the heavy cavalry, and short pikes, to pierce those whom the heavy cavalry had overthrown. Their cloaks were ornamented with cords to attach them to the neck, and with plates of silver. Four hundred archers, among whom were 100 Scots, rode at the side of the king. Two hundred chosen French knights surrounded him on foot. They carried on their shoulders, iron instruments, resembling heavy hatchets. When they mounted they were armed like cavalry, only they were distinguished by the beauty of their horses, and their ornaments of gold and purple. The cardinals Ascagne Sforza, and Julien de Rovere, rode at the side of the king. Colonna and Savelli, of the same rank, rode next behind. The Italian and French generals came next, intermingled with the great French lords.

Thirty-six brass cannon, 8 feet long, of a calibre of the size of the human head; and culverines of half that length, came next; and then a still larger kind of cannon.*

The advance guard entered the gate del Populo at 3 o'clock, P. M., and the march continued till 9; torches and flambeaux throwing their gleams on the army, made it still more solemn and imposing.

An irritating and hostile intercourse took place between Charles and the pope, which sometimes threatened a settlement by military force, but ended in a treaty, dictated by the former. The pope made no objection to the terms, intending to disregard them all, as might best suit his interests. Certain citadels were surrendered to Charles, to be held till the end of the war; and Cæsar Borgia, son of the pope, was required to follow Charles, really as a hostage, though with the ostensible rank of a legate. One article of the treaty related to Zimzim, or Gem, brother of the sultan Bajazet. This person claimed the Turkish throne, because he was born *after* his father, Mahomet II., became sultan, and the older brother, Bajazet, *before* that event. Gem was defeated, and, at length, sought an asylum in Rome. His brother paid the pope 40,000 ducats a year, to support Gem

* The carriage on which the cannon were borne, were not unlike those of modern times, but of heavier construction. Sismondi does not mention the attendants, and baggage of this armament, which must have comprised a numerous train.

there, and to keep him there. Charles required that Gem should be delivered to him, as he would be useful in Charles's intended movements against the sultan. When the pope found that he must surrender Gem, he caused a slow poison to be administered to Gem, which proved fatal, while the French were on the way from Rome to Naples.

The approach of the French had been long expected by Alfonso II., and by his son and successor, Ferdinand. Both of them supposed that they would come through Romagna, on the eastern side of the Apennines, and a force had been gathered there, under Ferdinand, the son of Alfonso. The route taken by the French was along the plain, between the Apennines and the Po, to the duchy of Parma, and thence, southwardly, across the Apennines by the road of Pontremoli, to Lucca. When this was known to Ferdinand, he returned towards Naples, and was at Rome when Charles arrived there, and left the city by one gate, while the French entered by another.

On the 23d of January, 1495, Charles departed from Naples for Rome. The pope immediately employed himself to unite the enemies of Charles in the North of Italy, without any regard to his treaty. Charles entered the territory of the Neapolitan kingdom, and forthwith commenced a series of savage cruelties, unknown even in that comparatively barbarous age. Terror preceded him in his rapid course to Naples. Ferdinand exerted himself with great ability to meet Charles, in difficult passes, but as soon as the advanced guard of the French came in view, his troops fled. While in this discouraging position, his father Alfonso, more terrified than any of his subjects, and no less apprehensive of them than of the French, resolved to abdicate the throne. Ferdinand went to Naples to take possession, while Alfonso was flying, with all his treasures, to Sicily. Having assumed the crown, Ferdinand hurried back, in the hope of making a successful resistance at Capua. But he had hardly arrived at that place, when he was recalled to Naples, to quell a popular insurrection. This he accomplished in a gallant manner; but in his absence the French had entered Capua, and were within a short distance of Naples. No resource was left to Ferdinand but to escape with the members of the royal family, whom Alfonso had left behind, to the Island of Ischia, and thence to Sicily.

On the 22d of February, Charles entered Naples with extraordinary magnificence, and was received by the fickle Neapolitans with every demonstration of joy. He then abandoned every thought of serious affairs, and devoted himself to the

most extravagant pomp and pleasure. He was little aware of the difficulties and dangers which were gathering around him. The Arragonese families, who had deserted their sovereigns, looked to him for their reward. The ancient families who had sustained the French house of Anjou, even sixty years, expected to be reinstated in their possessions. The French who had followed him, expected to be favored and enriched, to the exclusion of all others. The two former classes presented themselves at court. They were not recognized, and however often they came, were obliged to tell who they were, and state anew their pretensions. They saw that the followers of Charles were the only class who could approach him, or obtain his favorable notice. The common people did not find that they had changed masters for the better. Instead of the restoration of a former monarchy, and the redress of wrongs and injuries, all classes soon understood, that they had only aided rapacious and insolent conquerors to take possession of their country. The cheap wines, abundant fruits, and other temptations of Naples, seduced and enfeebled the soldiery, who knew nothing of such luxuries beyond the Alps. Satiety and weariness soon brought remembrance of home. In all this time Charles had done nothing to establish his empire. The Neapolitans began to regret the loss of their former princes; and Ferdinand was busy in devising means, and seeking the favorable time to present himself to his subjects.

The states of northern Italy were now sensible of the folly of having permitted Charles to pass unmolested to Naples. A congress was held at Venice, in which all these powers were represented, and even the sultan Bajazet. The ministers assembled there are said to have amounted to 100; and though the able and accomplished Comines was there, as the representative of Charles, a solemn league was formed, including Maximilian, emperor of Germany, to furnish men and money to overwhelm Charles, before Comines was aware of the project. The dream of the conqueror was dissipated by information from Comines, of the combination which had been formed against him. He had now something more interesting to think of than the association of French gallantry, with the luxury and delights of Naples.

Having divided his army into two parts, he intended one of them to preserve his dominion in Naples, and the other to protect him in the perilous return, which he was forced to undertake. He selected the high officers who were to be left as his

representatives, and departed from Naples for Rome, on the 20th of May, having passed nearly three months in the capital of his new kingdom. The number of troops which accompanied him, is thus computed: 800 lancers; 200 gentlemen for his personal guard; 100 armed Italians; 3000 Swiss foot soldiers; 1000 French, and 1000 Gascon soldiers; and 250 were expected to join him in Tuscany. The residue of his army, who had survived to that time, were distributed in different garrisons.

The pope did not oppose the entry of Charles into Rome, but he withdrew himself, and went to Orvieto, a distance of 60 miles. Having remained three days at Rome, Charles proceeded to Tuscany, but marked his course, while within church territories, by burning, pillage, and massacre. At Sienna he remained six days, attempting to turn the dissensions which existed there, to his own account; and believing he had succeeded, impaired his strength by leaving 300 men to maintain his power. But he had not reached France, before they were driven from the city. He was informed at Sienna that the Florentines would not allow him to pass their territory. He inclined thence towards the sea, and arrived at Pisa. Here he was assailed by men, women, and children, who reminded him of his engagements to free them from the dominion of Florence; while the ambassadors from that city, came to reproach him that he had not surrendered Pisa to Florence, as he bound himself to do, and for which he had been paid. The Pisans softened even the hearts of the French soldiery by their tears and lamentations. Fifty of these soldiers sought the presence of Charles, and declared they would rather give up all wages due to them, than have the Pisans subjected to Florence. The feeble and embarrassed king would make no new promises to the Pisans; and directed the Florentine ambassadors to meet him at Asti, nearly 150 miles north-west, in northern Italy, to receive an answer.

Leaving Pisa in possession of French soldiers, Charles crossed the Apennines in mid-summer, with extreme difficulty, by the road of Pontremoli, to Parma. Having descended into the plains on the north side of the mountains, he was met by a body of troops, much superior in number to his own, which opposed his passage of the Bogano, which flows to the city of Parma. The extreme heat, and the want of provisions of every sort, and the fatigue of crossing the mountains, made his condition desperate. Despair rather than skill or courage,

animated his troops in the battle which ensued. In the midst of it, the baggage of the French was seen to be passing, unprotected, along the foot of the mountains, and part of the hired soldiers of the league were attracted to that, while another part were seized with panic. Charles is said to have conducted himself well on this occasion. Though in imminent peril, he escaped with the loss of a small portion of his troops. From hence to Asti, (about fifty miles south-west of Pavia,) Charles was continually harassed by the troops of his adversaries, but, without any serious loss, was enabled to reach this place on the 15th of July, 1495, which was, to him, a place of safety, and abundant in provisions.

The duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis XII., had been left at Asti to keep up a communication between Charles and France. Louis having pretensions to the duchy of Milan, in right of his grandmother Valentina Visconti, had attempted to enforce these rights. Charles found that Louis was besieged at Novara, twenty-five miles west of Milan. A treaty relieved the duke of Orleans, and Charles recrossed the Alps to Dauphinè, in France, the 22d of October, with a precipitation which could not have been greater, if he had been pursued by a victorious army. Thus ended, as to Charles personally, his expedition to Naples. A less fortunate destiny awaited the army which he left to defend his conquest.

Ferdinand II. retired to Messina, in Sicily, leaving Naples in possession of Charles VIII., at the end of February, 1495. His father Alfonso, (who had assumed the dress of a monk, intending to pass the residue of his life in penitence and devotion,) came to visit him, and offered some part of the treasure which he brought from Naples. Fernando Gonsalvez came there, also, from Spain, with five thousand foot soldiers, and six hundred cavaliers; the same Gonsalvez who afterwards acquired the name of the great captain, in the wars of Italy. Ferdinand was already informed of the change of opinion in his favor, in consequence of the insolent and oppressive conduct of the French. He made an unsuccessful attempt to approach Naples through Calabria, from Sicily, with the aid of Gonsalvez, and was obliged to return, after a narrow escape. A nobleman gave up his own horse to Ferdinand, and was immediately slain himself.

The next movement of Ferdinand was to pass by sea to the neighborhood of Naples, and to land there, the duke of Montpensier being then in the chief command of the French, and

established in that city. It would fill a much larger space than can be given to the warfare of the next two months, if all its details were followed out. On the one side, Ferdinand was attempting to harass and distress his adversaries, not only by gallant conflict whenever favorable opportunities occurred, but by cutting off their supplies, and confining them within the narrowest limits. On the other side, the French were sustaining themselves in the hope that Charles would reinforce them, and furnish money to pay the wages of their army. Both sides disclosed great skill and bravery; but Ferdinand, for so young and inexperienced a general, is highly applauded for his perseverance, prudence, and good sense, under the most difficult and embarrassing circumstances. The French had able generals and veteran soldiers; while Ferdinand had neither, but in a very inferior extent, in comparison with his enemies, and was compelled to rely on the feudal troops of his barons, and the common militia of the country. Two persons should be honorably mentioned among Ferdinand's supporters; the two brothers of the name of d'Avalos, one of whom was the marquis of Piscaria. Both of them, to the deep distress of Ferdinand, were soon lost by him; one by a mortal wound in battle, the other by assassination. The loss of the marquis made Ferdinand, for some time, incapable of devoting himself to public affairs.

One occurrence in this warfare deserves notice, as it discloses the relative condition of the belligerents, and the peculiar state of the country. Apulia is the general geographical name of that part of the kingdom of Naples which is situated on the north-eastern side of the peninsula of Italy. Herds of cattle to the number of two hundred thousand, and sheep six hundred thousand, were driven twice in a year through Apulia, to be pastured in the winter, in the south, and in the summer, in the highlands, eastwardly of the Apennines, and eastwardly of Rome. A toll collected on these cattle and sheep, was the most productive revenue of the crown. Both the parties were sensible of the necessity of continuing this accustomed transit of the cattle and sheep; and they agreed, that whichever party should hold dominion over this territory, in which the tolls were collected, at the proper time of the collection, should have the right to it, unmolested by the other. This convention led each party to endeavor to become the strongest in Apulia. As might have been expected, the convention served only to make Apulia the scene of conflict. Various battles ensued,

and neither party obtained the toll; while the cattle and the sheep were abandoned to the pillage of the soldiery. The plains were covered with carcasses, the skins being the only spoil which the soldiers could carry away. The ruined shepherds were disregarded in this distressing consequence of the war.

Charles VIII., safe in France, and abandoned to pleasure, had no leisure to think of the Frenchmen who were defending themselves, and his kingdom of Naples. He was compelled, at length, to listen to the importunities of friends and family connexions of these Frenchmen, and some troops were embarked in the south of France to aid them. Not one of them arrived at their destination. The Swiss, and the Germans, who were hired troops of the French in Italy, had not received any wages for a long time. Their murmurs, and, at length, their threats, added to the distresses of the French generals. The two principal ones, Montpensier and Precy, were never agreed in the proper measures to be pursued. Deaths and desertions were daily diminishing the ranks.

In July, 1795, the principal part of the French army had been concentrated in that province of the kingdom called Basilicata, south of Naples, and bounding on the gulf of Tarento. The small town of Attala, in that province, was their only possession. Here, Montpensier was compelled to capitulate, and, after long negotiations, it was agreed that the French should march to Baia, a port twelve miles south of Naples, and depart from thence. While arrangements were making here to accomplish this object, a pestilence broke out among the French, and Montpensier was among the first to fall by it. The destruction of lives was so great before the embarkation, and while on ship-board, that of the five thousand of the French army who were gathered at Baia, not five hundred of them ever reached France. Thus ended the celebrated expedition of Charles VIII. to conquer Naples. A measure to be sustained neither by right, necessity, policy, nor the wildest craving of military glory. Yet the French of the present day number Charles among their heroes, and upbraid Comines and all others who treat of him and his adventure, according to the principles of justice and common sense. The effect of this adventure was not only utterly profitless, but extremely disastrous to the French, while it unsettled and broke up the governments of the free states of Italy, and finally made that country the seat of long-continued and desolating wars.

The gallant and successful Ferdinand II. was not destined to avail himself of the benefits of his labors. Excessive fatigue and exposure while superintending the departure of the French, had implanted the seeds of disease, of which he was unconscious. As soon as he was rid of his enemies, he gave way to a long-cherished passion, and, to the astonishment of all Europe, married his own aunt, of about his own age. He retired to a chateau at the foot of Vesuvius, with his bride, and died there, the 7th of September, 1496, at the age of twenty-seven years.

Ferdinand dying without leaving any child, the crown went to his uncle Frederick, who assumed it as Frederick III. This king was, from many causes, exceedingly unpopular, and unable to sustain himself on the throne. At this time, Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, and the husband of Isabella, was king of Sicily. On the death of Charles VIII., the duke of Orleans became king of France, as Louis XII. The Neapolitan people were divided in opinion between Ferdinand and Louis. Frederick consented to abandon his kingdom to Louis, and to accept a pension and retire to France. This measure was assented to by Ferdinand the Catholic, under an agreement with Louis, that the kingdom of Naples should be divided between them. The crafty Ferdinand, availing himself of his neighborhood, and superior advantages, gradually despoiled Louis of his share. In the year 1504, the Two Sicilies were again united, and became an appendage of the Spanish crown under Ferdinand the Catholic.

The sketches of Naples are here closed, with the intention of recurring to this period to commence the third survey of Europe, comprising the three last centuries,

CHAPTER LVIII.

ROME, THE POPES, AND THE CHURCH, FROM 1000 TO 1500.

[These writers have been consulted in making this compilation:—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; *Histoire des Republiques du moyen age*, par Simonde de Sismondi; *Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe*, par M. Koch; *Essai sur l'influence des Croisades*, par Professeur Heeren; Mosheim's *Institutions of Church History*; Waddington's *History of the Church*; Robertson's *History of Charles V.*; J. C. I. Gieseler's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Rev. F. Cunningham; *View of the state of Europe during the Middle Ages*, by Henry Hallam. Many other writers have been consulted. This general acknowledgment is made to prevent too frequent reference.]

THE longest branch of the Tiber rises in the Apennine mountains, about thirty-five miles directly east of Florence. It flows south-eastwardly until it comes within about twenty miles of Rome; then south-westwardly through Rome to the Tuscan sea, a distance of about thirty-two miles. Twelve miles from the sea it passes through Rome. The longitude of this city is very near 13° east; its latitude very near 42° north. It is four hundred and ten miles south-south-west from Vienna; six hundred south-east from Paris; seven hundred and thirty east by north from Madrid; seven hundred and sixty west from Constantinople; one hundred and ten north-west from Naples; one hundred and twenty-five miles south-south-east from Florence.

The history of Rome, in these five centuries, is little other than the history of the popes. Their history includes that of the Roman church; and the agency of the church is apparent in the history of every kingdom and state of Europe. The rise and the exercise of papal authority has been reserved for notice in this place, that a connected view may be had of the most imposing and extraordinary power ever exercised by man over his fellow-man. However feeble, contemptible, and even insulted the popes may have been in the city which was their seat of empire, they were tyrannically sovereign elsewhere in Europe. The *curse* of a pope was terrible throughout the Christian community, from the crowned head down to the lowest subject. The elements of papal power were, 1. Physical force. 2. Power over person, liberty, property, and

the enjoyments of life. 3. Power to bestow favors, benefits, honors and riches, as well as to take them away. 4. Absolute power over hopes and fears in future life. All these elements of dominion the popes contrived (in the darkness of the middle ages) to concentrate in the tenant of the holy chair of Saint Peter. Whether these tenants were, as they successively appeared, resolute or timid, wise or imbecile, virtuous or criminal, the moment they were authorized to assume the papal crown, they became sovereign over all Christians. Kings were their inferiors, and obliged to do them the reverence of kissing their feet. This wonderful superiority was the slow acquisition of centuries, and was not always held unimpaired. Its preservation sometimes depended on the qualities of the reigning potentate; but that which an incompetent one lost, an able successor recovered, and, usually, with it, an augmented power, until it obtained its ultimate grandeur, which was necessarily followed by its first step of declension.

Rome was the peculiar place where this authority could best be assumed. It had long been the seat of earthly empire. St. Paul had suffered martyrdom, and St. Peter was assumed to have been buried in this city. It was also the place of sepulchre of St. Lawrence and of many other saints. Numerous miracles had been wrought by the relics of these saints, as Gregory the Great solemnly certified to the empress Constantia (of Constantinople) in the year 592. The same Gregory, in the year 596, says to the patriarch of Antioch,—“I send you keys of the blessed apostle Peter, your guardian, which, when placed upon the sick, are wont to be resplendent with numerous miracles.” The confession of sins to prelates, introduced by Leo the Great, between the years 440 and 461; the purification of souls, in purgatory, (borrowed from the pagan superstition of the Greeks, who probably derived it from the Egyptians, and they from India;) and the worship of images, also of pagan origin, were among the means used to subdue the minds of Christians. The right to expel an unworthy member of a society, common among the Jews, and incident to all societies, arose, under papal management, to the terrible denunciation of anathema or excommunication, and extended to crowned heads and entire kingdoms. The most extraordinary power exercised by the popes was founded in what are called the *False Decretals*.

In Waddington's History of the Church, p. 195, the false decretals are stated to have appeared in the time of Adrian I., who was pope from 772 to 795. In Cunningham's transla-

tion of Professor Gieseler's "Text-book of Ecclesiastical History," vol. ii. p. 67, these decretals are said to have been written between 829 and 845, in France, and that "Benedict Levita, of Mentz, may be justly suspected of a share in the forgery." This forgery has been commonly attributed to *Isodore*, whoever that person may have been. It is not material to the present purpose to ascertain by whom, nor at what time, these forgeries were made, but only to show that before the time of Gregory VII. they were known and treated as authentic, and to show, also, their tenor and effect. One part of these decretals purported to be the donation of the emperor Constantine, made at the time of his removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople, (about the year 325,) whereby he consigned the western empire to "the temporal as well as the spiritual government of the bishop of Rome." It also purported to be a gift, to that bishop, of "unbounded dominion over churches, nations, and kings, *as the successor of Saint Peter and the vicar of Christ.*" Another part of the false decretals purported to be a compilation of the epistles and decrees of the primitive popes and early emperors, extending the spiritual omnipotence of the pope to the earliest days of Christianity, and deriving his authority directly from Saint Peter.

It may be supposed that the donation of Constantine was known before that part of the decretals which Gieseler attributes to Levita. Both were known in the ninth century, and it was pretended that they had been recently discovered. They were received and treated as authentic and indisputable, and were (says Gieseler) used by the popes, "beginning with Nicholas I., (who died in 867,) without any material opposition, maintaining their authority until the reformation led to the detection of the cheat."

By the time that Gregory VII. came to the pontificate, (in 1074,) the decretals were a fundamental part of papal authority, and were the basis of the astonishing power which he assumed, exercised, and left as the rules of action for his successors.

The Roman church attained to its highest power between the year 1073, when Hildebrand was elected, (Gregory VII.,) and the fall of Boniface VIII., in 1303. In these two hundred and thirty years, the three most eminent men who appeared on the papal throne, were the two above named, and Innocent III., who was pope from 1198 to 1216. There were some others in this time who ably sustained the pretensions of

the Holy See ; but these three are the men upon whom history charges the pontifical usurpations. . The unity of purpose maintained by them makes it proper to consider these two hundred and thirty years as one epoch, and to arrange, under distinct heads, the acts of usurpation as to the church and as to temporal authority. It is to be remembered throughout, that one object of these three popes was to maintain an absolute and tyrannical dominion over all grades of the clergy, by making them entirely dependent on the supreme head, and to use them as subservient ministers in effecting the subjection of a temporal authority. The other object was to reduce emperors, kings, princes, their subjects and territories to submission. To do this, these popes availed themselves of the principle of the feudal tenure. They assumed to be supreme lords, and to require of all potentates to acknowledge that their dominions were held, under them, as the representatives of St Peter on earth. To this they added the exclusive jurisdiction over all offences, whether temporal or spiritual ; and crowned the whole of this earthly supremacy with the power of disposing of the souls of men throughout an endless existence.

If one is astonished and shocked at this arrogance, it is to be remembered, that it arose when the people, the nobles, and the princes of Europe were alike ignorant of social, moral, and political rights, and when mere physical strength, or the intellectual superiority of the clergy, were the only powers which could make law and enforce obedience. The passing from one part of Europe to another, and even within the limits of the same kingdom or state, was difficult and often perilous. Written communications were limited to very few, and these could be made only by special messengers. A large majority of all the people of Europe had no other mode of acquiring knowledge but by spoken words, and these were more frequently received from an interested and selfish priesthood than from any other persons. The use of printing as means of information, and the use of public carriers to disseminate that information, were unknown till nearly four centuries after this time. Not only were the princes and people ignorant and barbarous, but the parts of Europe inhabited by Christians, were divided into small principalities, duchies, and counties, in which there were sovereigns bound by allegiance to some superior. If that superior was a king or emperor, he was only first among equals, and was often at war with his vassals, and they with each other. One half of all the Christian territory was held by prelates and ecclesiastical establish-

ments, but under the same feudal tenure. No temporal force could be combined among these feudal sovereigns; but their contentions among themselves enabled the popes to interpose, in various modes, on the one side and the other, and always with the design of establishing their own dominion.

The comprehensive plan of Gregory, which he partly accomplished himself, and induced his successors to follow out, will be seen in the successive measures which took place in the two hundred and thirty years of papal grandeur. The two great objects, the dependence of the clergy on the pope, and the subjection of temporal authority to the pope, were made to be auxiliary to each other. The spiritual was used to subdue the temporal power; and when the latter could be used to subdue the former, means were found to call it into action. The most intelligible form in which these usurpations can be presented, will be that of arrangement under distinct heads. It will be seen, however, that any such classification cannot be strictly observed, as the two objects are often intermingled in the same course of measures.

Professor Geiseler's opinion of Gregory VII. (vol. ii. of Cunningham's translation, p. 159) will be entirely sustained by the summary of facts which follow. "When we consider him, not as a statesman, but in the light in which he placed himself, as the head of the church and an apostle of Christian truth, we cannot but revolt at his cold, mere diplomatic character. Instead of the truth, and all-embracing love demanded by the position in which he stood, we find in him an iron will and an unscrupulous use of any means which might suit his ends."

Hildebrand was an Italian of humble origin. He devoted himself to the church at an early age, and rose, by his genius, studies, austerity, and boundless ambition, to the papal chair, under the name of Gregory VII., in 1073. The declared principle of his action was this:—"The pope, in quality of vicar of Jesus Christ, ought to be superior to every human power." He was the author of the great change in the election of popes, by transferring the power to Roman ecclesiastics, and preparing the way for making the choice perfect without any confirmation by temporal authority. This measure resulted in the establishment of the electoral college of cardinals.

We have now to notice the measures adopted by him to carry out this principle, *first*, as to all ecclesiastics; *secondly*, as to all temporal authority, under several heads.

Investitures. Up to Gregory's time, bishops, abbots, and other dignitaries were chosen by the inferior clergy, and some lay associates, and were invested, or qualified for office, by some act done by the feudal lord, if estate was annexed to the office for which allegiance was due. Charlemagne is said to have conferred the ring, the crosier, (a staff with a cross on it,) and the pallium, (a mantle or garment,) as the emblems of office. These were feudal ceremonies. When a vassal took a fief or estate from his lord, one of the ceremonies was, the clothing of the vassal, by the lord, with a *vest*, indicative of possession of the fief, and consequent allegiance. Whence the term of *investiture* was adopted, in the appointment or qualification of prelates. Gregory intended to annul this connexion between feudal lords and all officers of the church, and to make the latter exclusively dependent on himself. The great extent of landed estate held by the clergy, in the relation of vassals, throughout the Christian states, made this relation of great importance to temporal sovereigns. The success of Gregory's project would have deprived them of all superiority over the prelates, and would have transferred the allegiance to him. This project was resisted and led to a most vindictive war, which continued through 60 years, to the time of Calixtus II. A compromise was then made, and the ceremonies of the ring, crosier, and pallium, were yielded to the pope, while the emperors established the right of confirmation, and feudal superiority by touching the elected prelate with the sceptre; a concession much in favor of the popes.

The appointment of all the clergy by the pope, or by his authority. To accomplish this object, various projects were undertaken by Gregory. He could not await the slow process of vacancies by death. It was necessary to create vacancies. He intended to make a very general reform in the tenure of offices, as nearly all of them had been obtained by simony, or corrupt purchase. He tried the strength of his power, by excommunicating certain priests in the German empire, for the reason that they had purchased their offices. He required of Henry IV. to dismiss them. By this act he meant to try his strength with Henry. The requisition being disregarded, Gregory summoned Henry to Rome. This emperor was young, arbitrary, dissolute, and of very inferior education; and was, at this time, contending with some of his rebellious subjects. Henry did not obey, but assembled a number of bishops at the city of Worms, and procured a sentence that Gregory should no longer be obeyed as Pope. Gregory assembled a council in the Lateran palace, and excommunicated

Henry—deprived him of the kingdoms of Germany and Italy—discharged all his subjects from allegiance, and forbade them to obey him as sovereign. Henry found himself immediately deserted by all his adherents. Terrified and helpless, he crossed the Alps in mid-winter, by unusual and difficult paths, (to avoid his enemies,) intending to cast himself at the feet of Gregory and implore absolution.

Gregory was at Canosa, a fortress 10 miles S. W. of the city of Reggio, which is situate between Parma and Modena. This fortress belonged to Matilda, countess of Tuscany, whom Gregory was then visiting, at that place. The castle was surrounded by three walls. Henry was admitted through the two outer ones, his guards remaining without the exterior one. Here he remained three successive days, in a woollen shirt, and barefooted, "while Gregory, shut up with the countess, refused to admit him to his presence." (Hallam.) On the fourth day absolution was obtained on condition, that he should appear at a future day to learn the pope's pleasure, whether he should be restored to his kingdom. The Germans chose another emperor, (Rodolph,) on whom Gregory bestowed the crown, with a Latin verse, importing that it was given by virtue of the original commission of St. Peter. But such are human vicissitudes, that Henry recovered the throne, defeated Rodolph, procured a council to depose Gregory, and caused Clement III. to be elected, and hastened to Rome to place him on the papal throne, (in the year 1080.) Gregory passed three years as a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, but could not be induced to compromise the rights of the church. Robert Guiscard, a Norman prince, whom Gregory had made duke of Apulia, (on the N. E. coast of lower Italy,) liberated him, but the Romans compelled him to leave the city, and he died an exile at Salerno, a few miles S. E. of Naples. The spirit which he had infused into the church did not die with him. Henry died, also, dethroned, and in poverty.

The countess Matilda reigned over an extensive territory in Italy, on both sides of the Apennines. Her right was derived from count Boniface, at a time of which there are very imperfect records. This donation was made in 1077, and was renewed by the countess in 1102, in favor of Pascal II. A part of the territories included in the gift were held under feudal tenure, and liable to return to the superior lord, on failure of feudal heirs; and a part was allodial, or held in the countess' own right. Of the former description were Tuscany, the duchy of Lucca, and the cities of Mantua, Parma, Modena, and

Reggio, and their dependencies, in Lombardy. Of the second description were the lands near to Rome, since known as the patrimony of St. Peter. From this indiscriminate donation, obstinate contests arose between the popes and the emperors, (the latter being the feudal superiors of the countess,) which continued till 1115, when Frederick II. made a confirmation of the gift to pope Honorious III. The patrimony of St. Peter is bounded by the Tiber, in its south-eastwardly course, and then by its south-westwardly course, and by the Tuscan sea. This territory is about 60 miles long, and 40 wide, northwardly of Rome. (Koch, vol. 1. p. 124.)

Charlemagne having assumed to revive the empire of the west, he caused himself to be crowned in venerable Rome, and by the sacred authority of the pope, (Dec. 25, 800.) The popes converted this ceremony into an acknowledgment of their supremacy. They sought to have it believed, throughout Europe, that no person could lawfully exercise the power of emperor, who had not been crowned by a pope at Rome. To impart solemnity to a temporal act, by associating with it a religious ceremony, may have been the intention of Charles. But the popes found it practicable to make the religious ceremony the substance of the thing to be done; and to cause themselves to be regarded, not as doing an act of consecration, but as exercising a sovereign power in bestowing a crown. The crowning of Charles laid the foundation of the long and bitter conflict between the emperors and popes. The emperors sought to establish a universal monarchy, and to make the popes subordinate. The popes meant to have an unlimited hierarchy, and to make all things, and all persons, submissive to themselves. This conflict is the prominent historical trait for centuries.

Though Gregory was not successful in this twofold measure pursued with Henry, of withdrawing the clergy from temporal authority, and subjecting an emperor to the church, he was more fortunate in other measures, intended to bring the clergy under subjection. He did not remain in power long enough to accomplish some of them, but he opened the way to his successors. By a series of ingenious usurpations, all the great dignitaries of the church, in every state in Europe, were made to depend on the pope for confirmation; and, at length, the exclusive appointment was secured, with the burthensome requisition, that every metropolitan (or archbishop) should appear, in person, at Rome, to receive the pallium from the hand of the pope. He was also required to take an oath of allegiance, and

to swear to defend the pope against every man who should attempt to impair or deny his authority. The steps by which this achievement was arrived at, are fully narrated by many writers, in detail. (Hallam, Koch, Sismondi, and in histories of the church.) It is enough, for the present purpose, to state, that this dominion over the priesthood, was secured in Gregory's time, and by his successors.

Celibacy of the clergy. This was not a new measure with Gregory, but had been required, though wholly disregarded, 200 years before. The rigid enforcement of this requisition was *new*. It may be, that Gregory thought it proper that priests should not have family connexions; but a much more important object with him was, to withdraw all the clergy from a connexion with wordly cares and interests, and to concentrate all hopes, fears and affections in the church, and its supreme head. Very serious difficulties followed the command to all ecclesiastics, to put away their wives, and to separate themselves from their families. It is suggested that these difficulties induced Gregory to raise up a new order of priesthood, next to be mentioned.

The religious orders. There had been numerous orders of religious persons from an early age of the church, united in fraternities, and holding extensive landed estates under the name of monasteries. All these ecclesiastics, as such tenants, were bound to some feudal duties, and could not be made so exclusively dependent on the head of the church as the system of Gregory required. The rules prescribed to the religious orders, (with some amendments by other hands,) by St. Benedict, had governed all these orders up to the time of Gregory. To him is attributed the design of separating them from the established church, and making them an efficient army, dependent on the popes only. They were intended to penetrate into the very bosom of society, and to obtain an absolute empire over the thoughts of men; in short, to create and maintain a despotism over the mind, deriving its character entirely from the papal head. This system was begun in Gregory's time, by an order at Grandmont, in Lamousin, the south-west of France. This was followed by the order of Carthusians, in the same age. The mendicant orders began in the time of Innocent III., about the year 1200. These monkish orders had increased to such numbers, that Gregory X., who was pope from 1271 to 1276, reduced them to four orders:—1. The Augustines. 2. The Carmelites. 3. The Franciscans. 4. The Dominicans. The two latter orders were the special ministers of the popes,

and are usually spoken of as the *mendicant orders*. "Never," says professor Gieseler, "had the popes possessed instruments so well fitted to work on the mass of the people, as now in the mendicant monks; and it was natural, therefore, that they should seek to increase their consequence by conferring on them various privileges." [Cunningham's translation, vol. 2. p. 291.]

By degrees, these orders were exempted from all jurisdiction of the bishops, and made accountable only to their own "generals," and to the popes. They were bound to severe privations under solemn oath, and among others, to that of poverty, and were required to subsist on charity, whence their name of mendicants. But they were compensated by great privileges; they were authorized to preach, to receive the confession of sins, and to be instructors of the young. They were employed as legates and missionaries, and rose to be highly respected and feared even by sovereigns, while they obtained an unbounded influence over the people. It could not be otherwise than that such a powerful body, familiar to every part of the Christian world, and capable of insinuating themselves among all descriptions of persons of both sexes, should acquire an absolute control over the members of society. Nor could they act otherwise than to devote themselves to the exaltation of that authority from which they derived all their importance. Intelligent, adroit, artful, no act could be done among men to which they were not parties. The apparent austerity of their own lives permitted them to exercise an unlimited authority over the hopes and fears of the laity, as to future life. So entirely successful was this measure of extending and confirming the papal supremacy, that the regular clergy were compelled to submit themselves, and to follow these new dignitaries, instead of leading, as they before had done, their respective Christian communities. This theory was simple, and easily practicable, in that age of ignorance and barbarism. Like theories have been adopted in ages better informed in political affairs. If a chief can identify his own supremacy with a host of dependent interested supporters, a power arises which truth and reason cannot control, nor successfully resist.

The independence of the clergy on all temporal tribunals, and the clerical jurisdiction over the persons and property of laymen. In the time of Charlemagne, the clergy, being the most learned and capable, were called to the administration of justice. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the courts, mostly composed of ecclesiastical judges, assumed exclusive jurisdiction over all persons and property connected with the

church. This assumption gradually extended itself by direct and indirect means. It was made soon to include all persons who needed protection against temporal power. Orphans, widows, strangers, the poor pilgrims, and every description of persons in distress, were taken under the care of this jurisdiction. This included all persons who were engaged in the crusades. The temporal tribunals admitted that spiritual tribunals had jurisdiction, exclusively, in all spiritual controversies. By construction, almost every act done by men might have a spiritual character, as it implied right or wrong, and might therefore be *sinful*, and consequently a proper subject for a *religious* judge. Though litigations on the right to landed estate could not be brought into clerical courts, as this right depended on evidence of facts, yet wherever there was a trust connected with an oath, so that the conscience of a party might be dealt with, jurisdiction was assumed. All questions of person or property arising from the relation of marriage, fell under the same jurisdiction. All persons who made wills or testaments, were reminded of the duty of providing for the church, and these instruments were usually drawn up by a priest. Consequently the settlement of estates devolved on the clerical tribunals, because the church was therein interested. Various crimes, as they were emphatically *sins*, and consequently offences against the church, were drawn to the same tribunals. Such comprehensive judicial power required means to execute sentences. Excommunication, however terrible, was not adequate in all cases. The right of imprisoning *lay* offenders was acquired by bishops. *Clerical* offenders were imprisoned in monasteries. These brief suggestions disclose the progress of a tremendous power which veiled its arrogance and usurpations under a tender care of men's souls, while it in fact disposed, according to its own will, of person and property, in almost all the relations of life. This power (as will be next seen) extended itself to princes and kingdoms.

The final jurisdiction of the head of the church, in all cases, by way of appeal. It was easy for the popes, Gregory VII. setting the example, to encourage an appeal to the supreme head at Rome, in all controversies between clergymen, whether relating to person or property. The unsuccessful party, in any inferior tribunal, would naturally hope a favorable result in a new investigation. Hence arose the practice of bringing numerous suits before this appellate jurisdiction. But this did not satisfy papal ambition. Cases which did not concern clergymen, nor laymen, whether as to person, or property, or

crime, (which had fallen under ecclesiastical courts, as before stated,) were carried, by appeal, to Rome. Thus Philip of France, and Richard of England, contending for the right to a fief, an appeal was made to Innocent III. "Though I cannot judge," said he, "as to the right to a fief, yet it is in my province to judge whether *sin* is committed, and to prevent all public scandals." The same pope ordered the king of Navarre to restore certain castles to Richard, on pain of excommunication. He also assumed a general supervision over all princes and kingdoms, requiring that all disputes among them should be referred to the pope. The instances of this interposition are numerous; and disobedience to the papal mandate usually drew down the grievous sentence of excommunication.

The most remarkable of all the instances of papal usurpation was that of Innocent III. over John, king of England. In 1199, a vacancy happened in the see of Canterbury. The monks elected John, bishop of Norwich, recommended and confirmed by the king. At the same time they secretly chose Reginald, their own sub-prior, and sent him to Rome for institution. Innocent reversed both elections, and nominated Stephen Langton. The monks obeyed the pope. The king expelled the monks, and confiscated their property. In 1201, Innocent excommunicated John, who did not regard this exercise of power. In 1211, Innocent absolved all John's subjects from allegiance, and commanded them to avoid his presence. This measure not proving effectual, Innocent deposed John, gave his kingdom to Philip Augustus of France, and commanded Philip to take possession by force of arms, and proclaimed a crusade against John as an infidel and heretic. At the moment of a final appeal to arms, Pandulph, the pope's legate, appeared at John's camp at Dover, and presented the final decree of the pope:—That John should resign his crown to the legate, and receive it again as a present from the holy see; declare his dominions tributary, do homage, and swear fealty as a vassal and feudatory to Innocent. The pusillanimous and terrified king of England yielded to these conditions, surrendered his kingdom, took the oath on his knees, and received his crown again from the hand of Pandulph, as the representative of the pope.

The canon law. The judicial authority of the Roman church having been extended to so many persons and subjects, a code of laws was thought necessary as rules for the courts. Gratian, an Italian monk, published, in 1151, a general collection of canons, epistles, and sentences, arranged after the

manner of the civil law, which had then become a subject of study. In 1234, Raimond de Pennafort, by order of Gregory IX., made a compilation in five books, entitled *Decretalia Gregorii noni*. Additions were made to this code by successors of Gregory IX. Boniface VIII. added a sixth book, in 1298, called *Sextus decretalium*. In 1317, the Clementine constitutions (by Clement V.) were added by John XXII., who added twenty constitutions of his own. Later popes added other decrees in five books, called *extravagantes communes*. As these compilations were made when the supremacy of the popes had been assumed over all temporal power, they were adapted to protect that supremacy. The main purpose was to establish, *by law*, the subjection of kings and princes to the spiritual authority. It declared that subjects owe no obedience to an excommunicated lord; and that a pope may dethrone the emperor for lawful causes, of which, of course, the pope was the sole judge. The canon law, therefore, was, politically, only the publication, in the form of a code, of the bold usurpations of successive popes. In other respects, this law was entitled to great consideration in that age, and has since been intermingled with the jurisprudence of all Christian nations.

At the time of the promulgation of the canon law, the civil law was diligently studied in many parts of Europe. The study of the canon law was enjoined on all ecclesiastical judges. Hence arose two new orders of learned men, the jurists and the canonists. The two codes became illustrative of each other; and these two orders made their respective commentaries as new cases and new applications of principles arose. Dr. Robertson says of the canon law,—“That as a system to assist the clergy in usurping powers, jurisdiction, &c., we must pronounce it one of the most formidable engines ever formed against the happiness of civil society. If we contemplate it merely as a code of laws respecting the rights and property of individuals, and attend only to its civil effects as to these, we must view it in a different, and much more favorable light.” The effect of this usurpation by the popes is still felt. The canon and the civil law are the rules in several courts of England: 1. The ecclesiastical. 2. The military courts. 3. The admiralty courts. 4. The courts of the two universities. But the courts of common law have the superintendency over these courts; to keep them within their jurisdiction, to determine wherein they exceed them, to restrain and prohibit such excess, and, in case of contumacy, to punish

the officer who executes, and, in some cases, the judge who enforces the sentence so declared to be illegal.

Besides the papal institutions, there were many decrees of synods or ecclesiastical councils, especially in England, which may be ranked as parts of the canon law. At the dawn of the reformation (in the time of Henry VIII.) an act passed for the revision of the canon law, and providing that until that revision was made, all canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, then already made, and not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative, should still be used and executed. No such revision has been made. Clerical canons, made since that time, have no authority as to the laity, unless confirmed by act of parliament. (Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 74.)

The provisions of the canon law gradually extended the power of the prelates over the personal estate of all persons, on the event of death. This property was taken possession of by them, to be disposed of in releasing the soul from purgatory, and in doing such charitable acts as the deceased ought to have done in his life-time. The execution of wills, for like reasons, was assumed by the churchmen. It was their business, also, to take cognizance of the rights and duties of husbands and wives, because any violations of these were *sins*. Out of these original usurpations arose the several ecclesiastical courts now known in London at Doctors' Commons. Under the prerogatives of the archbishop of Canterbury, (by his surrogates or deputies holding courts of different names,) wills are proved, letters of administration granted, estates settled, and divorces decreed. These proceedings are now regulated by statutes, and are part of the settled law, though they originated in papal arrogance.

Benefit of clergy. At an early period of the Christian church, certain places were deemed *holy*, and no person could be arrested in such places by any temporal authority, for any crime. Hence arose *flying to the sanctuary*. About the same time, clergymen were held to be exempted from liability to answer in any temporal court, for any crime, however heinous. As ability to read was evidence of being a clergyman, the exemption (under clerical management) was extended to all who had that ability. A convicted felon could save himself from punishment by falling on his knees before his temporal judge, and praying *the benefit of clergy*, by showing he could read. This subject has held its place in the law, at least from the year 1352 (25 of Edward III.) to 1779, (19 of George

III.) within which time many statutes were passed, gradually limiting the clerical exemption. Since the latter period it is usual, both in England and the United States, to provide in statutes that certain crimes shall be punished, and that the *benefit of clergy* shall not be pleaded as exemption. This plea is now rarely made. That it ever could have been made, implies that the ignorant, who might not have been able to distinguish between right and wrong, must be punished; while the well-informed, were exempt, for the reason that they were capable of making the distinction. (See vol. iv. Blackstone's Com. chap. 28.)

From the time that Rome, in common with other cities, was freed from the dominion of the German emperors, up to the time of Innocent III., that city had been in a state of insubordination and anarchy. The character of the Romans is drawn in these words by one who held the rank of ambassador:—"They are men too proud to obey, too ignorant to rule; faithless to superiors, insupportable to inferiors; shameless in asking, insolent in refusing; importunate in obtaining favors, ungrateful when they have obtained them; most profuse in promise, most niggardly in performance; the smoothest flatterers, and the most venomous detractors." Of such a people it would be of little utility to give an account. The political sovereignty of the pope, acquired by Innocent, had little tendency to change these characteristics of the Romans for the better. This able pontiff secured, also, the temporal authority over the territories which have ever since been known as the states of the church. The history of Rome, for centuries, was little else than the history of the merciless wars carried on between noble families. The most distinguished among them were those of Colonna and Ursini. These families veiled their natural hereditary enmity under the names of Guelfs and Ghibelines. (See Gibbon, chap. lxix.)

CHAPTER LIX.

MEASURES OF THE POPES TO SUBJECT ALL TEMPORAL AUTHORITY TO THEMSELVES.

THE declaration of papal supremacy by Gregory VII., has been already stated. From the time of that pontiff (1073—

1085) to that of Innocent III., (1198—1216,) the papal power had been gaining strength. Innocent felt himself strong enough to declare, in one of his epistles,—“The successor of St. Peter was intended by God, not only to govern the church, but the whole world.” On another occasion, he said, “As God has placed two great luminaries in the firmament, the one to rule the day, the other the night, so he has established two great powers, the pontifical and the royal; and as the moon receives its light from the sun, so the royal authority borrows its splendor and authority from that of the pontifical.”

Innocent was of noble birth, and highly educated for that time. He became pope at the age of thirty-seven. He had the will and the ability to carry the theory, expressed in the words above ascribed to him, into full effect. He induced the inhabitants of Rome to take an oath of allegiance to him, the civil government of Rome not having before been connected with that of the church.

The reign of Innocent was distinguished by many acts designed to increase the pontifical authority in the church, as well as to extend that authority over temporal sovereigns. In the year 1215 he held a council at Rome, one of the most numerous and dignified ever assembled. In this council the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, or the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ at the eucharist, was recognized as a fundamental principle; and Innocent is considered as the inventor of that term, or as having adopted, and as giving it a place in church doctrines.* At the same council the *sacramental confession* was established, by which the system of auricular confession, still observed, was also made fundamental in the church. A searching and powerful influence was thereby given to all grades of clergy over the most secret acts and thoughts of all professors of Christianity. This confession was enjoined periodically, and was liable to be followed by bodily penance, and this might secure absolution. Neither of these subjects were then new in the church, but they were enforced and established, conclusively, by this council.

* In 831, Radbert, a monk, maintained that after the consecration of the bread and wine, nothing remains of those symbols except the outward figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present. Secondly, that the body of Christ thus present, is the same body which was born of the virgin, which suffered on the cross, and was raised from the dead. (Waddington's History of the Church, p. 220.) It was not until the council held by Innocent III., in 1215, that the doctrine of the *actual presence* was established, and the name (as Waddington says, p. 286) of *transubstantiation* given to it by Innocent.

The great achievement of Innocent was the attempt to extirpate heresy. Several sects had appeared who maintained doctrines variant from the Roman church. Some of these sects were hostile, as they condemned the profligacy and corruption of prelates, and the usurpation and tyranny which Innocent approved and promoted. The origin and theories of these sects cannot be here stated, as a much more extensive space would be required than can be thereto given; and, for the further reason, that these topics belong rather to church history. There are many readers who feel a lively interest in the origin and history of the religious sects which the Roman church regarded as heretical. Such readers may find some gratification in the perusal of Gibbon's 54th chapter of *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. There is a learned inquiry into the history of these sects, in the text and in the notes of Hallam's *History of the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 314, &c., or chapter ix. part II.

The names of these sects were, 1. The Petrobrussians, who appeared in Provence and Languedoc, in the south of France. 2. The Henricians, who were known from Lausanne in Switzerland, westwardly to Bordeaux. 3. The Cathari and Paulicians, supposed to have originated in the east, and who spread over the west of Europe. 4. The Vaudois, a sect supposed to have originated in Lyons. 5. The Albigenses, so named from the city of Albi, in Languedoc. 6. The Waldenses, known at Lyons and in Switzerland. It was against the Albigenses, especially, that Innocent devoted the full force of the pontifical authority. In the sketches of France, this persecution has been mentioned. The Albigenses attracted the notice of Innocent because they were protected by the earl of Toulouse, Raymond VI. In 1198 two papal legates were sent among these heretics. Several others were afterwards sent, the most prominent a Spaniard, named Dominic. These missionaries acquired the name of *inquisitors*, as they diligently inquired into the acts and opinions of those whom they suspected to be heretics. From this humble beginning arose that tremendous power of the church which has since been known as the *Inquisition*. Hitherto, the church had no physical force by which to execute its decrees. Excommunication was addressed to the *mind*, subdued and enslaved by terror of papal denunciation. The sovereigns of Europe would have disregarded this denunciation, but they could not prevent its effect on their subjects. When an excommunication was disregarded, the popes could go no further, unless they could

avail themselves of military power, or the strength of the civil authority. To that power they could resort by appealing to the cupidity or ambition of friendly sovereigns, as in the case of Philip Augustus, and John, of England. Innocent discovered the means of availing himself of the civil authority. The Dominicans and Franciscans were the two monkish orders whom Innocent employed. One priest and three laymen formed an inquisitorial council, but the power of *judging* of the crimes alleged, and of punishing them, was not arrogated by this council. This system of inconceivable horror and abomination was thus begun by Innocent, but was not perfected until the time of the next pope, but one, to him, who was Gregory IX., who reigned from 1227 to 1241.

The papal *will* to subject all who differed from the church, or who were suspected of doing so, or who, in any way, declined abject submission, had been sufficiently manifested. The *power to punish* was yet to be acquired. Gregory found means to erect tribunals composed exclusively of Dominicans. At first, the civil authority was necessary to punish, when the judgment had been pronounced. But a power which could make such progress, could soon acquire the authority of perfecting the system, and assert the right and duty to dispose of person and of life.

It should be remarked that the original purpose of Gregory VII., sustained by Innocent III., was to create a power dependent exclusively on the popes, competent to control the regular clergy, no less than the laity. This power was found in the monks, who were equally independent of the laity and clergy, and who were the instruments through which the papal authority was directly exercised. It is astonishing that in any age of the world a tribunal was permitted to arise and to flourish, dignified with the name of the *holy inquisition*, or *holy office*, which could arraign any person, and subject him to agonizing torture, and wring from his own lips whatsoever confession was wanted to deprive him of fortune and honor, and send him to cruel execution. It is obvious that such a power would minister to the worst of corrupt cravings. It was used not only to punish those whom the Inquisitors thought proper to consider as really heretical, according to an honest meaning of that term, but to annihilate enemies, and acquire riches. A necessary consequence of heretical condemnation involved the forfeiture of all wordly possessions. The Mahommedans of Spain, and the Jews, every where, were the victims of this infernal tribunal. It obtained only a short-lived reign in France.

It was closely watched in Venice. It was terrible in some parts of Spain. It was computed that there were 20,000 officers of the inquisition in that country, who were called familiars, and who served as spies and informers. This tribunal was not established in Germany, the Netherlands, or Naples, or the British isles. Its triumphant dominion belongs to a later age than that now under consideration.

Parties, whether in politics or religion, if strong enough to control opponents, cannot be stationary; they must follow the analogy of nature, and tend to a conclusion. The church was preparing for the end of its own tyrannical dominion, when it asserted and maintained, that "*the quality of Roman Catholic had wholly superseded that of man, and even of Christian; he who is not a Roman Catholic may be justly deprived of life, and it is a good action to kill him.*" (Villers' prize Essay on the Reformation.) This was the principle on which the popes of Rome granted heathen countries, and consigned their inhabitants to death, by the Christian's sword.

In the 236 years of Pontifical grandeur, (1073 to 1303) several other powers were assumed by the popes, which may be comprised under the head of *dispensing, enabling, and compulsory*. They could absolve a sovereign from his oath. In the controversies which arose between sovereigns and their subjects, (as in England,) the sovereign was sometimes bound to observe his engagements under that solemnity. Treaties were sometimes formed, the observance of which was disadvantageous, or inconvenient. In such cases, the popes assumed to discharge the party from his obligations. If the wife of a sovereign was an obstacle to his interest or wishes, the popes assumed to dissolve the marriage contract. If there were obstacles to a desired marriage, from consanguinity, or any other cause, the popes would remove that obstacle. If the fact of illegitimacy was a disqualification to inheritance, the popes could remove the disability. If a sovereign married a person whom a pope thought to be too nearly connected by relationship, he could dissolve the marriage and force the parties to separate. If a wife was repudiated by a sovereign, the pope could compel him to take her back again. In a word, these pontiffs assumed an absolute dominion over right and justice, in any and every case, substituting their own will therefor, and raising themselves above any earthly accountability.

Gregory IX. was pope in 1241, and the two following years; and contemporary of Frederick II. Papal magnificence, at this time, is described by Waddington, p. 335—6. "On the

day of his coronation, he was covered with gold and jewels. Having said mass at St. Peter's, he returned wearing two crowns, mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, surrounded by cardinals clothed in purple. The streets were spread with tapestry, inlaid with gold and silver. The prefect and senators of Rome, were on foot, holding his bridle." Gregory excommunicated Frederick II. twice, for not departing on a crusade to the holy land. Frederick wrote several letters on the papal tyranny, and the perversion of the church. Waddington has some extracts from one to Henry III., of England, and among them these :—"The Roman church so burns with avarice, that, as the ecclesiastical revenues do not content it, it is not ashamed to despoil sovereign princes, and make them tributary. You have a very touching example in your father, king John; you have that also of the count of Toulouse, and so many other princes, whose kingdoms it holds under interdict, until it has reduced them to similar servitude. I speak not of the simonies, the unheard of exactions, which it exercises over the clergy; the manifest or cloaked usuries, with which it infects the whole world. In the mean time, these insatiable leeches use honeyed discourses, saying, that the court of Rome is the church, our mother and nurse, while it is our step-mother, in the source of every evil. It sends, on every side, legates, with power to suspend, to punish, to excommunicate; not to diffuse the word of God, but to amass money, and reap that which they have not sown. And so they pillage churches, monasteries, and other places of religion, which our fathers have founded for the support of pilgrims and the poor."

Though Frederick had abundant reason to speak vindictively, it is improbable that he did, or could exaggerate, on the topics of papal arrogance, avarice, or despotism. It is very obvious that cravings are the same in every age, means little variant, and success much the same, whether the cloak be religion, liberty, or politics—or the agents are princes, priests, or people.

The power of the pontiffs could not be greater than it has already been shown to have been. But in the time of Boniface VIII. pretensions to still higher power were made. He was in the papal chair from 1294 to 1303. This person was a native of the town of Agnani, forty miles south-east of Rome. He had attained to the age of 77 when elected. The two last centuries had materially changed the intelligence and the opinions of Europeans. The dread of papal power had diminished, in some degree. Whether Boniface was ignorant of this, or,

knowing it, was more solicitous to counteract the tendency to insubordination, may be doubtful. Whatever the fact may have been, no pontiff, not even Innocent or Gregory, pretended to such absolute dominion. He applied a force to the papal machinery which it was not strong enough to sustain: though essentially impaired, it was not ruined; while Boniface himself perished in the effort.

It is uncertain whether Gregory IX., or whether Boniface VIII. added a second crown to that which the popes had assumed. In 1298 Albert of Austria, asked of Boniface confirmation of his election as emperor. He was answered,—“It is I who am Cæsar. It is I who am emperor. It is I who will defend the rights of the empire!” He placed, it is said, the imperial crown on his own head, and thence the popes assumed a *double* crown. Urban V. (pope from 1362 to 1370) added the third crown, whence the *triple* crown of the pontiffs. Boniface interposed in all the intentions of the kings and princes of Europe. He said to Philip, king of France, “God has set me over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down; and to destroy and to throw down; to build and to plant in his name, and by his doctrine. Let no one persuade you that you have no superior, or that you are not subject to the chief of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.” The principal event in the life of this pontiff was his warfare with this king of France. The French clergy had maintained some degree of independence as to the popes, in virtue of the pragmatic sanction of St. Louis, (or Louis IX.,) which had established “the liberties of the Gallician church,” in the year 1269. Philip had imposed a tax on the clergy. Boniface issued a bull, in which he pronounced excommunication on all who should tax the clergy, whether kings, princes or magistrates, and on all who should pay taxes by them imposed. Philip interdicted the export of money, jewels, and other valuables from his kingdom, whereby the pope’s revenues were much diminished. These measures did not produce an avowed warfare. In 1301, Philip arrested and imprisoned a bishop. Boniface commanded Philip to release him, and Philip refusing to do this, Boniface published a bull of excommunication, and required all the clergy of France to attend him at Rome. Philip publicly burnt the bull, and prohibited the clergy from going to Rome. This was followed by the celebrated bull known under the name of *unam sanctam*, wherein it is asserted, “that there is one head of the church, Christ; Christ’s vicar, St. Peter, and the successor of St. Peter. That in the power of

this chief are two swords, the one spiritual, the other material; that the former of these is to be used *by* the church, the latter *for* the church: the former is in the hand of the priest, the latter in the hand of kings and soldiers, but at the nod and sufferance of the priest." Philip, in answer to this declaration, ordered an assembly of all the clergy in his dominions, intending to denounce the pope, and declare his own independence. But, apprehensive that the clergy might not accord with *him*, he meanwhile adopted another course, which, considering the state of public opinion at that time, was more audacious than any thing done by the pope.

William of Nogaret, a celebrated French civilian, with certain members of the noble family of Colonna, who had fled to Paris from the persecution of Boniface, assembled three hundred horsemen, and a military force on foot, went to Italy, and presented themselves at Agnani, where Boniface was then residing. They broke into his palace with the cry of "Success to the king of France; death to Boniface." The pope's attendants fled. He dressed himself in his pontifical robes, placed the crown of Constantine on his head, grasped the keys and the cross, and seated himself in the papal chair. One of the Colonnas came first into his presence; Nogaret came next. "William of Nogaret!" said the pope, "descended from a race of heretics; it is from thee, and such as thee, that I can patiently endure injuries." The followers of Colonna and Nogaret had dispersed themselves through the palace, to gather plunder. No personal violence, whatever the original design may have been, appears to have been attempted; and no object appears to have been gained, but that of having insulted and braved the pontifical majesty. The people of Agnani having recovered from their panic, assembled in arms, attacked the invaders, and massacred some of them, and put the remainder to flight. This outrage first broke the spirit of Boniface, and then the violence of his passion is said to have deprived him of reason. He hurried to Rome, and is represented to have refused nourishment, and to have been incapable of repose—gnashing his teeth in silence, his mouth white with foam. He excluded all attendants, and shut himself up; and when his servants forced an opening to his room, he was dead, with such marks of violence as led to the supposition of having anticipated the natural termination of life. (October 10th, 1303.)

Though the reign of Boniface was short, it was an eventful one. Among other institutions, he founded the Jubilee, in 1299; borrowed, perhaps, from the Jewish institution of the

same name, but for very different purposes. Plenary indulgence was granted to all who should appear at Rome, confess their sins, partake of the sacrament, and visit certain churches. This was a contrivance to enrich the church treasury, and was so successful, that the jubilee was changed by successive popes from fifty to thirty-three years, and then to twenty-five. Churches were appointed in different parts of Christendom, where the benefits of the jubilee could be obtained by those who could not appear at Rome. In this, as in many other cases in the Roman church, there is a strong resemblance to the pagan institutions of the East, (especially, as will be shown, in India,) where periodical assemblies, feasts, gifts, and sacrifices, enrich a craving, idle priesthood. It is affirmed that from Christmas to Easter, not less than 1,200,000 persons visited Rome; and these were replaced by others, causing a prodigious gain to the church, and to the citizens of Rome. An Italian historian, (Matt. Villani,) says, "the streets were perpetually full, so that every one was obliged, on foot, or on horseback, to go with the crowd," (in making the circuit to the three appointed churches.) It is said that the holy napkin of Christ was shown at St. Peter's every Sunday, and on festival days. So great was the press, that many persons were found crushed or trampled to death.

Historians consider the grandeur of the Roman church to have declined from the time of Boniface. Habits and prejudices had so associated themselves with hopes and fears, and with clerical authority, that the decline was very gradual; and it required yet two full centuries to prepare even a part of the people of Europe for that great event known under the name of the *Reformation*.

Benedict XI. succeeded Boniface, but reigned less than nine months. The same Philip the Fair, king of France, is more than suspected of having caused the death of Benedict by poison. His motive is explained by the fact, that by means of well-concerted intrigues, he procured the election of a creature of his own, the archbishop of Bordeaux, and transferred the papal throne from Rome to Avignon, in his own kingdom. Clement V. thus elected, in fact by Philip, was the first in the succession of bishops who reigned at Avignon seventy-three years. It was during this period, and about 1347, that the celebrated Cola di Rienza appeared at Rome, and enjoyed there, for a time, a singular popularity, by which he raised himself to a supremacy approaching that of royalty. It was,

however, a short-lived grandeur, as his qualities were not adapted to preserve an ascendancy over so turbulent and so lawless a population as that of Rome. He was put to death by the same people who had made him a sovereign.*

CHAPTER LX.

Popes in France—Great schism—Council of Constance.

THE character and conduct of the popes who held the pontifical throne at Avignon, from 1305 to 1378, were odious and profligate beyond any example which had occurred during four centuries. Not only did these popes and the members of their court pervert all the canons of the church to acquire riches, but they expended their acquisitions in such vices as gave Avignon the reputation of another Babylon. The papal pretensions were much impaired by the mere circumstance of the place of residence. Rome, from long-continued associations, was the proper seat of ecclesiastical empire. The popes had no temporal superior in that city. At Avignon, all the Christian nations of Europe considered them to be under the control of the kings of France. These facts, together with the better information which was gradually arising in Europe, had a strong tendency to impair the papal authority.

Many attempts were made, under various impulses, to induce the popes to return to Rome. This object was effected in the time of Gregory XI., who took up his residence in that city, and died there in 1378. It was an established rule, that the successor of a pope must be elected at the place where that pope had deceased. The people of Rome, who had felt the various evils and privations which the long absence of the popes had occasioned, demanded, with violent threats, the election of a Roman, or at least of an Italian. Seventeen of twenty-four cardinals were there present, and of these seventeen, twelve were Frenchmen. The assembly of a riotous and clamorous body around the place of election, computed at thirty thousand, and the piling up of combustibles around the palace, had the effect intended, at the end of eleven days. An Italian was elected, who took the title of Urban VI. His

* The story of this remarkable man has been written in the spirit of romance, by Bulwer.

name was Bartolomeo Prignano, then archbishop of Bari. In a few weeks the discontented in the conclave of cardinals withdrew from Rome, and assuming that the election of Urban had been compulsory, they elected a Frenchman, who took the name of Clement VII., and who established himself at Avignon. This person was then called Robert, the cardinal of Geneva; the place of election was Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, sixty miles south-east of Rome. Hence arose "the Great Schism" of the church, which continued from 1378 to 1417, during which time there were *two* popes, and a part of the time, *three*. All attempts to induce one or both of the opponent pontiffs to resign, were unavailing. To remove the scandal, a numerous council of prelates assembled at Pisa in 1409, and elected Alexander V. for the purpose of superseding both the others. Instead of effecting this object, this proceeding only placed a third person in the papal dignity. Such conflicts among men of the church could not fail to bring odium on the whole body of prelates, and especially to impair the respect and confidence which laymen had entertained for the offices, if not for the persons, of ecclesiastics. The denunciations of popes, formerly so terrible, were now principally interchanged between the popes themselves. The church itself, and all its associations, were falling into contempt, and the only remedy seemed to be an authoritative council, in which all the Christian nations of Europe should be represented, as well by laymen, as by clergymen.

Hence arose the Council of Constance, held at the city of that name, on the lake of Constance, in Switzerland. The first session was in November, 1414. At this time there had been elections in continuation of the line of popes elected at Rome, and at Fondi in 1378, and at Pisa in 1409. Under the election at Rome, Gregory XII., under that at Fondi, Benedict XIII., under that at Pisa, John XXIII., were respectively successors. Gregory had retired to Rimini, a city on the coast of the Adriatic, directly north of Rome. Benedict had retired to Perpignan, one hundred miles south-east of Bordeaux, on the borders of France and Spain. John attended the council at Constance. The English, the Germans, the French and the Italians, were represented in this council as distinct nations. After Benedict had been disposed of, the Spaniards (who had supported him) came in as the fifth nation. The concourse of persons was very great, as multitudes attended from all parts of Europe, who were not members of the council. Of prelates, twenty-nine cardinals, three

hundred bishops and archbishops, and a corresponding proportion of inferior clergy were present, besides the laymen, princes, and learned civilians, and at the head of all appeared Sigismund, emperor of Germany, who, in right of rank and talents, was the presiding officer. The first session began November 1st, 1414. The principal objects were to heal the schism, to reform the discipline, regulate the lives of the clergy, and to ascertain and establish the powers, rights, and duties of the papal crown.

John proposed that he should be acknowledged as the lawful head of the church, by the deposing of his official adversaries; and insisted that this measure necessarily took precedence of all others. The council were of opinion that their power extended to all three of the popes, and, after a long and animated discussion, John was deposed, as well as the other two. He fled, was pursued, was taken and imprisoned, and kept in confinement three years in Germany. Gregory consented to resign; but Benedict, though visited personally by the king of Arragon, and by Sigismund, obstinately retained his pretensions, and died pope, enjoining on his only two cardinals who remained faithful to him, to choose a successor.

The three incumbents having been displaced, the council engaged in the business of reform, intending to establish rules on all controverted points, and, especially, for the future government of the popes. The cardinals and prelates had address enough to persuade the members of the council, though against the judgment of the eminent laymen, and of Sigismund, among others, that a pope ought first to be chosen. A body of electors was agreed on, consisting of the sacred college, and deputies from each nation, so that the new pope should have the approbation and support of all Europe. The concurrence of two thirds of the electors was required. On the 8th of November, 1417, Otho Colonna, a Roman, was chosen, who was called "noble and virtuous." The council had now been engaged three years, and the variety and interest of its discussions may be judged of from the fact, that the displacing of the three other popes, and the election of Colonna, were the only acts in which the council had concurred, and which had any permanent consequence.

Colonna took the name of Martin V. The council then proceeded in the business of reform. The several articles of reform are thus enumerated:—1. The number, quality, and nation of the cardinals. 2. The reservations of the holy see. 3. Annates, (or the right of the popes to one year's product of

estates on the happening of vacancies in office.) 4. Collations (appointments) to benefices and expectative graces, (appointments by anticipation of expected vacancies.) 5. What causes ought to be treated in the court of Rome. 6. Appeals to the same court. 7. The offices of the chancery and penitentiary. 8. Exemptions granted and unions made during the schism. 9. Commendams, (a mode of appointment to office.) 10. The confirmation of elections. 11. Intermediates, (revenues of livings or estates during vacancies.) 12. Alienation of the property of the Roman and other churches. 13. In what cases a pope may be corrected and deposed, and by what means. 14. The extirpation of simony, (the corrupt purchase of office.) 15. Dispensations, (that is, the power of the pope to dispense with the observance of the law.) 16. Provision for the popes and cardinals. 17. Indulgences, (or permission to commit sins.) 18. Tenths; the right to one-tenth of agricultural products. [Waddington's History of the Church.]

This enumeration implies a very corrupt state of the church, as it involves, not the subjects which the enemies of the church thought proper for reformation, but those which the prelates themselves so considered. If these subjects had been dealt with by that assembly as some of its members, and especially the emperor Sigismund, knew to be proper and necessary, the Roman church would, probably, have been now the only church known among Christians. Fortunately for the Christian world, "the noble and virtuous Roman" Martin V., thought proper to put an end to inquiry and discussion. Assuming, with his new dignity, all the authority which his predecessors had arrogated, he labored to dismiss the council, without the accomplishment of any important reform. On the 2d of May, 1418, the council was dismissed. The measures of the new pope to elude reformation excited great dissatisfaction among many members of the council. A formal deputation was sent to Sigismund to pray his interposition. He desired them to remember how steadily they had opposed his wishes to accomplish the reformation *before* a pope was elected, and recommended to them, now they had obtained their pope, to apply to *him* for reform.

Before Martin was elected, it had been ordained that there should be a council once in every ten years, for the regulation of the church. This order was founded on the principle, not unfrequently suggested by sovereigns in Europe while in conflict with the Holy See, that general councils had a controlling power, even over the popes themselves. Though Martin and

his successors were obliged to comply with this order, it was a delusive compliance, either as to time or place, and none of the great purposes intended, when the council of Constance was convened, were ever accomplished.

Among the extraordinary transactions of the council of Constance, and as the most striking exposition of the character of the age, the condemnation of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague, should be mentioned. The queen of Richard II., of England, was a Bohemian princess. On Richard's death she returned to Bohemia. Either by some one in her train, or some other hand, the works of Wickliffe, the English reformer, were known there. John Huss adopted his opinions, and a numerous sect arose in that country, who bore the name of Hussites. The ascendancy of this person, and his opposition to the established church, were so serious, as to induce the council to command his personal attendance. He came under a letter of protection from the emperor Sigismund. He was accused of heresy, arraigned and tried before the council. He made a learned and eloquent defence of his opinions. On the 6th of July, 1415, Huss was burnt as a heretic. Jerome, of Prague, a layman, was a disciple of Huss, and his superior in learning and eloquence. His eminent distinction caused him to be summoned before this council of nations. He appeared in April, 1416, was accused, arraigned, tried, and condemned; and on the 23d of May, 1416, was burnt. The details of these disgraceful tragedies are highly interesting. These men suffered imprisonment, the most offensive indignities, and painful death, for the profession of opinions which are now, substantially, the creed and the principle of practice, with all Christians who are not held in the darkness and despotism of the Roman church.

From the election of Martin V. to the commencement of the reformation, was about one hundred years. In this space of time there were eleven pontiffs of various characters. The general tendency of church affairs was from bad to worse. No further notice can be taken, in these brief sketches, of the progress of decline, than to mention some of the most remarkable among these pontiffs, and some of the events which led to the great revolution in the Christian world in the days of Luther.

Martin V. was pope till 1431, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV., from 1431 to 1447. The election of Eugenius is said to have arisen from this accident:—Each of the electors intended, in the first essay, to learn the designs of the others,

and therefore threw away his vote on some one of the conclave whom no one intended to elect. It happened that two-thirds of the votes were thus thrown away on Eugenius, because he was the most unfit person for the office. He was chosen, and was, probably, that one who did most to bring the papal authority into contempt. A remarkable event occurred in his time, the union of the Greek and Latin churches, at a treaty began at Ferrara and ended at Florence, at which the pope and the Greek emperor were present. The same day on which this treaty was signed by the pope, he was deposed by the council sitting at Basle. Of these events an account is contained in Gibbon's 66th chapter of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Nicholas V. (from 1447 to 1455) was a man of literature, and the patron of learned men. The revival of ancient learning engaged many minds, and none more than that of Nicholas. He founded the Vatican library, and multiplied copies of manuscripts. He repaired the public buildings of Rome. The Jubilee occurred in his time, (1450,) and such was the immense concourse that many persons were crushed to death. Ninety-seven persons were, at the same time, crowded from the bridge of St. Angelo, and drowned. The gains of the church from this devout pilgrimage have been estimated at an enormous amount. At this time the conquest of Constantinople, by the Turks, alarmed Europe, and Nicholas took a very active part to resist them. His death occurred in the midst of these efforts.

Calixtus III. (from 1455 to 1458) is memorable for his avarice, and for having introduced *nepotism*, or the provision for nephews and other family connexions, out of the revenues of the church.

Pius II. (from 1458 to 1464) was Æneas Sylvius, who has left some memorials of himself. He was of the distinguished family in Piccolomini, in Italy. His life of the emperor Frederick III., and history of Bohemia, are among these memorials. His travels, in the character of a diplomatist, in various parts of Europe, had given him celebrity. While secretary of the council of Basle, a continuation of that of Constance, he vigorously asserted the controlling power of councils; but when he became pope himself, his opinions were entirely changed. While attempting to combine Europe against the Turks, death put an end to his projects.

Paul II. (from 1464 to 1471) appears to have exercised the powers of office for no other purpose than to make them

odious. He affected to see that the church was endangered by learned men, who were in no way connected with it. "Several individuals, of great literary and moral reputation, suffered on the rack; one, in particular, died under the torture. He did not succeed in eliciting any confession, or in discovering any shadow of heresy or conspiracy; nor did he produce any other result than to create one additional motive for execrating his name."

Sixtus IV., from 1471 to 1484. The character of Sixtus has been already disclosed in the sketches of France. His warfare against the Christian states of Italy, while the Turks were threatening these states with actual invasion, is the least of the reproaches due to his memory. His undenied participation in the conspiracy to murder Lorenzo de Medici and his brother, is not the act which contributed most to the degradation of the pontifical office. There were four persons who passed for his nephews, whatever their real relation to him may have been. The first of them, Leonard de la Rovera, he married to a natural daughter of Ferdinand of Naples. To obtain this alliance he abandoned to that king several important fiefs of the church, acquired by his predecessors. The second, Julian de la Rovera, and the third, Jerome Riario, were enriched at the expense of the church. Piero Riario, the most worthless and debased of the four, was enabled to live on the revenues of the church in a splendor hardly equalled by that of any monarch in Europe. Sixtus raised his own valet, a very young person, to the dignity of cardinal. To supply the drain on his treasury, he invented new offices, which he openly sold for the most he could obtain. The principal occupations of Sixtus were, the aggrandizement of his nephews, and keeping the states of Europe in warfare with each other, throughout his pontificate. His death, in August, 1484, is supposed to have been hastened by chagrin, that a peace had been effected among these states. These acts of Sixtus would not deserve notice for any other purpose than to show the constant declension of the church; and to show, also, the accumulating causes of that public sentiment, which was soon to be manifested by open insurrection against the papal authority.

Innocent VIII., from 1484 to 1492. This pope purchased the chair of St. Peter by the agency of Julian della Rovera, one of the nephews of Sixtus. The benefices and emoluments immediately bestowed on the sacred college of cardinals, is the well-known evidence of this fact. While this pontiff

amused the representatives of sovereigns at his court with commendations of peace and concord among themselves, and union among the states of Europe to resist the infidels, who were threatening invasion, he was very differently occupied in his own purposes. The oaths which he took to procure his election were wholly disregarded. He gave a cardinal's hat to a boy of only thirteen years of age, son of Lorenzo de Medici. It is charged upon Sixtus that he enriched *nephews* at the expense of the holy see; but Innocent surpassed him, in openly providing for seven of his own illegitimate children out of the ecclesiastical treasury. "He was weak, corrupt, destitute of profound views, and inconstant in such as he had. Being governed by unworthy favorites, his administration was stained by all their vices." (Sismondi, vol. xi. p. 250.) His indolence was not less injurious than the restless turbulence of his predecessor.

Alexander VI., from 1492 to 1503. The exasperation of the Roman people against the conduct and infamy of Innocent, and of those whom he permitted to act in his name, had so terrified the sacred college, that they dared not to proceed to a new election until the electoral palace was defended by soldiers and cannon. Roderic Borgia and Julian de la Rovera were the two prominent candidates. The electors had only to compute the gains to themselves in the selection. Borgia was most able to reward. He had already acquired great riches as nephew of Calixtus III. Waddington, in his History of the Church, says, that he had placed two mules, loaded with gold, at the disposal of the cardinals, to be used as circumstances might require. Sismondi says, four loaded mules were confided to the cardinal Sforza, brother of the duke of Milan, to purchase doubtful consciences. The patriarchal cardinal of Venice had five thousand ducats, and others received gold in like manner. The election having fallen to Borgia, the same author says, that the electors were thus rewarded: On Ascagna Sforza he conferred the profitable dignity of vice-chancellor; to cardinal Orsini, he ceded his palace at Rome, with the chateau of Monticello and Soriano; to cardinal Colonna he gave the abbey of Subbiaco, with all the chateaux; to the cardinal of St. Angelo, the bishopric of Porto, together with his furniture and a cellar of delicious wines; to the cardinal of Parma the town of Nepi; to the cardinal of Genoa the church of St. Mary, and the town of Citta Castellana. The rest were paid in gold. Five only of the whole college, one of whom was Julian, his rival, are believed to have refused

to sell their votes. Roderick Borgia had been publicly censured while a cardinal, for his undisguised debaucheries. He afterwards dwelt with a Roman matron, Vanozia, by whom he had seven children. Though his daughter Lucretia was yet very young, she made a fourth marriage. The first was with a Neapolitan gentleman. When Alexander became pope, he considered this alliance as too degrading, and pronounced a divorce, that he might marry her to John Sforza, lord of Pesaro. Afterwards it appeared that an alliance with Alfonso, of Arragon, a natural son of Alfonso, king of Naples, would better accord with the dignity and designs of the Borgia family, and a second divorce was pronounced to accomplish this marriage. The king of Naples having become a fugitive, this marriage failed of producing the expected benefits, and this third husband was murdered at Rome. The reputation of Lucretia was too infamous to be described, yet Alexander celebrated her nuptials Jan. 7, 1502, with Alfonso, oldest son of the duke of Ferrara, in his own palace.

Such was the fallen state of morals at Rome, that these abominable acts excited no emotion. The political conduct of Alexander VI. has already been noticed in connection with the invasion of Naples, by Charles VIII., of France. The perfidious conduct of Alexander concerning Zem Zem, or Jem, the brother of the Turkish sultan, is illustrative of the moral perceptions of this pope. The discovery of the route to India, by the Portuguese, occurred just before the time of Alexander; and the discovery of the American continent, while he was enthroned. The Christian right to the new world is dignified by the concession, or gift, of such a pontiff as Alexander. His pretension to make it was founded on the arrogance of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII. That arrogance was founded on the forgery of the monk Isidorus, or of some other monk. On such a basis Alexander took on himself to decide the conflicts which had arisen between Spain and Portugal. But that which is amusing to this age is, that the concessions, or gifts of the new worlds, were made by this man, on condition that missionaries should be dispatched forthwith, to convert their inhabitants, and to cause "the extension of the kingdom of Christ, and of the Catholic church."

The second and favorite son of the pope, was Cæsar Borgia, the son of Vanozia, also, whom the pope had caused to pass through the forms of wedlock with an inferior Roman citizen. The word "Borgia" (Roderic Borgia, the father, and Cæsar Borgia, the son) is connected with such a complication

of horrible crimes as to have become the comprehensive name for human baseness and infamy. Cæsar began his career in the church, but soon laid aside the dignities of clerical life, for the gain and the glory of the sword. Alexander bestowed on his oldest son, called the duke of Candia, the duchy of Benevento; the counties of Terracina, and Ponte-Corvo. These gifts displeased Cæsar, and the murder of his brother was the consequence. Cæsar was commissioned by his father to carry to Louis XII., of France, a bull of divorce, and of dispensation for a new marriage. Louis rewarded Cæsar with the title of Valentinois, with the duchy annexed thereto; gave him a body-guard of 100 men, and 20,000 livres a year. In 1499 Cæsar married the daughter of John, king of Navarre. This marriage connected him with Spanish affairs, and had some influence on his future destiny. His main object appears to have been with the knowledge and connivance of his father, to carve out a kingdom for himself, northwardly of Rome.

The thirteenth volume of Sismondi's history of the Italian republics contains a full narration of the atrocious crimes of Alexander VI., and his son Cæsar; not only those which were perpetrated by them, severally, but those which were the joint and deliberate acts of both. There is hardly a crime known among men of which these two persons were not guilty. It rather becomes history to be silent, and to veil from the human mind, that such crimes could be committed, than to aid in preserving the memory of them. Yet it is said of this Cæsar Borgia, that he was temperate and sober; that he loved and protected the sciences, and even wrote verses himself; that he was cool, deliberate, eloquent, and could seduce even those who were most guarded against him, by a knowledge of his treacherous character. His purposes met a final check in the death of his father. The new pope was his implacable foe. He was compelled to fly to Naples. Here he was arrested and sent prisoner to Spain. After two years of confinement he escaped, and took refuge with his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre. He accompanied this brother in the war waged against Castile, and was killed by a shot, March, 1507.

The manner, and the cause of the death of Alexander the sixth, are differently stated. Presuming Sismondi to be the best authority, his account is followed. One cannot doubt that natural justice would incline to take it to be true. Of the forty-three cardinals, who were made such by Alexander, no one is supposed to have paid less than 10,000 florins; equal to half that number of pounds sterling, or 22,200 dollars. Others are

known to have paid twice or thrice as much. He was accused of having caused the death of many of them, who had acquired great riches, because their possessions went, on their decease, to the papal treasury. This was one of the resources for supplying the demands of Cæsar, the prodigality of Lucretia, and the enormous expenses of his other children. The following is Sismondi's account of the death of Alexander, (vol. xi. pp. 243—6.)

“In the midst of these projects and hopes, pope Alexander VI. was stricken with an almost sudden death; the duke, Cæsar Borgia, his son, and the cardinal de Corneto, were at the same time, reported at Rome, almost dead; and the body of Alexander, being soon covered with a gangrene, black and frightful, gave reason to all the world to suppose that he, his son, and guest, were victims of a poison which he had prepared for another. It was said and believed, throughout Italy, that the pope had invited the cardinal de Corneto to a supper in the grove of the Belvedere, near the Vatican; and that he had the intention to poison the cardinal, as he had before poisoned three other cardinals, formerly his zealous ministers, and afterwards the victims of his avarice—that the duke (Cæsar) had sent bottles of wine, prepared by himself, to the cup-bearer of the pope, without letting him (the cup-bearer) into his confidence, but only cautioning him not to give that wine without express orders—that during the momentary absence of the cup-bearer, the person who occupied his place gave one of these bottles to the pope, to Cæsar Borgia, and the cardinal de Corneto. Corneto said to Paul Jovius, that at the moment when he drank of that wine, he felt in his entrails, an ardent fire, that his eye-sight failed him, and presently, his senses; and that after a long illness, his restoration was preceded by the excoriation of his body and limbs.” Cæsar is represented to have been very ill from the effects of the poison, but recovered. (See another account in Waddington's Hist. of Ch. p. 515, 516.)

However deservedly infamous the name of Alexander VI. may be, he has the merit of having pronounced some judgments which have served as precedents in the Catholic church. That church is also indebted to him, for having effectually resisted the progress of all philosophy and intelligence tending to impair confidence in the Catholic faith. He is believed to be the first sovereign who interdicted the publication of all books, without previous approbation. By his bull of the 1st of June, 1501, he prohibited all printers from publishing any book, on pain of excommunication, without having first sub-

mitted the same to some archbishop, or his vicar; nor then, without a certificate of assent.

Pius III. was elected merely to give the cardinals time to arrange their measures. Pius was known to be too infirm to live too long. He died in 26 days.

Julian II., from 1503 to 1513. He was the nephew of Calixtus III., and was competitor with Alexander VI. His election, like that of his immediate predecessors, was purchased. He was a warrior, much more than an ecclesiastic, and devoted his pontificate to the re-establishment of sovereignty over all the territories which had been subject, at any time, to the church. No pontifical act was done in his time which changed the ecclesiastical relations. His main object appeared to be, next after the recovery of the states of the church, to expel the French, Spaniards, and Swiss, from Italy. He was a friend of the learned, and a promoter of the arts. The building of St. Peter's church had been designed by Nicholas V.; the corner stone was laid by this pontiff. His successor was Leo X., the son of Lorenzo de Medici, the same whom Innocent VIII. made a cardinal at the age of thirteen. In the time of Leo the reformation began. That revolution in the church belongs to another survey, intended to comprise the three last centuries.

We have seen, in the ages which have been noticed, the gradual elevation of the church to its highest power; and, also, the gradual decline, occasioned by the venality, corruption and turpitude of the prelates themselves. The disgust, and even indignation, manifested in different parts of Europe, and which were the precursors of the reformation, were insufficient to combine a force capable of contending with ecclesiastical power. The people of Europe distinguished between the church itself and its unworthy priesthood. They seemed to have had no disposition to war with the former, but rather to preserve it, while they earnestly desired to reform the latter. It is even doubtful, whether, down to the end of the fifteenth century, the extreme depravity of the priesthood at Rome, was known beyond the Alps, as it was known in and near that city. Something more moving than any experience hitherto had, was needed, to combine and give direction to the many elements of hostility, which had been long forming in the north and west. That needed impulse came in the time of Leo. The pardoning of committed sins, and entire absolution, had long been one of the arrogant assumptions of the Church. It had even assumed to grant indulgences, but rather in the form of dispen-

sations. The profligate sale, by itinerant monks, of license to commit sins of any enormity, merely to enrich the papal treasury, was the opprobrious measure which led the way in establishing *Protestant Christianity*.

The indignation which arose on this traffic in *indulgences*, may be accounted for not only by the odious character of this traffic, but from other causes. There had been a gradual progress in learning. More than two centuries had elapsed since there were classes of learned laymen. Fifty years had elapsed since the Greek philosophers, expelled from Constantinople, had taken refuge in the west, especially in Italy. Fifty years, also, had elapsed since the art of printing had been invented. While the people of Europe were thus advancing, the church had been declining in its utility and its claims to confidence and veneration. We refer to another place for notices of intellectual advancement, and conclude the sketches of Rome with the remark, that the world was prepared for a revolution, which the craving profligacy of Leo was adapted to commence. To which may be added that of the Florentine Machiavel, who was expressing himself on his own perceptions, (about the year 1510:)—“The greatest prognostic of the approaching ruin of Christianity, is, to see that the nearer people are to Rome, which is the capital of Christianity, the less devotion they have. The scandalous examples, the crimes of the court of Rome, have occasioned Italy to lose entirely every principle of piety, and every sentiment of religion.”

CHAPTER LXI.

THE CRUSADES, FROM 1096 TO 1291.

THERE is a deep and sincere sorrow among all Christians of the present time, that the land where the author of their faith appeared, and was crucified, is possessed by people who abhor that faith, and who are enemies to all who profess it. The like sorrow was felt at the close of the eleventh century. However deep and sincere this feeling may have been, at any time, it could not be a motive sufficiently strong, of itself, to arm Christians, and engage them in a war to acquire and defend the holy land. A combination of nations was indispensable to this purpose. Its elements are found in the con-

dition of the people of Europe; in the subjection of the temporal to the spiritual power; but, especially, and as the soul of all other elements, in the comprehensive plans and effective ability of Gregory VII. These plans are known, as certainly as any facts of the same age, from the letters of Gregory, in which they are plainly disclosed. His own motives are, and must ever be, subject to conjecture. He may have persuaded himself that the execution of his plans was a duty to the temporal and spiritual communities. He may have intended to subject both to his own dominion and to that of his successors, as the end and only end to be obtained, regardless of the morality and justice of the means to be used. Whatever motives may be attributed, the grandeur of his conceptions, and the boldness of his execution, must be admitted. Worldly wisdom, also, was his just attribute, since no man, of any age, better understood how to use all means which could be applied to the accomplishment of his purposes. The opinions, hopes, fears, and relations of all the princes, nobles, and people of Europe, had been the subjects of intense thought with Gregory, for twenty years before he ascended the papal throne. The result to which all his thoughts tended, was the absolute subjection of all to the will of one man, placed in that seat of authority to which he aspired. His design was nothing short of the establishment of a spiritual empire over all those regions of the earth which the Romans had subjected by the force and terror of their arms.

Long before the time of Gregory, pilgrimages to Jerusalem were frequently undertaken and accomplished without molestation. Palestine was then held by the Arabians, of the Mohammedan faith, who permitted these devout visits. In the year 1075, the Arabians had been overthrown by the Turks, who, though of the faith of Mohammed, were a barbarous people. They made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem perilous, and difficult to be performed, in any manner. These Turks threatened to despoil the Greek empire (of Constantinople) of all its possessions in Asia. The emperor wrote to Gregory to make known the danger, and to invite his aid in defending the common interest of Christians. Gregory saw, in this state of things, opportunities to promote his great purposes—the subjection of the clergy and of the laity, and the extension of the Christian empire in the east. The common accounts of the crusades begin with the preaching of Peter of Amiens, (north of France,) usually called the Hermit. The eloquence of this enthusiast would, probably, have produced little effect,

if he had not been sustained by the designs of Gregory. Nor could these designs have been accomplished, if this adroit manager had not known how to take advantage of the peculiar state of European population. The whole of the Christian territory of Europe was held by petty sovereigns, and cultivated by their vassals. Those who were not held to labor, were destitute of all other occupation than hunting, rude feasting, and war. The principal occupation of the mind was the ceremonies and the superstitions of the church. The proposal of new occupation, which involved adventure, plunder, military glory, the destruction of infidels, the glory of the church, was adapted to the perceptions of the age. No greater glory could be hoped for on earth, than to vanquish the enemies of the Christian faith, and to restore the holy sepulchre to the custody of the church. The means could not be foreseen even by the far-sighted Gregory, in all their extent and application. They arose with circumstances, and were applied as they arose. Gregory wrote letters to all the sovereigns of Europe to invite them to engage in a crusade against the Turks. (Koch, vol. i. p. 130.) His quarrel with Henry IV. did not permit him to pursue this object, and he died before its commencement. In 1094, Peter the Hermit returned from Jerusalem, with letters from the patriarch there, addressed to the princes of the west. He traversed Italy, Germany, and France, representing the profanation of the holy places, and the miserable condition of the poor pilgrims. When Peter had made the desired impression, Urban II. went to Clermont, in France, two hundred miles south of Paris, where he pronounced, to an assembly of great numbers, a pathetic discourse. A crusade was then resolved on. All who placed a red cross on the right shoulder, forthwith obtained the remission of their sins, and security from punishment as to all future sins.

The crusades were seven in number. The first began in 1095; the last expiring effort was made in 1291. The three first divisions of the first crusade, led by Peter, were promiscuous multitudes, who went towards the east by the Danube. They had no provisions, and moved without order or discipline, plundering and burning as they went. Most of them perished by famine, disease, or by the sword of those whom they outraged. In August, 1096, a regular army, under Godefroi de Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, on the Rhine, moved towards Palestine, by the Danube and Constantinople. Anne Comneni, an accomplished princess, daughter of the

emperor, says,—“ It seemed as though all Europe, raised from its foundations, was going to throw itself on Asia.” The disasters and varieties of fortune experienced by Godefroï, in his way to Jerusalem, must pass unnoticed. On the 15th of July, 1099, he made himself master of that city. He was declared king of Jerusalem, and his followers desired to crown him. He refused, saying,—“ he would not wear a golden crown, where his Lord and master had worn one of thorns.” Godefroï is recorded to have been an able man, and, much more to his praise, he is commended to the readers of history as singularly magnanimous and virtuous for that age. He died just one year after this conquest, and was buried at Jerusalem.

The renown of this conquest led to many maritime expeditions from Italy. The Pisans, the Genoese, and the Venetians, probably prompted more by commercial interests than holy zeal, sent fleets to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The whole of Palestine was conquered, and the country north of it along the whole coast of that sea ; and, by the year 1146, the kingdom of Jerusalem extended to the Euphrates ; and Edessa in Mesopotamia, twenty miles beyond that river, a place of great celebrity as well as strength, was included in its limits.

In 1142, the Saracens besieged and took Edessa. Eugene III., then on the papal throne, besought the princes of Europe to engage in a new crusade. He was supported by the powerful eloquence of Clairvaux St. Bernard, the most eminent man of his time. Louis VII., of France, and Conrad III., emperor of Germany, engaged in this crusade, which is the first in which crowned heads went to the east. Both these princes met with serious disasters. Conrad was defeated by the sultan Massoud. Louis effected nothing. Both these princes returned to Europe, having lost the principal part of their armies. In 1171 the great Saladin became sultan. The kingdom of Jerusalem, weakened by interior factions, was unable to resist this accomplished warrior. In 1187 he took Jerusalem, and that city was never again in possession of the Christians but once, and then only for a very short time. [Prof. Heeren's *Essai sur les Croisades*, p. 23.]

Gregory VIII., availing himself of the loss of Jerusalem, and the consequent disgrace to all christendom, roused Philip Augustus, of France, Richard I., (Cœur de Lion, lion-hearted,) of England, and Frederick Barbarossa, of Germany, to unite in a crusade. These three monarchs embodied powerful armies, and called to their banners the noble and adventurous

warriors of that age. This preparation for the important and sacred warfare, was the most imposing event of the middle ages. Frederick departed in 1190, by the way of the Danube and Constantinople. He met with many disasters and severe losses in passing through Asia Minor. Having arrived at the river Cydnus, near the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, he bathed in its waters, and brought on an illness of which he soon died. Philip marched his army over the Alps to Genoa, and embarked there; Richard marched his army to Marseilles, and embarked there. The same storm drove the fleets of both into Messina, in Sicily, where they passed the winter. Very serious misunderstandings arose between the two kings at this place, and though the adventure was near to have been abandoned, a compromise was effected, and, in the spring of 1191, they proceeded to the east. This quarrel was one of the causes of the defective execution of the original design.— Another storm forced the two kings into the island of Cyprus, then in possession of the Greeks. Richard, offended at the treatment experienced there, took possession of the island, and erected it into a kingdom. A contest having arisen between Guy de Lusignan and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, concerning the right to the crown of Jerusalem, Richard gave Cyprus to Lusignan, on his resigning to Conrad his pretensions. The titular claim to the crown of Jerusalem passed to the royal family of Naples, thence to the house of Anjou, in France, and thence to the kings of France; an empty sound, though continued two centuries after the Christians had lost their last hold on Palestine.

The English and the French found the crusaders engaged in besieging St. Jean d'Acre, (on the coast,) called also Ptolemais. This place was taken with their joint assistance, and was the last wrested from the Christians, one hundred years afterwards. Richard acquired great renown in this siege. Philip soon became disgusted, and returned to France, leaving Richard ten thousand of his army. Left to himself, Richard disclosed great military talents, and is remembered in romance and in history as the able, equal, and ambitious rival of the illustrious Saladin. Sir Walter Scott, taking historical facts as a guide, has embellished the achievements of Richard in Palestine, and has secured to them, and his own genius, an equal duration in memory. Richard fought his way to the close neighborhood of Jerusalem, and could have retaken it, it is said, if his army had not become impatient, and determined to return. A truce was made with Saladin for three years,

three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, with the privilege to pilgrims to visit the holy city unmolested. Saladin died at Damascus soon after concluding this truce. Before he expired, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried through every street, preceded by a crier, who proclaimed,—“This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the east.”

Richard dared not to enter France in his way home, and therefore sailed for the Adriatic, intending to pass through Germany in disguise. He was discovered, and arrested by Leopold, duke of Austria, whom Richard had offended at the siege of Acre. The emperor, Henry VI., and Philip of France, conspired to keep Richard a prisoner, on pretence of divers unfounded charges while in Palestine. During his confinement he was treated with great insult and indignity. His brother John had usurped the throne, and was alike willing, with the king and emperor, that Richard should remain their prisoner. A bargain was at length made for his liberation. The payment of one hundred thousand marks, (equal to about three hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars,) was required. This enormous sum was raised by his subjects, the priests of the churches and monasteries, among others, voluntarily contributing their plate. Yet, he escaped narrowly new plots, and reached England, after an absence of near three years in Palestine, and fourteen months while in captivity. [Hume's History of England, chap. x.]

On the pressing solicitation of pope Celestine III., Henry VI. of Germany, son and successor of Frederick I., undertook a crusade, with a numerous army, in 1196. Henry's army went by the Danube and Constantinople, himself by the Mediterranean, as far as Sicily, where he died. The army reached Palestine, and took ancient Sidon, and some other towns of less consequence. Great efforts and large sums of money, solicited and exacted, produced another crusade in 1203, undertaken from Venice, by Venetians, Norman French of Italy, and others from France, and many adventurers. This crusade, like all others, was instituted by a pope, who was, at this time, Innocent III. But it did not even depart for Palestine. The money necessary for the expedition not having been fully supplied, the crusaders remedied this embarrassment by attacking the city of Zara, though then belonging to the Christian king of Hungary. This city is on the coast of Dalmatia, one hundred and fifty miles south-east of Venice, and was, anciently, a place of much distinction. The emperor Isaac II. had

been dethroned by his brother, Alexis III. Himself and his son applied to the crusaders, and induced them by munificent promises, to employ their forces in an effort to recover the throne. The solicitations of the Greek princes, begun at Venice, were renewed at Zara, and were successful. The crusaders sailed for Constantinople, and possessed themselves of that city, and instead of restoring Isaac, established the Latin throne, and placed thereon Boudoin, count of Flanders. This kingdom continued fifty-seven years, from 1204 to 1261, when the Greeks again possessed themselves of Constantinople. This conquest by the crusaders in 1204, was expected to be very serviceable to the main object, the conquest and possession of Palestine. No such consequences ensued. Future expeditions were all conducted by sea. In the 60th chapter of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, the origin and progress of this crusade is narrated by that learned historian. Considering it as part of the history of the Greek empire, it will be again taken into view in a future page:

The indefatigable popes, for reasons presently to be stated, besought, by turns, all the sovereigns of Europe to engage in crusades. No measure was neglected, whereby a promise could be obtained; and when obtained, the performance was exacted as a most solemn religious duty. Andrew II. of Hungary, was thus forced into a crusade in 1217; and Frederick II. of Germany was excommunicated for not going to Palestine as he promised to do, and at length departed in 1228, while under this papal denunciation. This was in the time of Gregory IX., who feared and hated Frederick, and who is supposed to have been more earnest to ruin this emperor than to conquer the Saracens. Frederick recovered Jerusalem, and held it for a time. He then wore two crowns, those of Germany and Naples. He added that of Jerusalem, which he claimed from having married an heiress, descended from that Conrad, before mentioned in connexion with Richard I. This conquest was made in 1228, and lost in the following year. This was the last possession of that city by the Christians. He made a truce of ten years. After that, in 1240, Thibaut, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, a celebrated warrior and poet, assembled a force composed principally of French noblemen and their followers. Discord and dissension among themselves, entirely defeated this adventure.

There were some other expeditions to the Holy Land, which were entirely independent of any which have been mentioned, and which are more surprising than any of them.

er these were, like the others, undertaken by papal
ion, is uncertain. They were undertaken from Flanders
rmany, on the North sea, and the crusaders had to
ence around Spain into the Mediterranean. One of
peditions was undertaken from Bremen and Lubeck in
d from it arose the order of Teutonic knights, to be
iced. In 1219, William, count of Holland, went by
the route to Palestine, with a powerful fleet. Uniting
drew, king of Hungary, a successful attack was made
hietta in Egypt, and that place was held from 1209 to
An attempt to penetrate further into Egypt, resulted in
e of the crusaders, who saved themselves by surrender-
r possessions, and retiring.

crusades undertaken by Louis IX. of France, better
as St. Louis, were projects of his own, and not of either
opes. They do not, therefore, necessarily come under
in connection with those of earlier date. They are,
r, usually mentioned with their precursors, and must
e so, as the effects on the condition of Europe must be
ed from the crusades collectively. Considered merely
ligerent adventures, the crusades deserve but slight no-

Considered in connection with the permanent changes
ht in Europe during the middle ages, no events record-
history, are more instructive. In the sketches of France,
usades of Louis IX. have been mentioned. It is only
ary here to remark, that the first of them was under-
in 1249, when Louis was thirty-four years old, and was
ed against Egypt, that being the seat of empire of the
n, who held Palestine. This expedition was not only
ailing, but exceedingly disastrous to Louis and his fol-
ers. In 1270, he undertook a second crusade, and landed
Tunis, in Africa, about 900 miles in a straight line from
is, and 1800 from Jerusalem. This expedition was still
e unfortunate than that to Damietta in Egypt, as Louis
ountered not only resolute enemies, but pestilence, of which
and many others died.

At this time the Christians still held several ports on the
stern coast of the Mediterranean, and among others, Tripoli,
yre, Berytus, and St. Jean d'Acre, or Ptolemais. In 1250,
revolution occurred in Egypt. The empire of the Turks,
of which Saladin was the head,) was conquered by the
Mamalukes, a people originally introduced from the East into
Egypt as slaves. The Mamalukes were no less hostile to the
Christians than the Turks had been. With this new enemy

the Christians contended for several years, but were compelled to surrender one place after another. The crusading spirit was exhausted in Europe; or rather, the power of the popes was so enfeebled, that the people of Europe could no longer be persuaded, seduced, nor terrified into sacrifices of time, property, and life, in the vain attempt to conquer Palestine. The year 1291 ended the crusades, by the capture of Ptolemais by the Mamalukes.

CHAPTER LXII.

EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES.

Increase of papal power—Effect on temporal power—Free cities—Effect on agricultural life—Chivalry—Nobility—Orders of knighthood—On commerce—Silk—Sugar—Effect on social character—Evils of crusades.

ALL writers, who have treated of the middle ages, have been led to consider the effects of the crusades. . There is not, in all respects, an accordance of opinion among these writers. The difference appears to be in the degree of benefit, or disadvantage, which the west of Europe experienced from these adventures in the East.

Most of these authors have treated of the crusades in connection with the great train of events. Professor Heeren has treated the subject by itself. His research was profound, and probably his conclusions would not be controverted by any of his predecessors.

The popes who were the promoters of the crusades to accomplish their own purposes, are not to be supposed to have extended their plans through the long series of years in which these enterprises were carried on. No other discernment can be attributed to them, than the adroit and successful use of events, as they occurred; nor any other merit (such they considered it) than a faithful perseverance in the original design of subjecting the spiritual and temporal power to their own dominion. They were not gifted beyond other able men, with penetration into consequences; and, like the wisest who have ever appeared, they prepared in the long course, for results of which they had no conception.

A war for the recovery of the holy sepulchre, was necessarily a war of the holy see. The popes were thereby placed at

the head of all military force employed in this war. They did not march at the head of armies, but they were always represented by legates. They exercised their dispensing and enabling powers over all who engaged in the war. Every warrior, from highest to lowest, was exempted from all temporal power, forgiven as to all transgressions and crimes, armed with indulgence for all future ones; and were thus assured (like the Mahomedans in fighting for the promotion of their creed,) of a blessed immortality. Every one who assumed the cross became entitled to all the privileges of an ecclesiastic. Ability to resist the despotism of the church was diminished in many ways. Most of the princes and nobles who took the cross, were obliged to sell or mortgage their property. The monasteries, and churches, and the Jews, possessed most of the money of Europe. The two former were immensely enriched, and the Jews could be afterwards plundered at leisure. The acquisitions of ecclesiastics were, in fact, papal acquisitions, for means were found, as power strengthened, to subject them to contributions. The physical force drawn away to the east was a diminution of means to contend with papal arrogance. It is not to be denied that the crusades extended the power of the popes over ecclesiastics, and over the temporal governments of Europe, considered merely as expeditions to Palestine. Out of these arose another mode of papal aggrandizement: the crusades in Europe, and against European Christians, whom the popes saw fit to consider as *heretics*. In every part of Europe where any sects arose which the popes considered heretical, crusades were preached against them. Every sovereign prince who incurred the papal displeasure was subjected to the same visitation. This was the case with king John, of England, whose kingdom was given to Philip of France. The *inquisition* at length arose out of the crusades against the Albigenses, in the south of France.

The effects as to temporal power were not always the same. The imperial authority in Germany was humbled and almost destroyed; while the royal authority in France acquired strength. Several of the French dukes and counts, who were feudal sovereigns, perished in the east, and their dominions were obtained by the crown. Hence a power arose in France, in the time of Philip the Fair, and Boniface VIII., (1303,) which humbled the pontificate. In that age, it was a benefit to the social communities to abstract from them their daring, turbulent members, whose principal employment at home was to excite commotions, or to lend themselves to chiefs by whom

commotions were excited. Such members of society readily engaged in these adventurous expeditions from various motives, and very few of them returned to Europe. It was also a benefit, especially in France, to concentrate power in kings, and to enable them to suppress the rebellions, and the private wars of the feudal lords.

The most permanent benefit which arose to Europe from the crusades, was the establishment of *free cities*. This was an incidental, not a direct consequence. So many feudal lords being withdrawn to the east, many towns disengaged themselves from vassalage to these lords, and obtained charters from royal authority, conferring important privileges. Among these may be enumerated, (Heeren, p. 236,) the guaranty of personal liberty to citizens—the right of acquiring and disposing of property—freedom from arbitrary taxation—the right of choosing their own judges and magistrates; and, finally, the power of raising and supporting their own military force, for their own defence. Out of these city establishments arose what is called the *third estate*, or popular representation, by which kings obtained a balance against the power of feudal lords; and the final dissolution of the feudal system. The nobles became *subjects*—the cities became industrious and commercial, and, consequently, rich; riches so gained, inspired sentiments of independence and liberty. At the close of the crusades, Europe had acquired (in royal governments) the commencement of the balance of internal powers—a sovereign, subjected nobles, and a *people*, who were politically acknowledged as such.

When the crusades began, the mass of the people of Europe were vassals, or slaves. It does not appear that any beneficial consequence resulted to them, except in these respects: the incessant and barbarous warfare between the feudal lords, was peculiarly afflictive to the poor cultivators of the soil. Their huts were pillaged, and their cattle driven away, their fields ravaged, and themselves massacred, from one end of Christian Europe to the other. The departure of these belligerent lords was a grateful relief to this poor class. A contemporaneous historian says, that the truce of God did not produce such a calm as followed the departure of the crusaders. "At once, the whole earth seemed to be tranquillized."

Chivalry. Gibbon says (chap. 57.) that "the crusades were, at once, an effect and a cause of this memorable institution." He may have intended to be understood, that chivalry existed before the crusades, and that they had an important effect on its

spirit and character. Chivalry was well known before the crusades began, and the theory and practice of *knighthood* had been established by a system of ceremonies and laws. "The brave Roland," immortalized in Romance, accompanied Charlemagne into Spain in the year 778; and when returning was slain at Rousevalles, in Navarre. It is probable that knighthood was borrowed from the Romans, in the north of Europe; and may be a very different thing, in its origin, from chivalry. The *origin* of *chivalry* is an unsettled point; and perhaps the disagreement among those who have treated of it may have arisen from considering knighthood and chivalry to be the same institution. There were mounted warriors, who followed their chiefs from the German forest, and who became knights. But it is improbable that these barbarians could have been fashioned by any sentiments or discipline, originating among themselves, into the gallant, magnanimous, and honorable knights of chivalry. Some writers derive this institution from the three elements attributed to the Germans, war, religion, and respect for women. In the *Americana Encyclopædia*, the principal editor (it is supposed) presents what he considers may be "new views" of chivalry. He makes the foundation to be religion and the Teutonic character. These views are entitled to great respect. So far as we have been able to comprehend the character of war among the Germans, there was little of chivalry in it; even down to the time of Charlemagne. The Germans were distinguished from all other people in Europe, when chivalry is supposed to have begun, if their religion was much superior to ignorant superstition. Without derogating from the high virtues ascribed to German females, we discern no such veneration for them in the other sex, as could have been the foundation for that exalted reverence which is a primary element in chivalry. The evidence of what knighthood was, in Germany, before the crusades, would not lead one to consider that rank and chivalry the same. The evidence that chivalry existed in the south of France, between the time of the Moorish invasion of Spain, and the crusades, is conclusive. It is probable that it passed thence into the north of France, and into Germany. It is probable, also, that it was engrafted on knighthood, previously existing, and imparted to knighthood its own spirit. It is admitted by most writers who have treated of chivalry, that it was known among the Moors, who possessed, and who civilized Spain; that the Moors (who were mostly Arabians,) brought with them the manners and institutions of the Arabians, who dwelt on the banks of the Eu-

phrates, and Tigris. In the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, these Arabians were a civilized, a refined, and a learned people. They had penetrated into central India. Institutions strongly resembling both chivalry and the feudal system, are known to have existed there, from a time immemorial, and do still exist there, unless abolished by English conquerors. In the work entitled "Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India," by colonel James Tod, there are satisfactory reasons for the opinion, that the spirit of chivalry was well known to the people whom he describes. The veneration of woman there felt, is precisely that which is essential in chivalry. The feudal system of India is almost identical with that of Europe. [Tod, vol. 1. pp. 128—193.] The original Teutonic emigrants from Asia may have brought both feudalism and chivalry with them. If this was so, the latter is not supposed to have been practised, or manifested in Germany, until it was in full vigor, in the south of France. Perhaps it is not now more than a question of curiosity, whether the Germans originated chivalry, or were imitators of the Troubadours. This, however, admits of no dispute, that the state of Society was such as to make the principles and the practice of chivalry, of the highest importance. If the Arabians caught the spirit of chivalry in India, and transferred it to the west—if the Arabians of Spain enabled the Troubadours to copy them—if the north of Europe took their lessons from the Troubadours, the Arabians were the original benefactors. From them proceeded a reforming and chastening power over social abuses, which no religious restraint, or civil authority, could remedy.

No satisfactory reason is perceived why the profession of arms should have been dignified, and even made sacred, by an association with religion, before the holy wars. After they began, all measures were taken to impart to them, and to all who engaged in them, a sacred character. The ceremonies observed in qualifying a knight for his profession, were military and religious, the latter being by far the most impressive part of the initiation. A class of men originally of noble blood, and who had bound themselves by very solemn oaths, to piety, bravery, and Christian duties, and who added to these obligations, that of deserving the commendation of the other sex by their courtesy and magnanimity,—met in the east, to accomplish the same object. It is probable that they acted under the full influence of their various obligations, and formed a school of discipline for themselves, by honorable rivalry.

Those who did not return personally, hoped that their renown would represent them. Those who survived, came home, to enjoy the admiration which the world has always awarded to those who have been in glorious peril; and also with the honor of having contended against infidels, for the possession of the holy sepulchre. Thus the crusades undoubtedly contributed essentially to establish that influence which chivalry long exercised over the manners, and even the morals, of society—an influence not yet lost, though greatly changed in its character.*

Heroic chivalry cannot be traced below the time when the nations of Europe engaged in the religious controversies of the reformation, early in the sixteenth century, (1520.) From that time to the French revolution, the effects of chivalry were seen in the opinions, feelings, and deportment of all Europeans, who aspired to the distinction of being *gentlemen*. Birth, dress, manner, accomplishments, politeness, veracity, a delicate sense of honor, a promptness to avenge every offensive disrespect for these pretensions, were among the marks which chivalry had stamped on society. These marks have been gradually disappearing in the last half century. The pretensions to distinction of the present age have as little similitude to the gentility of the two last centuries as that gentility had to chivalry in its highest glory. The causes are obvious, and are found in the natural progress of human society. (In Hallam's *History of the Middle Ages*, in part II. of chap. IX., or concluding part of the work, will be found that author's views of chivalry.)

It is difficult to fix the time when *nobility* arose in Europe. Among those who called themselves noble in Venice, there were some who traced their descent from the seventh century. Without regarding the name, the fact of nobility, or the distinction of families, must have been as early as the partition of conquered lands, after the fall of the Roman empire; certainly as early as fiefs and offices became hereditary. The names of dukes, counts, earls, and marquisses, were derived from offices; and the title of baron from the tenure of great landed estates. But down to the time of the crusades, the dis-

* John Baptist de la Curne de St. Pelaye, a Frenchman, born in 1697, (died 1781, of grief, for loss of twin brother,) spent most of his long life in collecting the materials, and in writing memoirs, on chivalry. His MSS. formed 100 folio volumes. F. C. X. Millot wrote a literary history of the Troubadours from La Curne's collections. See vol. xx. of the French Academy of inscriptions.

tion of family names, and of coats of arms, were unknown. The intercourse among nations had been very limited. Wars had rarely extended beyond the confines of kingdoms, and those who passed from one country to another were seldom any other than itinerant merchants, pilgrims, or ecclesiastics. The holy wars introduced nations to each other, and brought individuals into close comparison, and rivalry in arms. According to some accounts, the number of armed men who had assembled (in 1097) on the plains of Bythinia, in Asia Minor, were 600,000; and that 100,000 were mounted and in armor. Gibbon discredits these accounts, (chap lviii.) Whatever the number may have been, they were composed of different nations, and many of them were clad in complete armor, and could not be distinguished from each other, without some exterior mark. This mark was painted or engraved on the shield, at first, merely a particular color; and afterwards all that fancy could invent; as flowers, fruits, animals, and allegorical expressions of qualities, affections, or favors. Hitherto, none other than baptismal names were in use. The necessity of further distinction among this armed multitude, led to surnames, derived from places of residence, personal qualities, professions, employments, and similar characteristics. These distinctions on shields became the emblems of heraldry, and the foundation of that science; and were also proofs of nobility. The names became family names, and, in the long lapse of time, have been fashioned into the endless variety which are now known. [Heeren's Essai, p. 210.]

Tournaments are supposed to have been known, and to have been held and regulated by established rules, before the time of the crusades. These exciting movements had an influence on tournaments, and imparted to them a more solemn and a more military character. There were certain indispensable qualifications for being received as a competitor for honors, even, in the presence of princes, and rewarded by the approbation of noble and princely females. No one, who could not prove a descent from noble ancestors, could be allowed to prove his skill in a tournament. This institution began in France; and was carried thence into other countries. An accident in France tended to bring disrepute on these trials of skill. In 1559, Henry II., king of France, was killed in a tournament. After the close of the sixteenth century, these meetings were discontinued. The tournament was kept up more than four centuries, in France and Germany, and had a decided influence in softening and meliorating manners. Though there are

very good accounts of the preparations, and ceremonies, and consequences of tournaments, it is very difficult to form, at this distance of time, any satisfactory opinion of their real influence on society. (See History of Chivalry by Charles Mills, first published in 1825.)

Orders of knighthood, which were both religious and military, arose out of the crusades. They are a very striking example of the unforeseen effect of institutions which appear to be of little importance in their origin. Individuals in the east were formed into societies to defend their newly acquired territories, protect pilgrims, and take care of the sick. They acquired great riches, and a great influence in affairs; and were held together long after the crusades ended. They were subject to no temporal sovereign; governed themselves by their own laws, and acknowledged no chief, or head, but the *popes*.

The earliest and the most distinguished of these orders was that of the knights of St. John, of Jerusalem; afterwards called the knights of Malta. The merchants of Amalfi, (Italy, 25 miles S. E. of Naples,) built a church, a monastery and hospital at Jerusalem, before the crusades, dedicated to St. John. Out of these arose the order of St. John. In 1114, pope Pascal II. gave power to the Hospitalers to choose a superior. In 1120 Calixtus II. divided the fraternity into three classes, the warriors the priests, and the superintendents of the sick. The warriors, took the name of knights of the hospital of St. John, of Jerusalem. Their riches were derived from the voluntary gifts of pilgrims, and from the devout, in all Europe.

When this order of St. John was expelled from Palestine, by the Egyptian Mamelukes, at the end of the thirteenth century (1291,) they established themselves at Cyprus; but were expelled from thence. In 1309 they conquered the Island of Rhodes, and held it till 1522, when they were driven from thence by sultan Soliman II. Their residence at Rhodes gave them the name of knights of Rhodes. This expulsion distributed them among several places. In 1530 they were again collected at Malta, by a gift to the order of that island by Charles V., emperor. The knights of St. John held great estates in various parts of Europe, and kept up a respectable military force. They existed, as an order, nearly 700 years. They disappeared in the turmoil of the French revolution.

The order of knights templar was instituted by Frenchmen, at Jerusalem, in 1120, for the avowed purpose of keeping the roads open for pilgrims. The king Baudoin, (or Baldwin,) lodged them in his palace, which was near the temple, whence

their name. This order acquired immense riches, in different parts of Europe, especially in France; and participated in passing events, with powerful influence. The order was suppressed by Philip the Fair, of France, between the years 1307 and 1310. The circumstances attending the suppression have been noticed in the sketches of France. The templars were charged with high crimes, to justify their extinction as an order. Able writers have appeared on both sides. Heeren (who wrote in 1807) refers to the controversy, but does not assume to pronounce. [Essai, p. 221.]

The order of Teutonic knights, of Jerusalem, was founded in 1192, about a century after the crusades began. The name indicates the origin of the order. They retired from Palestine to the north of Europe, and, with permission of the pope, conquered the country along the Baltic sea, which is now part of Prussia. The seat of this order was afterwards in Franconia.

These fraternities, at once military, religious, noble, and rich, had a powerful command in society, and were able to keep their numbers unimpaired. The younger sons of noble families, were honorably provided for, when they could obtain the favor of being received as members. Founded originally under the patronage of the holy see, celibacy was among the number of their vows, as were many other obligations, of like solemnity, and equal force.

The examples at Jerusalem led to the establishment of several orders in Europe, and especially in Spain, where a war was going on against Moorish infidels. In 1156 appeared the knights of Calatrava; in 1160, the knights of St. James de Compostella. Among other orders that of Christ was founded in Portugal, in 1319, of which the king was grand master. This order is said to have been enriched by the confiscated property of the templars, who were destroyed about that time. The order of the garter was founded in 1349, by Edward III., of England, while at Calais. No religious enthusiasm is charged upon this order, though it has also the name of St. George. The Spanish and Portuguese orders of knighthood came under the dominion of the respective kings, in the sixteenth century. Their riches were applied to promote the purposes of these kings. In 1550, Henry III., of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, is said to have used the riches of the order of Christ, in carrying on his exploring expeditions.

The effect of the crusades on *commerce*, and *industry*. Productions of India and China, and other parts of Asia, were brought to the shores of the Mediterranean, even in the days

of Solomon. Some of these productions were known in the west in the time of Charlemagne, (800.) Silk was then an article of dress. At that time, and for centuries afterwards, the people of the west had nothing to give in exchange for eastern products, nor were they skilled in the industrious arts. The frequency of intercourse between the west and the east, while the two centuries of warfare were passing, greatly extended commercial relations, introduced new articles of commerce, and enabled the people of the west to develop their own resources and powers. In this very comprehensive subject it will be sufficient for the present purpose to present a very general outline.

In showing why commerce did not flourish in Rome, under the dominion of the popes, nor in Constantinople, under the emperors, professor Heeren says:—“*Commerce flourishes only with liberty, and the spirit of republicanism: this is a truth proved by all history.*” The republics of Italy availed themselves of the advantages which the new relations with the east had brought to view. The three most distinguished among these were Venice, Pisa, and Genoa; each of which had commercial establishments in the cities and ports of the Mediterranean, and of the waters connected with that sea. These three republics were rivals and enemies. Genoa drove Pisa from the sea in August, 1284. Venice nearly destroyed the maritime power of Genoa, in 1382. Before the end of the next century the Portuguese discoveries prepared the way for the commercial overthrow of Venice. Besides these republics, commerce was carried on from ports in Spain, and in France, with the east. The Catalonians, on the eastern coast of Spain, have the honor of presenting the earliest code of maritime law, under the name of *Consolato del Mar*.^{*} This important event is supposed to have occurred within the first half of the thirteenth century, because it was generally known in the year 1255. In that year, the Venitians, established at Constantinople, held a meeting in the church of St. Sophia, to consider this code of laws. It had been translated from the Spanish into Italian, and was adopted by that meeting, and became a commercial law for the Mediterranean sea. [Heeren, p. 376.]

^{*} Mr. Hallam suggests that the code known as the *Consolato del Mar*, was the ancient *Rhodian* law of the Sea; that it had been preserved by the Roman emperors, and only *re-appeared*, about the middle of the thirteenth century. [Mid. Ages, chap. ix. part II.]

The Article VI., in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, (London,) No. XXXVII., for April, 1837, contains a learned essay on the origin of the ancient maritime codes of law.

The merchandise which was brought to the seaports of Italy, was carried thence across the Alps. From about 1261, this commerce became important. Before that time, and especially from 1204, when the crusaders took Constantinople, till they were expelled, fifty-seven years afterwards, the commerce between that city and the west, was along the Danube. Vienna and Ratisbon grew up under that commerce. After 1261, Augsburg and Nuremburg became the great commercial cities of Germany, through which merchandise passed to the great cities along the Rhine. Augsburg is about one hundred and seventy miles south-east of Mentz, and Nuremburg is about one hundred and forty miles east by south from Mentz, and is nearly north from Augsburg, seventy miles. Heeren, speaking of these two cities, says,—“A glorious memory accompanies the days of their prosperity. Their immense riches were employed to cultivate, within their walls, the sciences and the arts, of which the sacred fire is not extinguished, in their decline and decay.”

Western Europe is indebted to the crusades for the manufacture of silks. In 1148, Roger II., king of Sicily, (one of the Norman race, settled in Italy,) took Corinth, Thebes, and Athens from the Greek emperor. It is said that eggs of the silk-worm were brought to Constantinople in the time of Justinian, and that the manufacture of silk was well understood in what is now called the Morea, the ancient Peloponnessus. Roger transferred many workmen to Sicily, and the manufacture of that article became very successful. Thence the art of silk-making went to Lucca, Florence, Venice, Mantua, Milan, and to the cities of the south of France. The several arts of weaving, dying, embroidering, were undoubtedly improved by Italian and French ingenuity. [See chapter liii. of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*.]

The sugar-cane, in the west, is another acquisition from the crusades. The Christians first became acquainted with it in the environs of Tripoli in Syria. It had become known and was cultivated in Sicily about the time that silk was introduced there, (1148.) From Sicily the sugar-cane was carried to Madeira, and from thence to America. From being an article of luxury, it became one of necessity with most classes.

The most material benefits which the nations of western Europe derived from the crusades may be comprised under several heads: 1. The extension of geographical knowledge. 2. The knowledge of natural productions, and articles of commerce before unknown. 3. Mutual advancement among the

most important nations in knowledge of each other. 4. The breaking up of the ancient feudal habits and associations, and opening the way to new employments. 5. The profitable and civilizing exercise of industrious powers. 6. The perception of the truth, (or at least of others which might conduct to it.) It is not a law of the Creator, nor necessarily a law of society, that men shall be divided into masters and slaves, despots and subjects.

There were, on the other hand, very serious evils in the train of the crusades. Among many that might be mentioned, several diseases, hardly known before that time in Europe, were introduced. The plague, leprosy, and other malignant maladies were brought to the west by the return of vessels, armies, and bands of pilgrims. These diseases, known at all times in the east, were promoted in quality and virulence, by the gathering of such multitudes, the absence of all salutary regulations; but more by filthiness, the use of baths in common, and by exceeding licentiousness.

The people of the west soon found themselves obliged to resort to remedies and preventives. Houses, solitary and distant from human habitations, were provided to receive the diseased, who were compelled to retire thither. About the middle of the fifteenth century there were 2000 hospitals in France. The knights of St. John had, in different countries, 1900 of their own. These maladies did not disappear by curative or scientific means. They were extirpated, (most commonly with the patients themselves,) by preventing contagion and infection; and because they had been brought to climates where they would not naturally arise, or be propagated by manners, or modes of life.

CHAPTER LXIII.

RETROSPECT OF THE FIVE CENTURIES FROM 1000 TO 1500.

At the beginning of this period there were three principal divisions of society: 1. The feudal lords, of various grades. 2. The clergy, and the religious orders. 3. The mass of inhabitants, greatly exceeding in numbers the two first divisions. These inhabitants, with few exceptions, were vassals or serfs of the lords or of the clergy, distinguished by classes, with

varied obligations and privileges. The feudal lords, whether clergy or laity, exercised a rigorous dominion over the vassals, and the clergy maintained a despotic authority, founded in ignorance and superstition, over both vassals and lords. The surface of the country is supposed to have exhibited vast tracts of forest, few cultivated fields, and a small number of cities or towns. The right of property in the soil was vested in the lords, the clergy, and the religious corporations. Monasteries, nunneries, churches, and fortified dwelling-places or castles, were the only buildings except the humble abodes of the vassals. There have been frequent occasions to mention, in preceding pages, the employments incident to society so constituted. These social and political relations had been firmly established for so many ages, and such was the universal ignorance, that none of the parties knew there had been, or could be, any better or other relations.

At the end of this period, (in 1500,) the condition of society had essentially changed, in many respects. The changes, though generally advantageous and meliorating, cannot be traced to the designs of the wise, patriotic, or benevolent. Consequences, undesigned and unforeseen, became, in their turn, causes of still more important consequences. It is more reasonable to regard these events as arising from overruling Providence, than from the moral agency of man. If it were possible to trace out the causes of the changes which occurred in these five centuries, it would be a tedious and unprofitable labor. If the results can be clearly stated, and if the prominent causes can be stated in connexion with them, the present purpose will be accomplished.

At the close of the fifteenth century, the feudal sovereignties had been nearly annihilated. The right of property in many of them had been annexed to the crown, and where not so, the feudal lords had ceased to be sovereigns, and had become subjects. Standing troops, or hired troops, had been substituted for the tumultuous armies of vassals. Vassalage, or slavery, had disappeared in some territories, and had been much mitigated, in its evils and burthens, in others. Cities and towns had arisen; and some cities were free, and entitled, by charter, to the right of self-government. Properly speaking, a *people* had arisen; that is, a numerous class in towns and cities, who were considered as a *third* estate in the community, the nobles and the clergy being the other two, and the king over all. There is no doubt that social life was greatly meliorated by the manumission of vassals or slaves. It has

been said that the influences of the Christian religion were the principal cause. However this may have been, there were other causes. The most effective one (in Sismondi's opinion) was *interest*. The feudal landlords discerned that their estates could be made more productive and valuable to themselves if cultivated by *freemen*, who shared, equally with landlords, the products of labor, than if cultivated by slaves, who could acquire nothing for themselves. But, masters and slaves in Europe were both of the *white* race; and slaves were often the equals, if not the superiors, of their masters.

A better knowledge of agriculture had been acquired, especially in Italy and the south of France. Commerce had become well understood, and the products of all climes, and the manufactures of all countries, from the west of Europe to the east of Asia, were freely interchanged. Industry devoted itself to learning and to literature. Universities had been founded, and thousands of students were employed, at the same time, in Italy, France, and England, and (though in less proportion) in other countries. The rudeness and vulgarity of the tenth century, among nobles, had disappeared before the courtesy, gallantry, and refinement of the school of chivalry. Woman had taken her rank in the order of society, and was, perhaps, exalted even above it.

Some inventions had been wrought out, and some discoveries made, which tended essentially to produce changes in society. At the head of all should be placed the art of printing, the mariner's compass, and the use of gunpowder; and next, the discovery of ancient manuscripts, and the disposition and the ability to study them, and to find, in that study, the means of gratifying an honorable ambition. The changes in political and social relations were, undoubtedly, advantageous to society. But the dominion of the church continued, notwithstanding, and, during the first four centuries, had become stronger than ever. In the last of these centuries (from 1400 to 1500) the church had become too depraved and too despotic for the degree of intelligence to which society had arrived; and the elements were gathering for the revolution which broke out in the following century.

How these changes, many of them highly beneficial to society, were produced, is a problem of very difficult solution. In looking over the events of these five centuries, it is obvious, that consequences have flowed from many of them which were not thought of in connexion with these events. He who at first took an impression on paper from an engraved block of

wood; he who first guided his bark by the magnet, and he who first made the application of gunpowder to project a ball, had no view to the future consequences, now well known. Besides the great and well-known causes of change, there were many others, unrecorded and unmarked, and springing from the evil, as well as the worthy propensities of human nature. Example, imitation, envy, rivalry, emulation, may be effective agents in changing the state of society, though the mode and the measure of effectiveness are not found in historical accounts. We have space only to notice, very briefly, some of the events to which historians attribute the changes which occurred in these five centuries.

It is generally supposed that the first light which dawned on the darkness of the middle ages, came from the Arabians. Respect for learning had arisen among this people, at Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris, early in the eighth century. In the year 786, Haroun Al Rashid began his illustrious reign. He caused all the works of the learned, and especially of the Greeks, to be brought to Bagdad, and translated into Arabic. His court was the resort of eminent men of all nations. His son, Al Mamun, who reigned till 832, was equally a patron of learning and of learned men. For nearly a century, an extraordinary intelligence and refinement adorned the courts of these caliphs, during the darkest period of western Europe. This age of intellectual superiority continued at Bagdad until the Turks became masters, (936,) and then gradually declined through the two following centuries. But, meanwhile, the treasures which had been gathered at Bagdad had been communicated to the west, and were received and justly valued, especially at Cordova, the seat of the califate in Spain. Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen attended the Arabian schools in that country, and carried thence to the north the instruction imparted by their philosophers and teachers. The works of Aristotle, said to have been translated by Avicenna, at Bagdad, (between 980 and 1036,) were taught at Cordova by Averroes, who flourished about 1172, and were, probably, taught there a century earlier. The philosophy of this Grecian came through this channel to the Christian schools of Europe. It came, however, in so debased and corrupted a form, as to have misdirected the pursuit of knowledge. Systems of learning arose on this foundation which had no connexion with knowledge. This learning was afterwards the principal subject of teaching in the schools. When the study of the Greek became an occupation with the scholars of Europe, and they could read

the works of Aristotle in the original language, "with what surprise (says an eminent author) did they find, that their contents were totally different from what had been, for centuries, taught in the name of this great man."

In the twelfth century, three causes are assigned for the diligent attention then given to intellectual pursuits: 1. The discovery and study of the civil law. 2. The study of the canon law. 3. Ambition to become scholars, supposed to be derived from the Arabian impulse. However this may be, it is known that, in 1133, a university was established at Bologna, in upper Italy, at the foot of the Apennines, and that Irnerius lectured there on the civil law. Dr. Robertson says, that the Pandects were found about this time, at Amalfi. Hallam thinks this an error, and that the Pandects were known and studied in Europe half a century earlier. Soon after, universities were established in many other cities, and attracted numerous students. It is hardly credible that there were thirty thousand at Oxford, England.

It has been before remarked, that the philosophy of Aristotle had received an entirely new version in the schools of the east. It was read in the west in this eastern form, with the commentaries of many teachers, and it became at last, (as Hallam happily expresses it,) "a barren tree, that conceals its want of fruit by a profusion of leaves." The metaphysical, mystical, incomprehensible subtleties, which passed under the name of the philosophy of the eminent Greek, settled into "the scholastic learning," because it was taught in schools founded by distinguished men. Some men acquired an enduring fame for their accomplishments in disputation, and their knowledge of terms and phrases, which no man would now attempt to understand. This metaphysical cast of thought and expression, communicated itself to all the intellectual pursuits of the time, not excepting the law and the administration of justice. The effects are still perceived, and are very slowly wearing out. There are names which have come down to the present time, connected with the scholastic science. Some of them so frequently occur, that it may be useful to ascertain the times, respectively, in which the persons lived who are thus distinguished. Peter Abelard (the husband of Heloise) was born near Nantes, in France, in 1079; died in 1142. He had a school of theology and rhetoric, which was attended by three thousand scholars at the same time. Albertus Magnus was of a noble family in Suabia; born about 1193, and lived about ninety years. He was called *great* from his extraordinary learning. He made

philosophical experiments, which led to the belief that he dealt in magic. Thomas Aquinas, his pupil, destroyed an automaton of his master's construction, believing it to be the work of the devil. The works of Albert, which might have caused him to be remembered with respect and gratitude, perished in his own time. Those which gave him celebrity are in twenty-one folio volumes, the contents of which are probably now known to no one. Thomas Aquinas was a native of Calabria, (in Naples,) descended from a noble family; born in 1224, died in 1274. He was called "The Angelical Doctor," "The fifth Doctor of the Church," "The Eagle of Divines," "The Angel of the Schools." His writings are comprised in seventeen folio volumes. Some of them are said to be of authority in the Catholic church. John Duns, called also Duns Scotus, was among the eminent in the schools, in France, England, and Germany. He was born in Northumberland, and died about 1309, at Cologne, on the Rhine. William Occam, or Ockham, was called "The Invincible Doctor." He was a pupil of Duns Scotus, and founder of a sect called Nominalists; died in 1347. This philosophy was an absolute waste of time and talent; and, about the middle of the fourteenth century, its professors discerned that nothing had been added to real knowledge, or ever could be, by any study or use of words and terms destitute of all practical or rational meaning.

While the philosophers of the schools were carrying on their warfare of sounds, the provencal poetry and the romantic culture of the imagination, were objects of attention in the south of France.* The modern languages of Europe, Italian, French, and Spanish, by unmarked steps then, and by steps which cannot be traced now, were becoming the medium of thought in works of fancy, in science, and in business. There were men who discerned the emptiness of the scholastic disputations. At the head of all of them is placed Roger Bacon, (born 1214, died 1292,) to whom Hallam intimates an indebtedness from Lord Bacon, which this eminent philosopher does not seem to have acknowledged. [Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 357.] The Italian language had been so moulded and formed, that, about the year 1300, it could be, and was used by the Florentine Dante in a manner to secure to him a lasting

* Mrs. Dobson has published the literary history of the Troubadours, collected from the French of La Curne de St. Palaye, in a small volume. There is a similar work by the French historian, Millot.

renown. Dante is the abridged name of Durante Alighieri, born at Florence in 1265; he rose to distinction there, and had various public employments. When he was about thirty-five years of age, the party to which he belonged (the Bianchi, a division of the Guelfs) was vanquished, and Dante was exiled. The rest of his life was passed in sorrow and dependence. He died at Ravenna in 1321. His fame rests on the great poem called *Divina Comedia*. This is an account of a visit made by himself, accompanied by the Roman poet Virgil, to hell, purgatory, and heaven.

Francis Petrarch was born in the life-time of Dante, at Arezzo, in Tuscany, in 1304, and died in 1374. The eminence which Petrarch obtained (as much perhaps from the romantic association of his name with that of Laura, as from any other cause) as a poet and learned man, is familiar to most readers.

John Boccaccio, the son of a Florentine merchant, was born at Paris in 1313, and died in 1375, at Cortaldo, in Tuscany. These three eminent men are considered to be the creators of the classic Italian language, especially the first. They were all living at the same time, in the first years of Boccaccio and the last of Dante, though these two were not known to each other. The *Decameron* (one hundred tales in prose) is the work on which the fame of Boccaccio rests.

The earliest of the English poets, Geoffrey Chaucer, (born in 1328, died in 1400,) was contemporary with Boccaccio and Petrarch, and may have produced similar effects in his native isle with those which were produced by his brother poets in Italy. However this may have been, the fact is established, that the genius of Europeans was called into action in the early part of the fourteenth century, on subjects more useful and more permanent than scholastic erudition. The honors which were accorded to the learned, must have excited great emulation among all who had claims to be considered among that class. The single instance of the honors offered to Petrarch, shows that literary fame transcended all other fame. On the 23d of August, 1340, Petrarch was invited by the senate of Rome to go to that city and receive there the laurel crown, according to the ancient forms established in the best days of Roman grandeur; and, in the evening of the same day, he received an invitation from the chancellor of the university of Paris, to repair to that city, to receive a laurel crown, as the just reward of his literary eminence.*

* The most reasonable account of Petrarch, and his real merits, may be found in Sismondi's *Italian Republics*, vol. v. chap. 34.

The fourteenth century produced many writers in the Italian cities, historians as well as poets, some of them of great celebrity, especially three of the name of Villani. The names of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, are the only ones which are familiar to most readers of the present day. Soon after these eminent men flourished, learned industry devoted itself to the study of ancient manuscripts; and the pride of ambition was gratified in Latin scholarship. On this, Sismondi remarks:—"It was in the language of past ages, and by placing one's self by the side of the dead, that glory was sought; as though inspiration could ever come through a language which had never reached the bottom of the heart in the intimacy of domestic relations; a tongue in which the son had never heard his mother, nor the lover his beloved, and which was incapable of exciting a popular emotion." [Sismondi, vol. viii. p. 5.]

The great discoveries and inventions which have been mentioned, require a brief notice of their origin.

The mariner's Compass. This is attributed to a citizen of Amalfi, named Flavio Gioja, about the year 1300. The compass was known before that time, though it is not known when it became sufficiently understood to be generally used. Dr. Robertson places the discovery "soon after the end of the holy war," (1291.) Vol. i. p. 68. It is placed fifty or one hundred years earlier by others. See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 277. Koch, vol. i. p. 245. Macpherson on *Commerce*, vol. i. p. 364.

Gunpowder. If Roger Bacon, who died in 1292, knew any thing of that composition now called gunpowder, Koch (vol. i. p. 242) thinks he acquired his knowledge from the books translated from the Arabic. The same writer treats the commonly received opinion of invention or discovery by the German Schwartz, as a fable. Cannon were first used by the Moors, in Spain, in 1342. Small-arms did not come into use till about one hundred years afterwards. This accidental combination of saltpetre, charcoal, and sulphur, (substances harmless and insignificant, singly,) banished the gorgeous display of the tournament, and deprived chivalry of its heroic honors. It may be truly considered as a levelling invention.

Printing. The uncertainty of its origin indicates that it was not the invention of any one mind, but of many, and at different times and places, and gradually perfected by different suggestions and experiments. Koch (*Tableau des Revo. de l'Europe*, vol. i. p. 257, and seq.) attributes *moveable* types to John Gutenberg of Mayence, (or Mentz, on the Rhine,)

in 1436. He considers Peter Schœffer, of Gernsheim, the inventor of *casting* of types, at Mayence, in the year 1452. Others attribute the invention of casting to John Faust, the son-in-law, and associate of Schœffer. Koch seems to have made it certain, that the same Gutenburgh had a press at Strasbourgh from 1436 to 1445, in which latter year he returned to Mayence, and formed a partnership with Faust. It can hardly be doubted that the art was kept secret as long as possible. In 1474 William Caxton introduced printing in England. The first book was on the game of chess.* [Macpherson on commerce, vol. 1. p. 688.]

Ancient manuscripts or books. It is evidence of a great change in the intellectual occupations, that a diligent search was made throughout the fifteenth century for ancient literature. The places in which the search was most successful were churches and monasteries; and Bracciolini Poggio, a Tuscan by birth, and of noble family, is supposed to have been the most successful of those who so employed themselves. He was secretary to eight successive popes. In the first volume of Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, an account is given of this man, and of his labors.

Paper. It is probable that the invention of paper-making from linen, had some effect in promoting the changes in Europe. Paper-making from cotton was very ancient in China. In the year 947, the best paper known was said to be that made at Samarcand, in Bucharria, (east of the Caspian.) Macpherson, vol. 1, p. 269. The oldest *linen* paper known, is in the library of the emperor at Vienna, of the date of 1253.

In connexion with these intellectual pursuits, the practical arts and sciences had been advancing. The time may be said to have gone by, in which princes and prelates could command the submissive multitude to *believe* and *obey*. The day was dawning in which the adverse doctrine, *inquire* and *examine*, was to prevail. The causes of this great change may be, in part, perceived; but there must have been many others not to be traced, but no less effective. All these causes known and unknown, and whether operating singly or in combination, had stamped a new character on society, compared with that of the eleventh century. The despotism of the Roman church preserved its character. But its avarice, profligacy, and cor-

* In the Foreign Quarterly Review, (London,) Art. VII., April, 1837, the origin of the art of printing is discussed. The honor, according to this writer, belongs to Gutenburgh.

ruption, could no longer be concealed under the sacred office of the priesthood. The elements of revolution had long been fermenting; and society may well be considered as sufficiently enlightened to have carried revolution to its full length, and to have abolished the clergy, and to have reformed the church. There were many obstacles to such measures. Whatever may have been thought of the clergy as a class, there were many pure and worthy members among them. Religious reverence was associated with every thing, political, social, domestic; and multitudes were blind to the clerical abuses, or interested to maintain them. A reformation in the church was known to be necessary, and was earnestly desired; but opinion was much divided as to the manner of effecting it. There were perils in attempting it in any manner, as the church had lost none of its terrific power. The case was hopeless—nothing but convulsion and violence could break up the existing relations, and form new ones. The pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and the hosts of inferior clergy would not relinquish their hold, nor admit the need of change; the church had associated itself with all temporal governments, and every grade of society—the people of every Christian country, had a superstitious dread of interfering with the objects so long regarded with reverential awe. Great commendation may be due to some of the agents who appeared in the measures of reform in the sixteenth century. But the all-important event of freeing one portion of the Christian community from the Roman church, was not of human design. It was too grand a conception for any mortal. It was a result, not a purpose; a result to which the Christian world owes all its freedom, happiness and capacity to improve.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Constantine—Constantinople—Justinian—Factions of the Circus—Theodora—Belisarius—Narses—Edifices—Civil Law—Remarkable Events.

CONSTANTINE the Great, according to Gibbon, in his chapter XIV., was born at Naissus, in Dacia, about the year 274. Naissus is 450 miles north-west from Constantinople, and 100 miles south from the Danube. On the decease of his father Constantius, at York, in England, in 306, Constantine was declared emperor, by the army at that place. He had several

competitors for the throne, whom he vanquished in several battles, in different places. The last of them was Licinius, who maintained the imperial dignity at the eastern part of the empire, in Europe. In the year 334, Constantine had united the whole empire under his dominion. He had no partiality for Rome; and, probably, had never resided there but at the time when he conquered Maxentius, one of his five competitors, in its vicinity. The design of establishing a new capital was first entertained in 324. Gibbon's chapter XVII. is devoted to a description of the site of ancient Byzantium, and the waters and territory around it—to the selection of this place by Constantine, as his seat of empire—to the building of the city—to the government of the empire, from this place; and to the order of internal arrangement and police. The design was worthy of a great mind, and was successfully executed. The whole empire was laid under contribution to aggrandize Constantinople, and it arose, at once, to be the grandest city of the world. The most comprehensive and particular description we have seen of this city is contained in a work entitled, "*A Memoir on the Commerce and Navigation of the Black Sea, and the Trade and Maritime Geography of Turkey and Egypt: by Henry A. S. Dearborn.*" (Published at Boston, in 1819, 2 vols. 8vo., with a third volume of maps; a work containing a rich compilation of historical, geographical, and commercial facts.)

The short description, necessary to the present purpose, is taken from Gibbon, and the work above mentioned, and from some other sources. The Euxine or black sea, and the Propontis, or sea of Marmora, are connected by the Bosphorus, or channel of Constantinople, about sixteen miles in length, of irregular course from north-east to south-west. Through this channel there is an unceasing current from the Black Sea to the Marmora. When this current comes within about a mile of the Marmora, its course is nearly south. On the European side it passes by the suburbs of Pera and Galata; and the Port, which is an arm of the Bosphorus, (extending up north-westwardly between these suburbs and the city;) and then by the eastern side, or point of the city. On the Asiatic side, it passes by Scutari, (the ancient Chalcedon) which is nearly opposite to the city. Between the city and Scutari, the Bosphorus is about one mile and one furlong wide. The eastern point of the city forms an obtuse angle, of about two-thirds of a mile, between the Marmora and the Port, having the former for its south boundary, and the port for its north-eastern one. As the

city extends westwardly, between the Marmora and the Port, over several hills, it gradually widens. At the distance of three miles and a half, west from the Bosphorus, it is four miles wide, from the Marmora across to the port. On this line is the western wall of the city, or base of the triangle. At the south end of the line, on the Marmora, are the seven towers. The walls of the city are in contact with the waters, on all sides, but the west. The wall here was (in 1453) a double one, having an intervening ditch of great depth. The Port is 7 or 8 miles long, of various widths; the narrowest, opposite the city, is about one quarter of a mile. The church of St. Sophia, now a Mosk, is about three furlongs west from the Bosphorus, and nearly in the middle of the point of land. Measuring from the port to the Marmora, in a line through this church, running from north to south, the distance exceeds, a little, seven furlongs. After the capture of Constantinople, in 1453, the whole space between the church and the Bosphorus, and towards the port, was appropriated by the sultan to his own exclusive use. Here are the palace, harem, courts, and gardens. Southwest of the church, and near it, is the hippodrome, in which the factions of the charioteers exhibited themselves.

At the west end of the sea of Marmora, about 120 miles from the city, is the Hellespont, or Straits of the Dardanelles, about 35 miles in length, which connects the Marmora with the Grecian Archipelago. The Black Sea, the channel of Constantinople, the Marmora, and the Dardanelles, and the Archipelago, separate Europe from Asia.

In the year 395, Theodorus divided the Roman empire into west and east, and gave the one part to Honorius, the other to Arcadius, his sons. The eastern empire extended from the Black Sea along the Danube, to the 20th degree of east long., about 600 miles west from the Black Sea; and from the Danube southwardly to the Adriatic, including Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus, and the territory known as Greece, and its islands. The coast of Africa, from ancient Carthage to Palestine, including Egypt, was part of the empire. The eastern coast of the Mediterranean, was included, and thence northwardly to the Black Sea, including also, all Asia Minor. Beyond this eastern boundary, was the territory of the great valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which had been the shifting boundary of the Romans and Persians, for many centuries.

In the former part of these sketches, the succession from Constantine to the commencement of the sixth century, has been noticed. The authentic source of historical information

for his period is found in the seventeenth and six following chapters of Gibbon. The present purpose is to make a sketch of the eastern empire, from 500 to 1453, when the Turks possessed themselves of Constantinople. The materials are taken from Gibbon, in general, excepting as to the crusades and the church. As to these, Heeren, Koch, Hallam, and histories of the church are the principal guides. As to the civil law, Harris's Institutes of Justinian, and other authorities, are relied on. The principal object is to notice those events which have had a lasting effect on subsequent ages. Secondary to this, is the actual condition of society in these ages, and the causes of its wretchedness. Last, and the least important, is the course of crime by which the throne of the Eastern, or Greek empire, was gained or lost. It is probable, that more atrocious crimes were committed in Constantinople in these nine or ten centuries, than were ever known in any place, or among an equal number of persons, in the same space of time. The character of this criminality seems to have been the more odious from the power and influence which women appear to have had in public affairs. Many of these scenes occurred in the close of the fifth, and commencement of the sixth century, which are passed over, to consider the reign of the emperor Justinian.

The family of this emperor was of humble origin. It was first known at a place called Sardica, the capital of Bulgaria; now known as Sophia, 285 miles west-north-west from Constantinople. Justin, the uncle of Justinian, with two other peasants, found their way from their birth-place to Constantinople. Justin entered the army and acquired respect and confidence as a soldier; and was raised by his comrades to the throne, in the year 518. He adopted his nephew Justinian, who reigned thirty-eight years and seven months, from 527 to 565. The events of his reign have been transmitted by Procopius, who was secretary to the general Belisarius.* It is worth noticing that while Justin was on the throne of Constantinople, Theodoric was on the throne of Italy, and that neither of these monarchs had been so well educated as to be able to write or read. Both of them attained to their distinction by means of military renown. Remarkable as these vicissitudes may appear, they were not singular. There were changes in the condition of other individuals, equally remarkable; and perhaps no one more so than in the case of Theodora, the wife of Justinian. She was one of three daughters of

* See Gibbon's fortieth chapter.

Acacius, a native of the isle of Cyprus, whose employment was that of keeper of the wild beasts maintained by the faction of the blues. There were two numerous bodies of men, distinguished by the color of their garments, the blues and the greens, who were pledged to deadly hostility to each other. They were communities within the city, and sufficiently powerful, not only to put the whole city in terror, but even the emperor himself. All occurrences, religious, political, and military, had some connection with these factions. The fate of Theodora was, in some degree, influenced by them, as her father was connected with the blues. At his death, the oldest of the three sisters was not seven years of age. All of them were remarkable for grace and beauty, and all of them were devoted to the theatre by their mother, at a time when it was infamous to be of the theatrical company, even in depraved and licentious Constantinople. There is no moral degradation which is not affirmed of Theodora. After being for years, Gibbon says, "the delight and the contempt of the city," she accompanied a native of Tyre to Egypt, where he abandoned her, and she found her way from Alexandria, through Syria and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, having left a son who was educated by his father, somewhere in Arabia. On her return she became more discreet; assumed a character of chastity, and ensnared Justinian, who, through many difficulties and serious objections from her former infamy, made her his wife and empress. "The prostitute who had polluted the theatre of Constantinople, was adored as a queen, in the same city, by grave magistrates, orthodox bishops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs." The character of the government, and the order of society is shown by the fact, that the cellar of Theodora's palace contained prisons and dungeons, to which all were hurried, without trial or public accusation, who incurred her displeasure. She saw with her own eyes, that chains and torments were properly applied, according to her feelings of justice. Yet Theodora is spoken of for her good sense, and even her virtues, as a queen. After reigning twenty-two years, she died of a cancer. Gibbon says, "the prudence of Theodora is celebrated by Justinian himself; and his laws are attributed to the sage counsels of his most revered wife, whom he had received as a gift of the Deity."

The character of the times is further shown in the factions of the circus. They arose from the color of the dress worn by those who contended for the prizes. They soon became associated with every public concern, and their influence ex-

tended to the great cities of the provinces. The blues espoused the side of orthodoxy, the greens were heretics; that is, Manichæans, Eutychians, Arians, &c. In the fifth year of Justinian, a tumult arose at the circus, at a celebration of the ides of January, ordered by the emperor. The games were disturbed by the clamors of the greens, till the emperor became irritated, and ordered a crier to proclaim: "Be silent, ye insolent railers, ye Jews, Samaritans, and Manichæans!" The greens then complained that a general persecution was exercised against their name and color: they at last lamented that the father of Justinian had been born, and declared his son a homicide, an ass, and a perjured tyrant. "Do you despise your lives!" said Justinian. The blues, always armed, immediately commenced a conflict with the greens, which continued through several successive days. All civil authority was at an end; liberty, property, and person, without distinction of office or sex, were submitted to the violence of the blues and greens. The city was set on fire; the church of St. Sophia, and part of the palace were consumed. Justinian prepared to escape into Asia, and assembled a council to decide whether he should fly. All of this council advised to flight, but Theodora. If the words which Gibbon attributes to her, were hers, whatever her morals and her heart may have been, she has claim to be ranked as a heroine: "If flight were the only means of safety, yet I should disdain to fly. Death is the condition of our birth. I adhere to the maxim of antiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." This firmness turned the attention of the council to other measures. The blues and greens had come to a sort of armistice, and were assembled in the hippodrome. Three thousand chosen troops were led thither, and the entrances at the two ends were cautiously approached by this body in two divisions, and thirty thousand persons are said to have fallen in the promiscuous slaughter. Justinian and Theodora were thus reinstated in their power. They used it, as may be expected, with a vigor proportioned to the insult which the dignity of the purple had received; and especially on the greens and their adherents, who, in the course of the tumult, had proclaimed an opponent emperor.

The wars of Justinian were almost incessant; sometimes with the Persians, and sometimes with the barbarians. His wars were conducted by Belisarius, and afterwards by Narses. The former is entitled to the highest praise that can ever belong to the character of a warrior. He came from an obscure family in Thrace. He rose to the highest command. The

military glory of Justinian was won by him. In 530, he vanquished an army of Persia. The only battle he ever lost, and that not by his fault, was in the following year, against the same enemy. In 532, he was called home to suppress the blue and green factions. In 534, he was sent to Africa, to conquer the Vandal kingdom established at Carthage. The most consummate prudence and skill accomplished this enterprise. Gelimer, the king of the Vandals, driven in the last resort to a fortress in Mauritania, was there besieged. When invited to surrender, and when almost destitute of the necessities of life, he refused; but besought the leader of his enemies to send him a loaf of bread, and a harp to console his sorrows, and a sponge to bathe his eyes; (which were diseased from exposure and suffering.) He was taken and conducted to the foot of the throne, on which Justinian and Theodora were seated. To Belisarius was allowed a triumphal entry, the only one that was ever allowed to a subject, at Constantinople. Among the trophies, were the holy vessels of Solomon's temple, which had been carried to Rome 450 years before. It was seventy years since they had been plundered from Rome and carried to Carthage. By the emperor's order they were returned to the church of Jerusalem. This was the end of the Vandals. There is a medal still in being, commemorative of these events, bearing the words—Belisarius Gloria Romanorum. In 540, Belisarius conducted Vitiges, the Gothic king of Italy, to Constantinople. In 559 he carried on the war against the Bulgarians, and conquered them. He was, at other times, engaged against the Persians and barbarians.

Although Belisarius thus contributed to the glory of Justinian, and at no time assumed to exercise power on his own account, (though he might have placed himself on the throne, probably,) he could not escape calumny and suspicion; especially when such a person as Theodora was to be pleased. He was suspected of a conspiracy, deprived of his command, imprisoned in his own palace, fined 120,000 pieces of gold; and was informed that he owed his life to the prayers and tears of his wife Antonina. This person was of the same order, and more infamous, if possible, than Theodora, on the stage. She was the acquaintance, and, alternately, the companion, the enemy, the instrument, and the friend of Theodora. Belisarius was not ignorant of her faithlessness to him; yet his forbearance to her, (Gibbon says,) was above or below the dignity of a man. Perhaps the wise Belisarius understood the times, and the characters around him, and tolerated Antonina as

necessary to him, and because she was a lover of his glory, if not of himself. The accounts given, that the eyes of Belisarius were put out; that he was imprisoned, and begged alms by letting a bag down from his grate; and that he begged his bread in the streets, are not supported by any evidence. If he had so fallen in the estimation of Justinian, it must have been from suspicion of offence which would have required the sacrifice of his life. He died in 565, at an advanced age.

After Belisarius was disgraced, the eunuch Narses commanded in Italy, and conquered the northern part, from the river Po southwardly; so that all Italy, south of that river, was again a part of the Roman empire. But Narses, like other successful chiefs in the service of a suspicious and corrupt court, was feared in proportion to his success. He also was disgraced, and died of shame and grief; though he might well have died without such cause, since he is said to have attained to the age of ninety-five.

Two other occurrences in Justinian's reign are to be mentioned, (avoiding now the affairs of the church, which are to be mentioned separately;) first, the edifices; and secondly, the new compilation of the laws. The early attention of Justinian was devoted to rebuilding the church of St. Sophia, (or the eternal wisdom.) Ten thousand men were employed. At the end of five years, ten months, and eleven days, Justinian exclaimed, at the solemn feast of the dedication, "Glory be to God, who has thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work! I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!" There is no space for the description of this magnificent temple, which still remains, (nearly 1300 years,) though transformed into a Turkish mosque, an object of admiration. Besides this church, he built twenty-five magnificent churches in, and near, Constantinople. The detail of similar structures throughout his empire, and of bridges, aqueducts, and fortifications, need not be pursued. He seemed to be ambitious of leaving some enduring memorial of himself, wherever one could be raised. But this was a costly vanity to his subjects. He availed himself of every resource which ingenuity could devise, however unjust and oppressive. In these respects, the pious Justinian disregarded the maxims which he proclaimed. He exercised the power of the strongest, without regard to justice or suffering. It would be too charitable to suppose that piety and patriotism were his motives, and not an unprofitable ambition, and a criminal selfishness.

Though the fame of Justinian is connected with splendid

structures, some of which remain to the present time; and though historians may consider his reign glorious, from the conquests which his generals achieved, these are slight claims to consideration, compared with the code of laws which bear his name. So long as the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (the body of the civil law) continues to be the standard of right and wrong in the administration of justice, among enlightened nations, this emperor must be remembered. This great work was, probably, his own design. He was learned, diligent, and competent to do what he professes to have done. There is evidence of his own agency in the declaration which prefaces the Institutes. He therein says,—“The imperial dignity should be supported by arms and guarded by laws, that the people, in time of peace as well as war, may be secured from dangers and rightly governed. For, a Roman emperor ought not only to be victorious over his enemies in the field, but should also take every legal course to clear the state from all members whose crafts and iniquities are subversive of the law. Be it the care, therefore, of him upon whom government devolves, to be renowned for a most religious observance of law and justice, as well as for his triumphs.”

It is among the sure indications of a nation's decline, that the authority of law-making has returned, by gradual usurpations, to the will of a monarch. The concentration of all power in himself, enabled Justinian to abrogate all customary and written law, and present a new system to his subjects; and enabled him, also, to dispense with that system, and substitute his own will and pleasure whenever it suited his interest or caprice to do so. What Junius said of a certain English judge, with more malice than truth, was strictly applicable to Justinian:—“For the defence of truth, of law, and reason, the Doctor's book may be safely consulted; but whoever wishes to cheat a neighbor of his estate, or rob a country of its rights, need make no scruple of consulting the Doctor himself.” [Letter xiv.]

When a nation has moved onward, for centuries, under the rules which have regulated all rights of persons, of property, and of political power, it is a difficult and a serious labor to form new rules for all these purposes, or to give a new form to those in force. To do this, and do it well, and so well that other nations, not then in being, have unanimously consented to regard the product of such labor with respect and reverence, and to receive it as declarative of the eternal principles of justice, is a reward of exalted value, however unthought of by

the author. Those for whom the civil law was designed, have, long since, disappeared from the earth; the whole region in which it was to rule is ignorant that it exists. The koran and the laws of "the prophet" reign there in sullen despotism. But the civil law is known and cherished by enlightened nations, who were enveloped in the deep obscurity of barbarism when this law was promulgated.

When Justinian lived, more than twelve hundred years had elapsed from the foundation of Rome. In the revolutions which occurred in this city, the law-making power was in various and different hands. The laws and the commentaries on them had become so numerous that they would make "many camels' loads." Justinian says,—“When we had arranged and brought into lucid harmony the hitherto confused mass of imperial constitutions, we then extended our care to the numerous volumes of ancient law, and have now completed, with the favor of Heaven, (wading, as it were, through a vast ocean,) a work which exceeded even our hope, and was attended with greatest difficulties.” These words disclose what the materials of the civil law were. By “imperial constitutions” is intended the laws which were made by the sole authority of the emperors. In the year 31 before our era, Augustus made laws, but used the formality of having the assent of the senate. His successor, Tiberius, disencumbered himself of this form; and, ever after, the laws came from the mere will of the emperors. The senate and the people exempted Augustus from the coercion of the laws, and gave him the power of amending or making whatever laws he thought proper. He and his successors made laws by *epistolæ*, which were letters containing the emperor's opinions on matters arising in different parts of the empire. By *decreta*, which were judgments given by the emperor, personally, in court. By *edicta*, or edicts, or positive enactments, in affairs of the state, independent of the senate. By *mandates*, or commands to particular officers. By *interpretationes*, or interpretations of existing laws according to the imperial will. The first part of the civil law consists of these imperial constitutions, and is called “the code.” But the compilation did not go to a time more remote than when Hadrian was emperor, A. D. 117 to 138.

The second part of the civil law is what Justinian intends by the words “the numerous volumes of the ancient laws.” These were digested into a form which is called “The Digest,” or “The Pandects,” usually quoted by the former name.

How deeply the compilers penetrated the antiquity of Roman jurisprudence, is very doubtful. It is probable that the laws of the republic, when Rome breathed the spirit of manly independence, were little to the purpose. The word *Pandects* is said to be compounded of two Greek words, which mean *all* and *receivers*, or general receivers; but Gibbon seems to doubt (in a note to his 44th chapter) whether the word is Greek or Latin. This part of the work purports to be the marrow of all former jurisprudence, and to be drawn from many laborious works. Among others,—1. The laws of the early kings, collected by Papirius. 2. The “twelve tables,” or the laws inscribed on twelve tables of brass, about sixty years after the expulsion of Tarquin. 3. The *juris consulti*, or opinions of learned jurists, both under the republic and under the emperors. 4. The *plebiscita*, or laws of the people, made during their contentions with the patricians. 5. The *senatus consulta*, or laws of the senate, under the republic. 6. The laws made by the *prætors*, who exercised judicial office. 7. The laws of the *curules ædiles*, originally inspectors of the public buildings. 8. Besides these, there were many digests made by learned men in various ages of Rome; and, among the most eminent are,—1. *Offilius*, in the time of Julius Cæsar. 2. *Sulvius Julius*, time of Augustus, author of the “perpetual edict.” 3. *Gregorius*, *Hermogenes*, and *Papirius*, first half of second century, time of Antoninus. 4. The code made in 438, in the time of Theodosius the younger, which furnished the rules of law in the west for centuries. 5. The five eminent civilians in the first half of the third century, *Caius*, *Papinian*, *Paul*, *Ulpian*, and *Modestinus*. But there were hundreds of others, who were authors of more or less note. These digests had little effect in preserving a general knowledge of right and wrong. From the time of Augustus to the end of the empire, the whole population had become so debased and corrupted, that the language of Theophilus, in the court of Justinian, applied equally to all times:—“What interest or passion can reach the calm and sublime elevation of the monarch! He is already master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and those who have incurred his displeasure are already numbered with the dead.”*

Justinian selected seventeen lawyers from Constantinople, Rome, and Berytus, which were the most eminent. Berytus

* Before the end of the first half century of the American republic, a majority of the people seem to be ready to echo similar sentiments.

(known now as Barout) was situated in Phœnicia, not far from Sidon, and was a place distinguished for its law-school in that day. At the head of these was Tribonian, the chancellor of Justinian, alike distinguished by his learning and his want of integrity. The incessant labor of three years was devoted to the digest. Forty different works were taken from Tribonian's library, comprising three millions of lines or sentences, and these were reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand. The laws are supposed to have been in the short form of precepts, and to have contained commands or prohibitions, in all the endless variety of cases which can arise as to persons, property, offences, and crimes. The digest, then, is a selection of all those principles of justice which applied to human affairs, as then understood, under the imperial authority of Constantinople. But, after all, the work was in a language which few of Justinian's subjects could understand, even if it were accessible by them. The generality of them already spoke a barbarous sort of Greek, at the seat of empire and in the provinces. The Latin had become a language for the learned. It is probable that these stupendous labors were of like use to most of the subjects of the empire, as the laws of Congress are to the German population of Pennsylvania, or to the patriotic emigrants from the Emerald Isle.

The third part of the civil law consists of the Institutes. Of these, Justinian says,—“As soon as, by the blessing of God, this (the Code and Digest) was accomplished, we summoned Tribonian, our chancellor, with Theophilus and Dorotheus, men of known learning and tried fidelity, whom we enjoined, by our authority, to *compose* the following Institutes, that *the rudiments of law* might be more effectually learned by the sole means of our imperial authority.” The Institutes are, therefore, an introduction to the Code and the Digest, or a general elementary treatise on their contents. They contain the principles of law in four books: 1. Persons. 2. Things. 3. Actions. 4. Private wrongs and criminal wrongs. Gibbon (44th chapter) passes this eulogium on the Institutes:—“The same volume which introduced the youth of Rome, of Constantinople, and Berytus, to the gradual study of the Code and Pandects, is still precious to the historian, the philosopher, and the magistrate.” To preserve the civil law, as thus arranged, Justinian declared that any attempt to change, in any respect, *his* work, or even to *comment* upon it, should involve the crime of forgery. But, before six years had elapsed from the publication of the code, (that is, in 534,) he published a corrected

edition, adding thereto two hundred new laws of his own, and "fifty decisions of the darkest and most intricate points of jurisprudence." [Gibbon, chap. xliv.] Of these, one hundred and sixty-eight novels and thirteen edicts have been retained, which constitute the fourth part of the civil law, (as now read,) under the name of *Novellæ*, or novels, or *new laws*. These alterations, for the most part trifling, are said to have arisen "from the venal spirit of a prince, who sold, without shame, his judgments and his laws." It is in vain to have laws, however admirable, unless there be upright and learned magistrates to administer them. The profligacy and corruption of the times, in which Justinian and his governess, the infamous Theodora, fully partook, defeated all the beneficent designs which may be attributed to the emperor. His subjects derived little benefit from his laws, since the arbitrary will of himself and of his empress were superior to all laws. In form, but not in effect, the Justinian code continued in force about three hundred years, and was then superseded by a feeble and mutilated version in the Greek language, in the time of the emperor Basil, called the *Basilicæ*. The Justinian code is the basis of the civil law among the nations on the continent of Europe, and is highly respected in England and the United States. It is often quoted in courts of justice in both countries.

Justinian died at the age of eighty-three, having reigned nearly thirty-eight years, (November 14, 565,) eight months after Belisarius. All the description of his person that has been met with, is, that he was of well-proportioned figure, ruddy complexion, and of pleasing countenance. He excelled in the virtues of chastity and temperance. He was abstemious; his repasts were short and frugal; he contented himself with vegetables and water. He reposed, usually, but a single hour, then rose and walked, or studied, till daylight. He professed to be musician and architect, poet and philosopher, theologian and lawyer. Yet his reign, taken altogether, was little to his honor. His conquests were costly and unprofitable. His people were oppressed with exactions; he ruled for himself and Theodora, and not for them. He was neither beloved in his life nor regretted in his death. [Gibbon, chap. xliii.] Comets, earthquakes, and pestilence, marked his reign. The former, to a superstitious people, were terrible. In 526, two hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to have perished by an earthquake at Antioch. In 531 Berytus was destroyed; many of the first youth of the empire, gathered at the law-school there, perished in that convulsion. Constanti-

nople suffered severely, and a portion of the church of St. Sophia was thrown down. In 542, Europe and Asia were visited by the plague. It continued more than fifty years. A particular account is given by Procopius, before mentioned, who saw its ravages at Constantinople. Justinian was among the diseased. What the mortality may have been in this visitation, may be conjectured from the fact, that during the three months in which the plague visited Constantinople, five thousand, and, at length, ten thousand were the daily number of victims. Terror and improvidence brought the natural consequence, scarcity of food; and from this cause calamity was increased.

The splendor and luxury of Constantinople, in Justinian's time, imply agriculture, commerce, manual labor, and no small degree of industry. The arts must have flourished; but few, if any, which are considered sciences as well as arts. There are no records in honor of the fine arts. Manual labor was conducted by slaves, and the cultivation of the earth was richly repaid in portions of the fertile provinces in Asia Minor, now a desolate region, and so to be while the Turks are its tenants. Egypt was the granary of this city as well as of Rome. Traffic was carried on with the east. From the Phœnicians came the rich purple (extracted from a shell-fish) which was appropriated to royalty. At this time the silk-worm was introduced from China. Two monks, whose zeal had carried them thither, brought the eggs of the silk-worm in the hollow of their canes, and these were hatched by artificial heat. They were thus brought into notice, were multiplied, and the ancient Peloponessus of the Greeks, now called the Morea, became celebrated for its silk manufactures.* The products of industry and commerce were applied to the luxury of the palace, the army, and the church. Bad as this state of society may have been, it was the best that was experienced in the eastern empire from the time of this emperor to its fall, in 1453.

Justin II., a nephew of Justinian, was his successor.

* The name Morea is either from a Greek word signifying *tree*, or from the Latin *morum*, the mulberry.

CHAPTER LXV.

The Emperor Heraclius and the Persians—Restoration of the Holy Cross—Succession of Greek Emperors—Basilican Code—The Latin kingdom at Constantinople.

AFTER Justin II. came Mauritius, or Maurice; and then Phocas, who is represented to have been alike odious in person and character. At this time the war with Persia had been so disastrous that the Persians had approached, through Asia Minor, and had encamped within view, from the walls of Constantinople. A personal enemy of Phocas invited Heraclius, a prefect of Africa, to come and take the empire. Heraclius sent his son, of the same name, with a fleet. Phocas was betrayed into the hands of this person, who put him to death, and ascended the throne. The reign of Heraclius was distinguished by some remarkable events, and some extraordinary achievements, on his part.

The Persians on the western shore of Asia Minor were impeded from approaching the walls of Constantinople, only by the flow of waters which separate the two continents. Along the Danube were a barbarian people known by the name of Avars, numerous, brave, and hostile to the Greeks, though easily purchased, or bribed, to be quiet. But their engagements were as easily broken; and when least expected, they might appear as enemies even under the walls of Constantinople. The military of the empire were no longer Romans, but a corrupt and seditious assembly of any and of all surrounding nations, who had nothing better to do than to enlist. The city itself was divided into inveterate factions.

At this time, year 602, when Heraclius became emperor, Chosroes, the grandson of a celebrated king of the same name, was on the Persian throne. The war which began between the elder Chosroes, and Justinian, had been continued, with little intermission. The Persians had found it easy to penetrate to the Bosphorus, though they left in their rear some fortified cities, which had not submitted to their power. The first important information which Heraclius received, as emperor, was, that the ancient and famous city of Antioch, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, and near its north-eastern corner, had been taken by the Persians. They thence turned their arms to the south, and, proceeding along the coast of Syria, took Cesarea, and, at length, the city of Jerusalem. It is relat-

ed that the patriarch Zachariah, and the holy cross, to that time, (614,) preserved in that city, were taken, and transferred to Persia. Egypt was next conquered; and the whole coast of the Mediterranean, from Egypt on the south and west, around to the shores of the *Ægean* Sea, and of the Bosphorus, were subjected to the Persian king. He maintained his camp for ten successive years, in full view of Constantinople. Such were the difficulties with which Heraclius had to contend; and who had hitherto shown no disposition to encounter them. There remained nothing of the ancient grandeur of the empire. Its limits, on the east, were the Bosphorus; on the west, the very walls of the city. Greece, a small part of Italy, the African provinces, and some cities on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, and two or three cities on the Black Sea, (*Trebzond*, the principal one,) were all that acknowledged the Roman dominion. The interior state of things was not less deplorable, than the exterior; and the last days of the empire seemed to have come. Yet the apparently careless and imbecile Heraclius, awaking from his long-continued apathy, was destined to retrieve his empire, and to acquire a renown which places him in the rank of the ablest and most effective generals, of any age.

He began with taking the treasures of the church, and purchased a peace with the Avars. With the same means he obtained new troops, though wholly undisciplined, and composed, mostly, of barbarians. The Persians had no maritime force, and the emperor had the command of the sea. Well knowing what would be his fate, if he led his new troops over the Hellespont, and engaged with the veteran forces of his enemy, on the Asiatic shore, he embarked them, and proceeded to the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, and landed them on the shores of a bay called Scanderon. The place of his encampment was on the river Issus, where Alexander defeated Darius. Here he devoted himself incessantly to the discipline of his troops, sharing equally with them, the labor, their coarse fare, and privations. His encampment had attracted the notice of the Persians, who were not disposed to entangle their cavalry in the defiles of the mountains, by which Heraclius was protected. When he was prepared, he boldly crossed these barriers, engaged his enemies, and proved that they were not invincible. He encamped, for the winter, on the Halys, the largest river of the peninsula, and leaving his army there, returned to Constantinople.

He gathered and disciplined 5000 men, and departed, by the

way of the Black Sea, to Trebisonde, an important city near its south-eastern corner. He assembled the troops which he had left on the Halys, and, with such auxiliaries as he could command, proceeded to Armenia. Gibbon says, that, "since the days of Scipio and Hannibal, no bolder enterprize has been attempted, than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of his empire." To understand the military career of Heraclius a geographical knowledge of the countries, in which he met his foes, is necessary. Some sketches of those countries are contained in chapter LXVI., under the head of Persia. Gibbon's account of these movements will be found in his XLVI. chapter.

Heraclius passed, unimpeded, through Armenia, to the city Tauris, and possessed himself of its treasures. While he was here, the Persian king, Chosroes II., approached him with an army, from the south. The emperor offered battle, and also offered to treat of peace, but the king declined both, and retreated. The emperor pursued his conquests towards the Caspian Sea, and took the town of Thebarma, or Ormia. Here was preserved the sacred fire of the Persians, kindled by Zoroaster himself. This place is said to have been the birth-place of this founder of Persian religion, if such a person there ever was. The sacred fire was extinguished. Fifty thousand captives (taken in the Roman and Persian wars) were liberated. Heraclius is the first, and only Roman general, that ever penetrated to the city of Ispahan. Meanwhile, Chosroes had recalled a part of his armies from the Nile and the Bosphorus, and gathered an army from the east. Heraclius was exposed to the attacks of three armies at the same time; but he defended himself successfully, and, by adroit generalship, still maintained his superiority. Laden with spoils, and with numerous prisoners, he retired across the Tigris, and proceeded south-westwardly, to Cilicia, at the eastern end of the peninsula of Asia Minor, having encountered, on his way, many of the Persian forces, which still remained in the countries they had conquered from the Romans.

The Persian forces which remained on the west shore of Asia Minor, and the Avars, had combined their efforts to subdue Constantinople, while Heraclius was absent. The city was in imminent peril. Heraclius, on being informed of this, sent 12,000 chosen troops, by sea, for the defence of the city. The Avars were compelled to retreat. Both the king, and the emperor, were occupied with preparing for new encounters. The king had gathered one army of fifty thousand, distinguish-

ed as the army of the golden spurs. A second army was organized to prevent the troops which were under a separate command of Theodorus, from joining the forces of his brother Heraclius. The third army was ordered to proceed directly to Constantinople, and conquer that city. On his part, Heraclius had secured the alliance of the hordes of Tartars, who dwelt on the Volga, north of the Caucassian mountains, and who furnished him with 40,000 horse. A Persian general, whose camp was on the east side of the Bosphorus, was induced to revolt. Chosroes had collected a force in Media, and Assyria, of 500,000 men; and thither Heraclius proceeded. The armies met on the plain (in the year 627) where were the ruins of Nineveh. The battle lasted from day-break to the eleventh hour of the night, and ended with the total defeat of the Persians. By the event of this battle, the palaces, and riches of Assyria, from the plains of Nineveh to within a few miles of Ctesiphon, became the spoil of Heraclius, and whatsoever could not be carried away, was either burnt or destroyed. Many thousands of captives were liberated. The approach of winter, and the improbability of taking Ctesiphon, to which Chosroes had retired, induced Heraclius to retreat to Tauris. The defeat of Chosroes, raised a conspiracy against him, and he was deposed, and confined in a dungeon, by his own son Siroes, who assumed the crown.

Peace was made between Heraclius and the new king, who surrendered the cross which had been taken from Jerusalem. All the conquests of the Persians from the Romans were given up, and the former extent of the empire resumed. From Tauris to Constantinople, Heraclius proceeded in a continued triumph. He entered his capital in a chariot drawn by four elephants. This is the only triumphal entry, by an emperor, that ever occurred in that city. He had been absent three years, devoted incessantly to the severest toil, and in numerous battles, in which he was, sometimes, in imminent peril. Many of his foes fell by his own hand. The name of his horse (Phallus) has been handed down. In these conflicts he is not supposed to have been wounded but once, and then slightly. His Phallus was wounded in the same battle.

In the next year, 629, Heraclius went to Jerusalem, and there, with great splendor, and with pious ceremonies, restored the cross to its former place, on mount Calvary. This event is celebrated in the Roman church by an annual festival, called *the exaltation of the cross*.

Heraclius had married his niece, Martina, an ambitious and

unprincipled woman, after his return from Persia, and left children, by this and a former marriage, with Eudoxia. He died in February, 641, at an advanced age. During the next seventy-seven years, the history of the empire discloses only a series of crimes among the descendants of Heraclius, in their contests for the throne. Murder, by assassination and poison, mutilation of the person by cutting off the nose, and pulling out the tongue; factions, cabals, insurrections, and ecclesiastical tyrannies, are the materials of history, which cannot be used for any purpose of instruction, unless to show how basely and wickedly human beings can struggle for the exercise of power.

In 718, Leo III, surnamed the Isaurian, from the place of his birth, became emperor. Isauria was in Asia Minor, between latitudes 37 and 38, long. 32. Leo was of very humble origin, probably son of a grazier. He entered the army, rose to distinction, and was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. He is principally distinguished by his zeal to destroy the worship of images, which, in his time, had become almost universal in the church. The sect or party of which he was the head, were called image breakers, which words, in the Greek, were rendered by the term Iconoclasts. He reigned 34 years, and died peaceably in his palace.

Constantine, (Capronymus,) the fifth of that name, son of Leo, is a remarkable instance of the different accounts which history may give of the same person. Being an Iconoclast, and having pushed his zeal, in this matter, with extreme intolerance, ecclesiastical writers represent him to have been the most profligate, and the most cruel monster, that ever appeared in human form. Other historians admit him to have been severe in his persecutions, and entitled to no praise for his virtues; but ascribe to him qualities of a monarch that make him respectable. He seems to have been able to maintain his empire against internal and external foes, and to have contributed to its prosperity.

Constantine the Sixth, a child under the guardianship of his mother Irene, began his reign in 780. Irene restored the worship of images, and went as far in the persecution of the Iconoclasts, as Leo had gone in the support of them. This unnatural mother dethroned her son, and put out his eyes, and had, probably, few equals in the enormity of her crimes. She moved through the streets of Constantinople drawn by four milk-white steeds, having as many patricians to hold the reins, and who went on foot by her golden chariot. She fell from this

proud eminence, and ended her life under banishment to the isle of Lesbos; where she acquired a humble subsistence by the work of her own hands.

Passing over several emperors, from the time of Irene, in 802, as unnecessary to be noticed, the first emperor that attracts attention is Basil, I., who began his reign in 867, and which continued twenty years. His father was a humble farmer near Adrianople, about 150 miles nearly north-west of Constantinople; but he was reputed to be descended from the royal house of the Arsacides, anciently of Parthia. The mother of Basil is supposed to have been a descendant of Constantine the Great. While Basil was an infant, his native place was destroyed by a horde of Bulgarians from the north, and he was carried away a captive, and rose to manhood as a slave. The number of captives encouraged them to make a desperate effort to free themselves. Basil returned to Adrianople in poverty, and soon after went to Constantinople, and passed his first night, in that city, on the steps of the church of St. Diomedes. He found employment with one of the retinue of the palace, and rose to be an officer in the imperial stables. He attracted the notice of the emperor Michael, and by successive gradations, was associated in the imperial authority; and having caused Michael to be put to death, ascended the throne.

Such a course would lead one to expect the common exhibition of vices and crimes. It was far otherwise; and Basil is deservedly ranked among the most able and honorable of all the Greek monarchs. His private life was respectable, and his public administration useful, and advantageous to his empire. He reformed abuses, and selected the most competent and virtuous for his agents. Though he did not lead his armies himself, he gave the command to deserving men, and the enemies of the empire, both in the east, and the north, were once more compelled to respect the majesty of the Roman name. The civil code of Justinian had become obsolete, and unintelligible to most of the subjects of the empire, who knew only the Greek language. He, therefore, made a new compilation, known under the name of Basilicæ, which his son, and grandson, perfected, and which was the law of the empire until the conquest of the Turks in 1453. It was made out of the Justinian code.

The descendants of Basil held the throne till the year 1056, with the interruption of two usurpations. This succession was attended by several murders, some of them by violence, and some of them by poison, with many acts of excessive cru-

elty. The possession of the throne depended on many contingencies. The son or daughter, the brother or the nephew, might succeed as heir, or the tenant might nominate a successor. The army, the officers of the palace, the populace, or the widow of a deceased emperor, might fill the vacant throne, by violence or intrigue. The most common of the contingencies was that of assassination, poisoning, banishment, imprisonment, mutilation, or some more cruel act, successfully perpetrated by some revengeful aspirant. The power of the emperor seems to have been absolute. The offence, the law, and condemnation, and punishment, came in rapid succession, and all, but the offence, from the emperor's will. As one instance of the practices of these days, the barbarians, near the Danube, had taken 12,000 prisoners, who were in the emperor's service; their noses were cut off, and they were sent back to Constantinople, thus mutilated. Constantine, emperor in 969, sent back to the barbarians some thousands of captives, divided into companies of 100, having put out 199 eyes in each company, leaving one eye for the use of their guide. These are some of the atrocious acts of this age, but not, perhaps, the worst which might be selected. The materials of Byzantine history are very few. Such as may have existed were, probably, in the burning of Constantinople—a loss, not much to be regretted, in this respect.

Some volumes attributed to Basil, and others, respectively attributed to his son, Leo VI., called the philosopher, and to his grandson, Constantine VII., called porphyrogenitus, (or born in the purple chamber,) appear to have been known to Gibbon. These three emperors comprise the space between the years 867 and 959, and from these volumes some information is obtained of the state of the empire. The code of laws called the *Basilicæ*, is said, by Gibbon, to be a feeble version of portions of the Justinian code, into the Greek. An elaborate account is given in these volumes of the minute and burthensome ceremonies of the palace, of the military regulations, and of the different provinces of the empire. The riches of some individuals are noticed. One instance is found in the condition of a female called Danielis, a Grecian matron, of Patras, in the north-western part of the Peloponessus. This matron is represented to have been a patroness of Basil, who was sent to Greece at an early period of his life, and who appears to have enjoyed her favor and bounty, after he became emperor. Among her presents to him were a carpet of wool, wrought of exceeding fineness, and of a pattern which imitated the spots of a

peacock's tail; and of a size adapted to cover the floor of a church. She gave, also, 600 pieces of silk and linen. The silk was painted with the Tyrian dye, and adorned with the labors of the needle. The linen was so exquisitely fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane. Another present to Basil, was 300 young men, as slaves. When Danielis visited Basil, at Constantinople, she was carried from Patras thither, 500 miles, in a litter, attended by 300 slaves, who relieved each other on the way. At her decease, she gave to Basil's son, Leo, the residue of her estates, which comprised 80 farms, and 3000 slaves. [Gibbon, chap. liii.] No suggestion is made, how a private female should have acquired such riches in the ninth century, nor how the arts should have attained to such perfection in that place, and in that age. This was the darkest and most barbarous age of western Europe, with the exception of the transient attempts of Charlemagne to emerge from it. The Basilian (called also the Macedonian) dynasty, terminated in the two daughters of a great grandson of the first Basil, Zoe and Theodora. The former ranks among the most criminal and profligate of the many females who appeared, from time to time, on the Byzantine throne.

There remain yet about four centuries of the Greek empire, (1056 to 1453,) in which will be found only a repetition of the same scenes of depravity and crime, in acquiring, holding, and losing the throne. It is a singular fact, that in the long lapse of 1000 years, there seems not to have been any material change in the character of the government, of the people, of their religion, commerce, or occupations, whether in serious affairs, or in those of pleasure or amusement. While the Latin empire (so called) existed at Constantinople, from 1204 to 1261, the same course of events continued; and if there had not been a change of names, it would seem to be a continuation of the same scenes of violence, depravity and crimes of the Greek empire. This general assumption admits of a single qualification. There were some persons who studied the ancient Greek literature, from about the commencement of the eleventh century. Constantine Porphyrogenitus was a patron of learning, as were some of his family after him. Some of the Comneni princes were versed in literature. Anne Comnenus, the daughter of Alexius I., (1081—1118,) was an authoress of distinction. She described the reign of her father, though probably with more filial reverence than historical truth. Her work, called the *Alexiad*, is fully treated of in Heeren's history of classical literature.

The family of Comneni succeeded the Basilian or Macedonian dynasty, on the throne of Constantinople, in 1057. The first was Isaac I., who resigned in 1059, in favor of Constantine Ducas, who died in 1061. He left three minor sons, and left his widow Eudocia, regent. The sons were Michael, Andronicus and Constantine. Eudocia, her second husband, Diogenes, and her sons, had given way in 1081 to Alexius Comnenus I., who died in 1118. John, his son, succeeded him 1118—1143. Manuel, his son, succeeded him 1143—1180. Alexius II., his son, reigned from 1180—1183, when he was dethroned and slain by Andronicus, a grandson of Alexius I. With Andronicus ends the Comneni family, in 1185.

The fortunes of this Andronicus were so extraordinary that Gibbon had devoted an unusual space to them, chap. XLVIII. He is represented to have been brave, eloquent, accomplished, of singular grace and beauty, and temperate in an extraordinary degree; "with a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute." The sister of the empress was his concubine, and preferred that relation to being a wife. He attempted to assassinate the emperor Manuel, and was punished by imprisonment, which continued twelve years. He discovered in a part of the wall that the bricks could be removed, and might be replaced, so as not to change their usual appearance. Beyond this wall was a recess, in which a person might be concealed, but beyond which he could not go. Andronicus removed the bricks, and, having passed into the recess, was able to replace the bricks, from that position, so as not to lead to suspicion. Not being found in his prison, it was believed that he had escaped; and his wife, or concubine, being suspected of having aided him, was sent to take his place. "In the dead of the night she beheld a spectre—she recognized her husband—they shared their provisions." By a course of ingenious contrivances he escaped, and fled to the Danube. There, after many perils, he found his way into Russia, and there rendered such important services to the Greek emperor, as to secure his pardon. He again fell under the displeasure of the emperor, and was banished to Cilicia, in Asia Minor, but with a military command. Here his romantic amours brought him into new difficulties, and, to escape the consequences, he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. New amours with the widow of Baldwin, third king of Jerusalem, (who was a relative of the emperor,) made Andronicus more obnoxious, and a price was offered for his head. He fled to Damascus, thence to Bagdad, and Persia, and, at last, settled among the Turks, in Asia Mi-

nor, the implacable foes of his country. He employed himself with a band of outlaws in predatory excursions, into the Roman empire, and raised for himself an extensive renown, throughout the east. The attempts of the emperor to secure his person were unsuccessful; but his concubine, the widow Theodora, and their two children were taken, and sent to Constantinople. His next measure was to manifest his penitence, and implore pardon, which was granted, and he prostrated himself at the foot of the throne; but he was not permitted to remain near it. His place of exile was on the southern shore of the Euxine, and near its eastern extremity.

The death of Manuel was followed by a civil war at Constantinople. The friends of Andronicus ministered to his ambition. He gathered a military force, and proceeded to Constantinople, and marched, unopposed, to the throne, but not to ascend it himself—assuming only to be the guardian of Manuel's infant son, Alexius. This unfortunate child, and his mother, soon disappeared. The latter was made odious in her fame before life was taken, and her body thrown into the sea. The son was strangled with a bow-string. After surveying the dead body, Andronicus rudely struck it with his foot: "Thy father," said he, "was a knave, thy mother a prostitute, and thyself a fool."

The ancient proverb, "blood-thirsty is the man who returns from banishment to power," was verified by the emperor Andronicus, in the use of poison, and the sword, the sea, and the flames. Alexius Angelus, a descendant of Alexius the first, was marked as a victim. In a moment of despair, he slew the executioner who approached him, and fled to the church of St. Sophia. A mournful crowd was assembled there, whose lamentations soon turned to curses, and curses to threats. At the dawn of the day the city burst into sedition, and in the general clamor Isaac Angelus was raised to the throne. Andronicus was absent, at one of the islands of the Propontis. He hurried to the city, found it full of commotion, the palace deserted, and himself forsaken by all mankind. He attempted to escape by sea. His galley was overtaken, and he was brought, in chains, before the new emperor. He was placed astride on a camel, and conducted through the city, subjected to blows, and outrages; and then hung alive by the feet, between the pillars that supported the figures of a wolf and a sow. All whom he had robbed of a father, a husband, or a friend, were allowed to take vengeance. "His teeth, hair, an eye, and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compensation for their losses." His

prolonged agony was terminated by two furious Italians, who plunged their swords into his body. [Gibbon, chap. xlviii.]

This painful narrative (much abridged from Gibbon) is introduced, not to show the fortunes and the fate of Andronicus, but as an illustration of the manners and morals of Constantinople, at the end of the twelfth century.

The family of Angelus. Isaac II., who dethroned Andronicus, was the grandson of Constantine Angelus, who had married a princess of the Comneni family. Isaac was dethroned by his brother Alexius, in 1195, imprisoned, and deprived of sight; but Alexius was dethroned himself in 1203, and his blind brother restored to the throne. While Isaac was in prison, and his brother, Alexius III., was on the throne, Alexius, son of Isaac, applied to the French and Venetians, who were engaged in the year 1201, at Venice, in preparing for a crusade to Palestine. Young Alexius offered great inducements to the crusaders, to postpone their enterprise towards the east, and to aid him in expelling his uncle, and in obtaining the throne for his father and himself.

A treaty had been made between the French and Venetians. The latter were to transport 4,500 horses, 9000 squires, 4,500 knights, and 20,000 foot soldiers; and supply a fleet of 50 gallees. The French were to pay 85,000 marks of silver, and all conquests were to be equally divided. In the following year the treaty was carried into effect, Boniface, marquis of Montferat, being the chosen chief of the French party, among which was a body of his own Italians. The counts of Flanders, and Blois, were next in command. On the part of the Venetians, the doge Henry Dandolo, then blind, and more than 80 years of age, took the command. A serious difficulty arose. The French could pay only 34,000 marks instead of 85,000. Dandolo proposed, that the city of Zara, on the opposite coast of Dalmatia, which had revolted from Venice, should be taken, by the joint forces, and the deficiency made up from the spoils. The city was taken. Then the allies (the Venetians in hope of extending their commerce, the French in hope of plunder) proceeded to Constantinople in April, 1203.*

On the 6th of July (1203) the crusaders landed at Scutari, opposite to Constantinople, and prepared to cross the Bosphorus. The details of this valiant assault are too long to find a place here. At the end of ten days the city was taken; the blind Dandolo, having been the first of the Venetians to find a

* See Gibbon's chap. LX. for a description of this splendid armament.

footing on the shore, and among the first to salute the blind emperor on his restoration to the throne. The suburbs of Galata and Para, on the north-east side of the port, were assigned to the French and Venetians. The demands of the invaders were so exorbitant, that the emperor and his son Alexius dared not to comply with them. Attempts to treat and compromise ended in mutual threats of hostility. The indignant Greeks expelled both the emperor and his son, and sought for some one who would maintain their independence. The throne was offered to many, and rejected. At length, a person of the house of Ducas, called Alexius, and surnamed Marzoufle, assumed the command, poisoned or strangled the young Alexius, and his blind father soon after died.

Under Marzoufle, called Alexius V., preparation was made for defence. Three months, January to April, 1204, were devoted by the French and Venetians to besieging the city. A more perilous, obstinate, and valiant enterprise, is not recorded in history, than that of the allies in taking this city; not from the skill and bravery of its defenders, but from its strength. The numbers of the Greeks were sufficient, even when the city was taken, to have overwhelmed the invaders. But the character of Romans had long been lost; and, instead of resistance, the invaders received, in the morning after their conquest, a suppliant embassy. Though the city had experienced some destructive conflagrations, the spoils surpassed all expectation. After deducting fifty thousand marks from the share of the French, for their debt to the Venetians, their half equalled four hundred thousand marks. The use which the conquerors made of their power is narrated by an eye-witness, Nicetas. His palace had been reduced to ashes in the second conflagration. His family and friends found an asylum in an obscure mansion, which a friend, a Venetian merchant, in the disguise of a soldier, guarded, until Nicetas had prepared to escape, with the relics of his fortune, his wife and daughters. On foot, and bearing their own burthens, this senator and his family escaped from the city, and found no place of safety or repose till they had travelled forty miles. On their way they overtook the patriarch, unattended, almost naked, and riding on an ass.

Besides the barbarous outrages inflicted on persons and on private property, the public monuments were broken down and destroyed; the churches plundered and profaned; but that loss, which is felt to the present time, was the destruction of the volumes and manuscripts which had been gathering, through

many ages, in this splendid city. Besides the narration of Nicetas, there is one from a Frenchman, Villehardouin, who accompanied the invaders. According to Heeren, in his *Essay on the Crusades*, (p. 408, &c.,) the second fire continued not less than two days and nights, (Nicetas,) or a whole week, (Villehardouin.) It began on the north-east side of the city, near the port, and extended, uncontrolled, through the city a full league, to the Propontis, comprising the richest and most beautiful quarters. Nicetas says,—“That all the conflagrations which the city had ever experienced, were nothing compared to this.” This calamity preceded the dethronement of Isaac and his son Alexius, by Marzoufle, and was one cause of that revolution, from the popular excitement. When the city was taken, in April, 1204, Heeren thus speaks of the complicated misery:—“All the horrors of sacking—all that a thirst for gold—all that religious hatred—all that the rage and brutality of an unrestrained soldiery could inflict, Constantinople was doomed to suffer. A third conflagration, as terrible as the two former, laid waste the eastern part of the city, the only part that remained. Whatever the flames spared, was the prey of the brigands, whom pillage had only made more ravenous.” He cites Villehardouin as saying that more houses were destroyed than were then contained in any three of the largest cities of Europe. Nicetas sought a refuge at Nice, in Asia Minor, where his account is supposed to have been written, and where he died, two years after, (Heeren says,) doubtless from the afflictions which these events had occasioned.

There remains a valuable memorial from the hand of the patriarch Photius, composed about two hundred years before the taking of Constantinople, from which some measure of literary loss may be obtained. This work contains extracts and critical notices of books in his possession. It is thus known that Photius had the history of Macedonia, by Theopompus; Arien's history of the Parthians, of Bythinia, and of the successors of Alexander; Ctesias' history of Persia, and description of India, and the geography of Agatharchides.* The whole of Diodorus of Sicily, (therefore called Siculus,) who wrote in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. He called his work the *Historical Library*, in forty books, of which one to five, and sixteen to twenty, only remain. The whole of Polybius, a Greek historian, who wrote two hundred

* There are only some disconnected fragments of these works.

years B. C., from the beginning of the second Punic war to the end of the Macedonian empire, fifty-three years, in thirty-eight books, of which the first five remain, and some fragments of the others. The whole of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (Asia Minor,) who wrote, about twenty years B. C., twenty books, from the early history of Rome to the first Punic war, of which the first eleven, and some fragments of the others, remain. Instead of forty-five, there were sixty-five orations of Demosthenes; two hundred and three of Lysias, instead of thirty-four; sixty-four of Iseus, instead of ten; fifty-two of Hyperides, instead of one. From this accidental notice of Photius, it is supposed that there probably were many other works in this city, the loss of which is much to be regretted. The four works, first mentioned, might have disclosed many interesting facts in eastern history.

The Greek princes having disappeared, the conquerors established an empire for themselves. Twelve electors were selected to choose a king, who agreed on Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault. The bishop of Soissons announced the unanimous choice. He was crowned in May, 1204, and the *Latin* kingdom then began. Innocent III., in answer to notice from Baldwin, of this revolution, inculcates obedience and tribute from the Greeks to the Latins, from the magistrate to the clergy, and from the clergy to the pope. One fourth of the Greek empire was appropriated to the new king; one half of the remainder to Venice, and the other to the French and Lombard adventurers. Dandolo was declared despot of Romania, (the territory next to the Adriatic,) and invested with the purple buskins. His powers were exercised by a regent. He died at Constantinople. That which the Venetians considered as most important to them, was the selection of those parts of the empire which would best promote their commercial pursuits, a purpose not interfering with their allies. They purchased of the marquis of Montferrat, for ten thousand marks, the island of Crete or Candia. Greece, Thessalonica, and Macedonia, were also a part of his share. Thus, the Greek empire was parcelled out among a comparatively small number; a measure not easily effected by agreement, but more easily apportioned than held.

The fate of Alexius (Marzoufle) was this:—He was first deprived of his eyes, among his Greek connexions; then stripped and turned out to wander, as a marked murderer of an emperor and his son. While seeking to escape into Asia, he was taken by the Latins, carried to Constantinople, condemned

to ascend the Theodosian column of one hundred and forty-seven feet in height, and to be thence cast headlong to the pavement.

In the following year, 1205, the Greeks had induced the king of Bulgaria to aid them in an attack on the Latins. Baldwin moved towards Adrianople, to encounter this new foe. He was taken prisoner. His fate is not certainly known. The conjectures are stated in Gibbon, chapter LXI. He did not return to Constantinople. A year elapsed before his successor, Henry, (who was his brother,) would consent to be crowned. In the following year, Boniface, count of Montferat, (now called king of Thessalonica,) fell in the same Bulgarian war. The Greeks, finding the friendship of the Bulgarians more afflictive than the enmity of the Latins, voluntarily submitted, and peace was made. Henry appears to have maintained his difficult station with prudence and ability, about ten years, when he died; and in him the male line of the counts of Flanders was extinct. Their sister, Yolande, had married Peter Courtenay, a Frenchman, count of Auxerre. He was invited to succeed Henry in 1217. But this person, in attempting to pass from France, by way of Venice and the mountains of Thessalonica, to Constantinople, was made prisoner by some rebels in that quarter, and never reached his destination. His widow, Yolande, reigned with ability during her son Robert's minority. When he came to the throne, the Greeks recovered the whole kingdom, the city only excepted. During the minority of his son, Baldwin II., John of Brien was regent. He was titular king of Jerusalem, and son-in-law of Frederick II. of Germany. He died at an advanced age, and Baldwin took the throne. He was employed not in the performance of duties at Constantinople, but in going from court to court, in the west of Europe, to ask aid against the Greeks. He returned to Constantinople, and made a feeble effort to resist the increasing power of the Greeks, and was, at length, fortunate in escaping to Italy, where he continued to live several years. The title to the throne of the Latin kingdom passed to the kings of France, by the marriage of his grand-daughter with Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair, king of France. Baldwin II. was the last of the Latin kings.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Greek Empire—Military Adventurers—Succession of Emperors—Attack of the Turks—Bajaret—Conciliation of Greek and Latin Churches—Siege and taking of Constantinople by the Turks—Note on the Greek Church.

FROM the end of the Latin empire at Constantinople, to the destruction of the Greek empire, there were ten emperors, and one hundred and ninety-two years, (1261—1453.) The duration of the empire for so many years, did not arise from the ability of the emperors nor the power of the people, to resist the causes of decline and final overthrow, but from the diversion of their enemies to other objects. The history of these one hundred and ninety-two years is destitute of interest; nor can any regret be felt for the disappearance of a once mighty empire, which had endured eleven hundred and twenty-three years, including the fifty-seven of the Latin dominion. The new masters of Constantinople were not the inferiors of the Greeks in any of the qualities which deserve respect; nor even in religion and its prescribed duties, though the Greeks called themselves Christians.

In the revolutions of the palace at Constantinople, some princes of the royal families escaped into Asia Minor. Some of the family of Angeli and of Comneni had established themselves in small sovereignties there; the Comneni at Trebizond, on the south-east corner of the Black Sea; the Angeli at Nice, situate near the east end of an arm of the Marmora, about eighty miles south-east of Constantinople. The little kingdom of Nice was founded by Theodorus Lascaris, who married a daughter of Alexius Angelus, the same who de-throned his brother Isaac, and who was on the throne in 1204, when the crusaders took Constantinople. Another daughter of this Alexius had married a Palæologus, and from this marriage came Michael Palæologus; from that of Lascaris and the other daughter came Irene, who married John Ducas, surnamed Vataces; and his son John was considered heir of the crown of Nice. Being a minor, Michael Palæologus was his guardian, and regent; and, availing himself of this relation, he deprived John of sight, and usurped the throne. The possession of the crown of Nice appears to have implied a title to that of Constantinople. When the city was taken from

the Latins, Michael went thither, and placed himself on the throne, and was the first of the sovereigns after the Latins were expelled, July, 1261. "After the first transport of devotion and pride, he sighed at the dreary prospect of solitude and ruin. The palace was defiled with smoke and dirt, and the intemperance of the Franks; whole streets had been consumed by fire, or decayed by the injuries of time; the sacred and profane edifices were stripped of their ornaments; the industry of the Latins had been confined to the work of pillage and destruction."

The reign of Michael was remarkable, principally for the censures of the patriarch, drawn forth by Michael's treatment of John, whose place Michael had usurped. 2. For ecclesiastical schisms. 3. The invasion of the empire by Charles of Anjou, who had made himself master of the kingdom of Naples. 4. The employment of "the great company," or military adventurers, to resist the Turks.

The patriarch of Constantinople exercised an authority like that of the pope; and his excommunication of Michael produced a penitence resembling that which Gregory VII. imposed on Henry IV. of Germany. The ecclesiastical state of the empire will require a short notice in another place.

The possession of the Neapolitan throne by Charles of Anjou, (brother of Louis IX. of France,) attracted numerous warlike adventurers. Charles believed himself powerful enough to conquer Africa, Greece, and Palestine. In notices of Italy, John of Procida was mentioned as the industrious enemy of Charles, and as the author of "the Sicilian Vespers." Procida consulted the emperor Michael, and warned him of his danger, and obtained from the emperor money and counsel. By these means the Catalan, or Spanish expedition, was undertaken against Sicily; and if the emperor did not suggest the massacre at Sicily, it was known to him to have been intended, and had his approbation. It proved to be an effectual measure in defeating the designs of Charles against the Greek empire.

The companies of military adventurers, who let themselves to the highest bidders, and who were the terror of Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have already been mentioned. After the fall of Charles of Anjou, and about the year 1303, a numerous company, under the command of Roger de Flor, sailed from Sicily for Constantinople, to aid the emperor against the Turks. They crossed into Asia Minor and defeated the Turks, but treated the subjects of the empire as a

conquered people. It was soon found that the protection of these friends was far more distressing than any evils which could be inflicted by their infidel enemies. According to the moral code of that age, the remedy was the assassination of Roger de Flor, the chief. The emperor attempted, next, to drive these adventurers away by sending against them a force outnumbering their own, twenty to one; but this force was disgracefully defeated. Perhaps the empire might have been subdued, if discord had not arisen among the adventurers, and if it had been possible to supply themselves with provisions. They retraced their steps towards the west, intending to possess themselves of Greece.

When the Latins divided the territories of the empire, a principality, including Athens and Thebes, fell to Otho de la Roche, one of the followers of Boniface, marquis of Montferat. In the fourth descent from Otho, Walter de Brienne was duke of Athens, when the company of adventurers approached, now reduced to thirty-five hundred horse and four thousand foot. The duke met them with seven hundred knights, sixty-four hundred horse, and eight thousand foot; but the duke was entirely defeated, and most of his army slain. The adventurers took possession, and married the widows and daughters of the slain. The descendants of Otho were expelled. In his flight, Walter de Brienne passed through Italy, and is the same person whom the Florentines placed at the head of their army, and who is known in the history of that republic as "the Duke of Athens and Tyrant of Florence."

The fate of Athens was determined by the sultan Mahomet II., who strangled the last duke, and educated his sons as Mussulmen. (1456.)

The close of Michael's life was afflicted and disgraced by civil wars, in which himself, son, and grandson were parties and enemies. Andronicus, the son, and the grandson of the same name, occupied the throne till the year 1341. There is not a fact (disregarding their own crimes and follies) which deserves notice while these persons reigned. Meanwhile, the Turks had approached to the shores of the Bosphorus. The younger Andronicus left two sons, John and Manuel, minors, of whom John Cantacuzenus became guardian. The guardian despoiled his wards of the throne, after a long and afflictive civil war. In 1355 he was compelled to abdicate, and retire to a monastery, the rightful heir, John, having been proclaimed by the people. This appears to have been a period of gross superstition and of clerical tyranny. Heresies, not

unlike those at the same time prevailing in the west, disturbed the repose of the east. In addition to these dissensions, the Turks were continually growing stronger, as the power to resist declined. The Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, established within the suburbs of the city, were no less dreaded than the Turks.

The Genoese had gradually expelled their rivals in commerce, and had enclosed their settlement on the north-east side of the port, Galata, with walls, and then secured their position by fortresses. Their strength and the imbecility of the emperor, encouraged them, in the time of Cantacuzenus, (1348,) to find a pretext for hostilities. The Greeks were compelled to seek the alliance of the Venetians. In February, 1352, a memorable battle was fought under the walls of the city, by the hostile fleets, the Genoese on the one side, the Venetians and Greeks on the other, in which the latter were defeated, leaving the Genoese the sovereigns of the sea. The maritime war of the two republics continued, with little intermission, for one hundred and thirty years, when Venice drove Genoa from the seas; a destiny not likely to have occurred, if the latter had not been enfeebled by internal factions in their own city, at home.

John Cantacuzenus (who had supplanted John Palæologus in 1341, and abdicated the throne in 1355) retired to a monastery, where he employed himself in writing a memoir of his own time, which appears to have been among the historical materials consulted by Gibbon. John Palæologus having been re-established, held the throne from that time till 1391, and is described by Gibbon as "the helpless, if not the careless, spectator of the public ruin." In the early part of this emperor's reign, the Turks established themselves in Europe, by crossing the Hellespont to the Thracian city of Gallipolis, which was taken by them. It was considered to be the key of Greece, and even of Europe. Gallipoli is on the European shore, at the outlet of the sea of Marmora, about one hundred miles south-west of Constantinople. Possessed of this strong hold, the Turks extended themselves northwardly towards the Black-Sea, circumscribing the remnant of the empire to a space of fifty miles by thirty, of which the city of Constantinople was at the extreme eastwardly point. The seat of government of the Turks in Europe, was the city now called Adrianopolis, (about one hundred and fifty miles nearly north-west of Constantinople,) situate on the river anciently called the Hebrus, and now called the Marisa, and which runs

south from Adrianopolis, and empties into the Archipelago, fifty miles north-west of Gallipoli. At this time, Amurath I. was the sultan of the Turks, having dominion on both sides of the waters which separate Asia and Europe, excepting the remnant of the Greeks. It is supposed that the only reason why Amurath did not subdue this remnant, or attempt to do it, was the apprehension that he might thereby combine the west of Europe against him. He contented himself with treating the feeble emperor of the Greeks as his vassal.

Sauses, the son of Amurath, and Andronicus, the son of the emperor John, met at Adrianople and formed an intimacy; they conspired to dethrone their respective fathers. Their designs having been made known to Amurath, he deprived his son of his eyes, and required of John to inflict the like punishment on Andronicus. Andronicus had a son called John, who was included in this punishment, and deprived of his sight. The two blinded Greek princes were shut up in the tower of Anema. Their punishment was so inflicted, from design or accident, that the sight of one eye was left to one of them, and the sight of the other prince was only impaired. The emperor John associated his second son, Manuel, with him on the throne. Such were the vicissitudes of royal life, in this shadow of an empire, that, within two years, the two emperors were consigned to the same tower of Anema, and the two half-blinded princes raised to the throne. But, within another two years, the prisoners had escaped, and the grandfather, his two sons, and grandson, engaged in a furious civil war for the mastery, and compromised their contest by a partition of the small territory, which was all that remained of the Roman empire. The grandfather and his son Manuel had the capital, with very little space beyond the walls, and the two blind princes divided the residue between themselves. When the grandfather, John, died, in 1391, Manuel was a visiter in the court of Bajazet, (the successor of Amurath,) on the eastern side of the Bosphorus. The sultan had resolved on the conquest of Constantinople, and was mortified that Manuel had succeeded in escaping from his power, on having secret intelligence of his father's death. The sultan considered himself sufficiently powerful to meet the forces of the west, if his conquest of the capital should combine them against him. The last days of the Roman empire (as it was yet called by its princes and subjects) had come, if a new and unexpected event in the east had not prolonged its miserable existence for yet half a century.

Timour, or Tamerlane the Great, returning westwardly from his far distant conquests in Asia, had come to reduce the empire of Bajazet, and number him among the vanquished. Instead of pursuing his conquests on the western side of the Bosphorus, Bajazet gathered his forces to meet Tamerlane; and, moving to the east, their great conflict was had on the 28th of July, 1402, at Angora, in Asia Minor, where the fortieth degree of north latitude and the thirty-third of east longitude intersect. A million of men are said to have engaged in this battle. Instead of reigning at Constantinople, Bajazet became a captive, and one (doubtful) account of his destiny is, that he was imprisoned in an iron cage.*

The only hope that remained to the Greeks, was to engage the Christians of the west to unite in defending and preserving the empire. Manuel undertook this embassy, leaving one of the blind princes on his throne while he should be absent. The principal inducement held out to the west was the union of the Greek with the Latin church, and the consequent admission of the supremacy of the pope. The states of the west were too much occupied with their own concerns to listen to the proposals of Manuel, and the points of difference between the two churches were irreconcilable. The pride of the Greek prelates might have been a sufficient obstacle, if there had been none other.

John II., oldest son of Manuel, succeeded his father in 1425. At this time the Christian states of Europe were involved in the great *schism*. The council of Constance had been held in 1414 and the following four years. The principle had been established, that the pope was not supreme, but subject to the great council of Christian nations, and that councils should be periodically assembled to inquire into the state of the church, and to correct and reform. The next meeting of the council was to be held at the city of Basle, (or Basil,) on the Rhine. At this meeting the union of the Greek and Latin churches was considered, and deputies were sent to the emperor and patriarch to invite their concurrence. The pope, who was not in favor with this council, desired to prevent their acquisition of so great a prize as the submission of the Greek church to their party, and to acquire it himself. It is an amusing fact, that the Christian states, through their delegates to the grand council, on the one

* Gibbon, chapter LXV., treats the story of the iron cage as a fable, and is of the opinion that Bajazet was generously treated, and died a natural death about nine months after his defeat.

side, and the pope on the other, were contending for the good will of the poor emperor of the mere city of Constantinople, who could not defray the expense of a visit to either, and who had no intention of submitting to either. Both parties despatched vessels, and both parties agreed to pay the expense of his personal attendance. The pope had the advantage, as his vessels went from Venice; those of the council from Marseilles. The emperor preferred the pope's invitation, as he was to meet him at Ferrara, (on the river Po,) instead of going further west. In February, 1438, the emperor and the patriarch, with a retinue of prelates and learned attendants, (employed to argue the points in controversy,) arrived at Venice, and proceeded thence to Ferrara. The ceremonies of meeting, and the rank, precedence, and rights of the parties having been adjusted by tedious negotiations, the Greeks were surprised to find how small a number of dignitaries were present. They discerned that the pope did not represent the Christians of the west, and that they, in general, denied his authority. The meeting was adjourned for six months, then to be held at Florence. The poor and dependent Greeks found themselves prisoners, and compelled to await the meeting at the adjournment. Here a false and deceitful compromise was made on points of doctrine and belief, which are utterly incomprehensible by any rational mind; and about the moment of solemn ratification of that compromise, by signing the parchment, the pope was deposed by the council of Basle. After many difficulties and mortifications, the Greeks reached Constantinople in February, 1440, having been absent two years. The emperor found his subjects in great disorder, civil and ecclesiastical. The pretended union was rejected universally by the Greeks, and the opposition extended into the great empire of Russia, which derived its religious creed from the Greek church.

The pope Eugenius having restored himself to power by humiliating concessions, formed a league in Hungary and some other states, and a successful war was carried on against the Turks, and produced a peace in 1443, which was soon broken. In the following year the destructive battle of Warna was fought, in which the Turks obtained a costly victory, and in which the king of Hungary was slain. Peace was again made, with strong assurances of preserving it.

In 1451, Mahomet II. being sultan, and having tried the effect of a western league against him, he resolved to possess himself of Constantinople. The emperor John had left the

throne to his son Constantine XI., in 1448. The sultan began his hostile measures by building a fort on the western shore (it is supposed) of the Hellespont, in a triangular form, one side being on the sea. It was raised and finished with the utmost despatch. Constantine remonstrated with the sultan, that this was an infraction of the existing treaty; but the remonstrance was disregarded. In the following winter, Constantine made the best preparations for defence which his poor ability would allow, while Mahomet was intensely occupied in effecting his purposes.

Four centuries have nearly elapsed since the fall of Constantinople; but that event will long continue to be felt throughout the civilized world. As one of the thousands of instances of siege, assault, merciless pillage, and cruel subjection of a city and its people, it holds an eminent rank. The ability and resolute perseverance of its assailant, the conduct of the last of its monarchs, (unexpectedly proved to be able and patriotic, after a long succession of worthless princes,) impart an uncommon interest to the final struggle. This was the last of all the unconquered cities of Asia, Africa, and Europe, that had borne the name of Roman. It was, at least, professedly Christian. It fell, that there might arise on its ruins, in the name of religion, a relentless despotism over the body, the heart, and the mind; and which spread its withering influence over the fairest portions of the earth, long endeared to the scholar, the philanthropist, and the Christian, by familiar and imperishable associations.

The city has already been described as having all its walls in contact with the surrounding waters, except on the west side. Here the double wall was four miles in length, extending from the sea of Marmora on the south, to the waters of the Port on the north-east. Between the walls was a ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Mahomet had no vessels capable of attacking the walls protected by the sea. All his energies were, therefore, directed to the west wall. At this time gunpowder and cannon were used in the west of Europe, but not by the Turks. During the winter of 1452—3, a Dane or Hungarian, named Urban, had deserted from the Greek service, and carried the knowledge of casting to Mahomet, at Adrianople, and produced a brass cannon capable of throwing a stone of six hundred pounds weight. Two months were consumed in transporting this cannon from thence to Constantinople, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. Other pieces of cannon were cast. Besides these instruments of

destruction, the Turks were accustomed to the ancient forms of attack, called ballistæ, catapulta, &c., used in casting stones, and in battering down walls; and to the erection of towers by the side of walls, whereby to rise to a level with the besieged, and to pass from thence on to the walls. It is supposed that the whole Turkish force was 258,000 men, on the land. The navy was computed at 320 sail, but only 18 of them were gallies, the residue small vessels, or boats: the Turks were unskilled in maritime warfare. Such was the force which Mahomet had arrayed against the object of his earnest craving. Powerful as it may have been, and feeble as the Greeks were, it would have been insufficient, if not directed by the able sultan. He is supposed to have been about 23 years of age. He had been well educated, and could, it is said, speak the Arabian, the Persian, the Chaldean, or Hebrew, the Latin and the Greek languages. But, by nature and habit, he was severe, and even cruel; and he commanded with a terrible energy. His forces had been trained, during the long preparation, for this great effort; promises and menaces were alike used, and he appealed, especially, to the spirit of fanaticism, the doctrine of fate, and the rewards of paradise, which the founder of the Moslem faith prescribed, as the surest means of conquest.

The Greeks had little to rely on, except their natural and artificial protection. Among themselves, within the city, there were 100,000 inhabitants, mostly consisting of mechanics, priests, women, and men, "destitute of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety." Phranza, the minister of Constantine, was commissioned to inquire what number of the whole could be depended on for defence, and he reported that he found only 4970 Romans. To this number 2000 strangers, under the command of Justinian, a Genoese, were added. The states of the west had been apprised of the peril of the Bulwark of Christianity, in the east, but not a movement was made for defence or succor. The dissensions between nations, intestine factions, and the declining power of the church, were insurmountable obstacles to furnishing any adequate force. All sympathy for the obstinate and heretical Greeks had been extinguished; they were not deemed worth saving, of themselves. If there was fear, that the conquest of Constantinople would open the west to the Turks, it was not strong enough to produce any movement to prevent that consequence.

The pitiable picture of the remnant of Romans, as they still called themselves, is relieved by a single object, the character

and conduct of Constantine. He was then 50 years of age. In his hopeless condition, expecting no succor from the west, shut up by sea, as well as by land; certain to perish by famine, if he could defend himself against the sword of his enemy, the world might have justified him in making the best terms he could, for his miserable subjects, if not for himself. Nearly a year before the siege began, he made an answer to Mahomet, to which he firmly adhered. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone. If it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change. If he delivers the city into your hands, I submit, without a murmur, to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live, and die, in the defence of my people."

The siege began on the 6th of April. The forces of Mahomet were arranged along the western wall, from the sea to the Port. With his cannon and his other implements, he attempted to batter down the wall. This was the post of danger, and here was the post of Constantine, animating and sustaining his little army, by his presence and example. At the close of day, the tower of St. Romanus, in the outward wall, had been battered down, and after a fierce conflict, at the breach, the Turks were repulsed, and retired. The emperor and Justiniani passed the night on the spot, and in the morning, the sultan perceived, with grief and astonishment, that the wooden tower which he forced over the ditch, had been burnt, the ditch cleared, and the tower again strong and entire.*

The reduction of the city now appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made on the west, and from the Port, on the north-east side. The sultan conceived the project of transporting his light vessels, ten miles over land, from the Bosphorus to the upper part of the harbor, where the water was too shallow to permit the heavy vessels of the Greeks to approach. Eighty vessels, with almost incredible labor, were thus transported along a line north-east of the suburbs of Para and Galata. With the aid of these boats he constructed a platform, which could be floated to the base of the wall, of sufficient length and breadth to support a heavy cannon, and scaling ladders. Whether known to the sultan or not, it was by a sim-

* It is not clear, from any description met with, whether the ditch was outside of the western wall, or between the two walls; nor whether there was a double wall. According to different accounts, either of these suppositions may be assumed.

ilar measure that the crusaders possessed themselves of the city, 250 years before. Forty gallant youths, who attempted to burn these works, were taken and massacred. Constantine retaliated by exposing, on the walls, the heads of 250 Turkish captives.

The 29th of May (1453) was selected for the general and double assault. Every inducement which the inventive genius of Mahomet could suggest, was presented to the hopes, fears, and cravings of his soldiery. Constantine appears to have expected this fatal attack. His officers were summoned to the palace, on the evening of the 28th, and prepared for their duties and dangers. "The last speech," says Gibbon, "of Constantine Palæologus, was the funeral oration of the Roman empire." The account of this mournful meeting is given by Phrausa, who was, himself, present. "They wept—they embraced—regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives, and each commander departed for his station." The emperor entered the church of St. Sophia, partook of the communion; reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy.

At the dawn of day the general assault was made, on the land, and on the water. This scene is not within any descriptive power. "All," says Gibbon, "is blood, horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries, and 1000 miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost." His last fear was that he might fall alive into the hands of the sultan, and his last expression, "Cannot there be found a *Christian* to cut off my head." He cast away the personal distinctions of his rank, and fell by an unknown hand, and was found "under a mountain of the slain." Soon after resistance ceased; the remnant of Greeks fled into the city, and the Turks followed.

On the assurance that all was lost, the inhabitants of the city fled to the Church of St. Sophia, and crowded every part. A tradition had been received among them, that the Turks would enter the city, and that they would come as far as the column of Constantine, in the square before the church; that an angel would descend with a sword, and deliver it to an old man seated at the foot of the column, saying, "Take this sword

and avenge the people of the Lord"—that the Turks would be immediately driven back, and across the Bosphorus, and even to Persia. This belief appears to have been common to all classes, for the assembly in the church included all. The assailants soon found the way into the church, and proceeded to bind the captives in couples, without discrimination of age, sex, or condition. More than 60,000 of the inhabitants were sold as slaves. Phrausa was among the number. After four months of servitude, he purchased his freedom, and redeemed his wife, whom he found in the service of the sultan's master of horse. His children perished. The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan, to his troops; the city, and its buildings, he reserved to himself. The churches and monasteries, and some private dwellings, afforded a rich spoil. The Byzantine libraries, like those of Alexandria, were of no value in the eyes of the Turks, and are supposed to have been destroyed, and, probably, many valuable works then perished. Before the close of the day the sultan made a triumphal entry. He entered the church of St. Sophia, its Christian ornaments were torn down, its walls purified, and the building converted into a mosque. The sultan was desirous of an inhabited city, and not a desolate one; and he therefore invited the Christians to return, and assured them of life, liberty, and their religion. This concession was observed, during sixty years. That portion of the city, which lies on the eastern point, was cleared, to make room for the apartments of the sultan. There they still remain, in the vicinity of the church of St. Sophia, and the Hippodrome, the earliest works of the first Constantine.

The renewal of Constantinople, under Turkish dominion, is a very different city from that which it was under its founder; and even different from that which it was when the Greeks recovered it from the Latins. This city has been besieged 24 times, and taken six times, in the course of the 1853 years, which preceded its conquest by Mahomet. Thrice, while it was Byzantium; by Alcibiades, the Athenian, about 400 years before the Christian era; by the emperor Severus, about the year 200, of our era; and by Constantine, (from his rival emperor, Licinius,) about 325. After it became Constantinople, it was thrice taken; by the Latin crusaders in 1204; by Michael Palæologus in 1261; and by Mahomet II. in 1453.*

* The history of this city has been principally taken from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; and its final overthrow from ch. LXVIII. Dearborn's *Memoir on the Commerce of the Black Sea, &c.*, has been useful in the local description.

NOTE ON THE GREEK CHURCH.

There having been frequent occasions to allude to the differences between the Greek and Roman churches, the following brief remarks are added, to show their origin.

When the new capital of the empire was founded by Constantine, the like power and dignity were conferred on the bishop there, which were held by the bishop of Rome. As the eastern capital became more and more the object of attraction, having the presence of the emperor, and his court; the ancient capital became less and less important. The bishop of the former gradually extended his power, and assumed to be the superior of the bishops of Antioch, in Syria, and of Alexandria, in Egypt. The discontented parties appealed to the Roman bishop, and their complaints were graciously entertained. Athanasius, among others, when he considered himself persecuted at Alexandria, fled to the western church. This contention for superiority continued, with little interruption, for 150 years. In the synod, held at Constantinople, in 588, the patriarch, or supreme head of the church there, assumed the title of *universal bishop*, which greatly offended the bishop of Rome. About the year 600, the emperor Phocas saw fit to transfer that title to the Roman pontiff. But his Greek subjects were obstinately opposed to this measure, and refused to acknowledge any spiritual subjection but to their own patriarch. This contention was continued until some time in the eighth century, when doctrinal points arose between the two churches, which caused dissension for more than 600 years, viz. *Whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father, only, or from the Father and the Son.* The first opinion was entertained by the Greeks, the second by the Roman, or Latin church.

In 853, Photius, a learned and able man, was patriarch at Constantinople, Ignatius having been displaced to elevate him. Ignatius appealed to the pope, who excommunicated Photius. Photius excommunicated the pope, and charged him with divers heresies, which show the character of their dissensions. 1. That the Romans fasted on the sabbath, or seventh day of the week. 2. That in the first week of lent, they permitted the use of milk and cheese. 3. That they prohibited their priests to marry, and separated from their wives such as were married, when they went into orders. 4. That they authorized the

bishops, alone, to anoint baptized persons, with the holy chrism, (sacred oil,) withholding that power from presbyters. 5. That they had introduced into the creed, *filioque*, that is, the Holy Spirit proceeded from *the Son*, as well as from the Father.

There were other dissensions between the two churches, which were utterly irreconcilable. The Latin church relied on the *False Decretals* as the basis of the supreme power of the popes, both temporal and spiritual. The Greek church, from the first, denounced these decretals, as forgeries. The Greek church adhered with unyielding pertinacity to the early doctrines of the first ages, while that of Rome adopted every innovation, and construction, which would promote their purposes. In the last two centuries of the Greek empire, the clergy, and many laymen, had become learned in church doctrines, and the whole people were obstinately devoted to the practices and opinions which had been transmitted, unimpaired, through many ages. They regarded many of the ceremonies, and many points of belief, of the Latin church, as abominable heresies. These were insurmountable obstacles to the union of the two churches. Yet a union was exceedingly desirable, by both parties. The Latin church desired it, because it would establish the pope's supremacy. The Greek church desired it, because they would thereby acquire the aid of the west in resisting the hostilities of the Turks. The attempts to effect this union were repeated, again and again, through successive centuries. Among the last of these attempts, the points of difference were reduced to these four:—1. The procession of the Holy Spirit. 2. The use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. 3. Purgatory. 4. The supremacy of the pope.

On the first point, the difference was the same which it had ever been. The Greeks maintaining that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father only; the Latins, that it proceeded from the Father and the Son. On the second point, the Greeks were immovable in the belief that the holy communion could be administered only with leavened bread, and the Latins that the bread might be unleavened. On the third point, both parties believed in an intermediate state of purification of the soul. But there were irreconcilable differences, on the nature of that purification, on its duration, and on the liability of different classes of sinners, to be subjected to it. The last (fourth) point involved, on the part of the Greeks, all their long-cherished and bigoted opinions; and, on the part of the Latins, the main object of the whole controversy. It was of little importance

to them what became of the three first points, if the pope's supremacy were not acknowledged. The labored effort at Florence, in 1439, to unite the two churches, has already been noticed, and that the Greeks, with great unanimity, rejected the contract, and would, probably, have done the same thing if they had believed that the taking of their city by the Turks would have been the inevitable consequence.

In the year 1451, less than two years before the final conquest, pope Nicholas V. made a solemn address to the Greeks, at a time when the Turks had reduced the empire almost to the walls of Constantinople. He exhorted them to pay some regard to their own safety, and to reconcile themselves to the church, as the only means of securing it. The pope was, probably, sincere in this, as he had hoped to arouse all Christendom in a final effort against the common enemy, if the reconciliation were first effected. He warned them that there were yet three years for probation, resembling their case to the parable of the fig-tree. The closing scene of the attempts at reconciliation occurred the next year. It shows the nature of religious delusions among this remnant of the Romans, or Greeks.

The pope sent his legate to enforce the address of the preceding year. The emperor, who knew, better than his subjects, the impending peril, received him graciously, and went with him to celebrate the divine services in the church of St. Sophia. When the pope was mentioned, the whole assembly rose, the city was filled with commotion, the entire population, excepting only the immediate dependants of the emperor, joined in an "anathema against all who had united with the Latins." "The sanctuary of St. Sophia was declared to be profaned; all intercourse was suspended with those who had assisted in the service with the legate; absolution was refused, and the churches closed against them."

The Greek church survived the empire, persevered in its separation from the Latin church, and still numbers a large portion of the people of eastern Europe among its votaries. It is the established religion of ancient Greece, and of Russia.

CHAPTER LXVII

WESTERN ASIA—PERSIA.

ASIA MINOR, or lesser Asia, is about six hundred miles long, from east to west, and of irregular breadth, averaging three hundred and fifty miles. It lies between thirty-six and forty-two north latitude, and twenty-six and thirty-six east longitude. Having the sea on three sides, a full proportion of productive land, and favorable latitudes, no equal portion of the eastern hemisphere is better adapted to agriculture and commerce, and to the maintenance of a numerous population. The proximity to the sea, and the elevation of the mountains, may occasion great variety of climate and sudden changes. No equal portion of the earth's surface has borne so many armed men as Asia Minor. During two thousand years, it may be called the *highway* of armies. The Taurus range of mountains begins in the westwardly part of this peninsula, and, tending towards the south-east corner of the Black Sea, it passes, in a curve, around Armenia; then tending southwardly between the Tigris and the Caspian Sea, to about the thirty-second degree of north latitude, it turns eastwardly between that sea and the Gulf of Persia, and runs eastwardly through Persia, and along the north of India, Chin-India, and into China, and disappears on the eastern coast of China. Numerous branches are thrown off in this long course.

As this mountain range passes around Armenia, it furnishes the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The former takes a south-westwardly course, along the foot of the range, towards the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, and then a south-eastwardly course, through Mesopotamia, to the Persian Gulf. The general course of the Tigris is south-east, through Mesopotamia, the two rivers uniting one hundred miles from the gulf, and then taking the name of Shat al Arab. The Aras, or Araxes, rises in the mountains (Arrarat) whereon Noah's ark is supposed to have rested, and flows south-eastwardly into the Caspian. Arrarat is north-eastwardly of the Taurus range, where it passes around Armenia.

The east end of the Mediterranean is about four hundred miles in extent, from north to south. Near its north-east corner, on the Orontes, sixteen miles from the sea, is Antioch. Going southwardly from Antioch, along the east shore of this sea, these cities and places are found:—From Antioch to Trip-

oli is one hundred and fifty miles. From Tripoli to Barout, the ancient Berytus, is sixty miles, and thence to Sidon is thirty miles. From Sidon to Tyre, twenty-two miles; and it is about the same distance from Tyre to St. Jean d'Acre, or Ptolemais. From Acre to Joppa (or Jaffa) is fifty miles, and Joppa is about seventy from the south-east corner of the sea. Beginning again at the north, and going south, the following are some of the remarkable cities, interior from the coast:— Eastwardly from Antioch, forty miles, is Aleppo, the ancient Beria. East from Barout, sixty miles is Damascus, still a considerable city. East from Tripoli, nearly on the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, two hundred miles, is Tadmor in the Wilderness, or Palmyra. This magnificent city is seen to have been such by the ruins which still disclose its site. They are about one hundred miles west of the Euphrates, the whole distance being a desert. Jerusalem is thirty miles east from Joppa.*

In the great valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris is Mesopotamia, or the country between the two rivers, as the name implies. Here was the varying boundary between the Greeks and Romans, Persians and Parthians, for centuries. Samosata was on the west side of the Euphrates, latitude thirty-eight. Edessa was east-south-east of Samosata, and twenty miles east of the river. On the east side of the Tigris, and nearly opposite to the modern Turkish town, *Mosul*, midway between thirty-six and thirty-seven north latitude, was Nineveh. East from this, forty miles, was Arbela, now Erbil, where Alexander conquered Darius. North-east from Mosul, three hundred miles, and one hundred west from the Caspian, was the great city of Taurus, now Tabris or Tabrees, the same which the Roman emperor Heraclius took. In the time of the caliphs (800) it had half a million of inhabitants. Cyrus brought the riches, of which he rifled Cræsus, to this city. It is now a poor Turkish town of thirty thousand people.

Down the Tigris, about two hundred and thirty miles from Mosul, in a course a little east of south, is Bagdad, celebrated as the seat of the caliphs of the Mahomedan empire, in the

* This territory is described by Henry Maundrell, (who went from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697,) in a small volume, lately published, and edited by the Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, an exceedingly instructive and interesting work. *Palmyra* has lately been brought to view, in the letters from Lucius M. Piso, from Palmyra, to his friend Marcus Curtius, at Rome. This work is attributed to the Rev. William Ware, and has acquired a lasting and honorable fame for its author.

eighth and ninth centuries. Here was the abode of science, of luxury, and of fanciful invention. The thousand and one tales (Arabian Nights) were first recited here. It is still a considerable place, having eighty thousand inhabitants. Its latitude is about thirty-three and a third. Twenty miles south of Bagdad are ancient ruins; geographers and travellers differ in opinion as to what ruins they are. Following Malte Brun, who is the latest, and, probably, the best authority, these are all that remains of Ctesiphon, in which was the palace of Chosroes II., in the time of Heraclius, (year 628.) The ruins also of a fortress called Kochos, both on the east side of the Tigris. There are still some admirable buildings at this place, which are called, by the Turks, Takt-Kesroo, which may be a term derived from Chosroes. The city of Seleucia (Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 118) was west of this place, three miles, on a canal. Other writers consider Ctesiphon to be Seleucia. In this vicinity the ground is covered with ruins. In the splendor of Arabian power, in the eighth century, there was such a continuation of buildings as to make one street of twenty miles in length. Directly south of Bagdad, at the distance of sixty miles, are the ruins of Babylon, on the Euphrates, latitude thirty-two and a half. The site of the tower of Nimrod, or temple of Belus, is here ascertained. Six miles below is the Turkish town, Helleh, built entirely of bricks taken from these ruins. South of Babylon to the gulf, the whole country is a plain. Somewhere in this vicinity was ancient Chaldea. At Korna, two hundred miles south-east of Babylon, the two rivers unite. Forty miles below this confluence, is Basra, or Bassora, where merchant vessels and the caravans meet, to exchange the merchandise of India, Persia, and the north.

Modern Persia is situated eastwardly of the Tigris, and between it and the Caspian Sea, and between that sea and the Gulf of Persia. The northwardly end of this gulf is about six hundred miles south from the south end of the Caspian. Persia extends along the north-east side of this gulf and the Gulf of Ormus, to the intersection of the twenty-sixth degree of north latitude, and fifty-seventh of east longitude. Then the boundary runs northwardly, leaving the mountainous country of Beluchistan, and the modern kingdom of Afganistan, on the east, to the intersection of the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude, and sixty-first of east longitude, and thence westwardly to the Caspian, near its south-east corner. Persia, therefore, has within its limits many cities celebrated in Jewish, Greek,

Roman, and Mahommedan history. *Ecbatana*. Turkish Hamadan is on the site of this ancient city, latitude thirty-five, longitude forty-nine. In the time of Cyrus and his successors, *Susa*, or *Sushan*, was the royal residence; latitude 31, 32,—66 east longitude, perhaps one hundred and fifty miles north of the Gulf of Persia. Which of the mounds of earth here, cover the ruins of *Susa*, is unknown. Daniel dwelt here in his captivity, and was buried here. *Ispahan*, to which Heraclius penetrated, was the capital of Persia, four hundred miles east from the ruins of Babylon, three hundred south from the Caspian, and near latitude thirty-two. It was a splendid city. Around it were fourteen hundred villages. It is still a great city, but no longer the capital, which is *Teheran*, near the south end of the Caspian.

Whatever admiration some of the cities before mentioned may have attracted, they are insignificant, compared with *Persepolis*, (the name given by the Greeks,) which, like the pyramids, arose before history began, and, like them, has baffled conjecture.

Persepolis is situated near the twenty-ninth degree of north lat. and the fifty-third of east long., and about two hundred and fifty miles a little north of east from the place in the Gulf of Persia where the united waters of the Euphrates and Tigris are received. *Ispahan*, the largest city of modern Persia, lies nearly north-west of these ruins, about one hundred and fifty miles. The remains of *Persepolis*, and of the monuments around it, are formed out of the mountain of rock at the foot of which they are found, and out of marble wrought with wonderful skill, and of such grandeur in extent, as to fill beholders with astonishment. No words can convey any idea of these magnificent relics. The inscriptions cut in the solid rock, like those in Egypt, have not yielded to the diligent inquiry of the learned.

By what hands, and at what age of the world, and for what purposes, were these structures of *Persepolis* raised? Nothing within the range of historical records affords any answer. If they had been constructed of bricks, like the great cities on the Tigris and Euphrates, they would, probably, have disappeared even before Babylon arose. They seem to have existed before the Persian empire, and they may have been intended for the double purpose of religious worship and of royal residence. No historical account regards them as such residence, at any time within five hundred years before our era. Heeren appears to consider *Persepolis* to have been a sacred city, and

the place assigned for the preservation of the royal treasures, and for the sepulchre of Persian kings. The tomb of Cyrus is supposed to be here.

When Alexander visited Persepolis, three hundred and thirty years before our era, the magnificent palace in which he took up his abode was entire, and while he was there, all of it, that fire could destroy, perished. It is said that this wanton destruction was an act of vengeance, and that the fire began from a torch held in his own hand. Other accounts say, that it began in a drunken revel which he held in this palace, as he did in all others, wherein he sojourned in the east, and that it was proposed to finish the banqueting of the night by this splendid conflagration. Whatever may have been the motive, the palace was then burnt. Astonishing treasures had accumulated in Persepolis, which the great Alexander had, undoubtedly, secured, before he applied the torch. He found here, surviving, hundreds of Greek captives, taken in former wars, whose personal appearance indicated the character of Persian warfare. All of them had been mutilated in some cruel manner. Either a hand, a foot, a nose, an ear, or a tongue, were wanting to each of these unfortunate beings. Alexander offered to send them all back to Greece, but they declined the offer, as they could not endure to be seen in their native land, in such a disgraceful condition.

That part of Asia which the learned consider to have been "*the cradle of nations*," includes a part of modern Persia, and may be thus defined:—Its western boundary is on a line beginning on the fiftieth degree of north latitude, two hundred miles north of the Caspian Sea, and running south on the fifty-fifth degree of east longitude, by the east side of that sea, to the thirtieth degree of north latitude. From the extremities of this western line, and between the fiftieth and thirtieth degrees of north latitude, twelve hundred miles in extent, eastwardly, would come to the Beloor range of mountains, and this range would form the eastern boundary. In other words, "*the cradle of nations*" is between the Caspian Sea and the Beloor mountains, and between the parallels of fifty and thirty degrees of north latitude. It is about twelve hundred miles from west to east, and about one thousand from north to south. The Altai range of mountains, which run east and west, is on the northern boundary of this territory, and the Taurus range of mountains is on its southern one. There are no rivers which flow from the Altai mountains, southwardly. From the Taurus mountains the Oxus, or Gihon, flows northwardly ;

and the Jaxartes, or Sihon flows north-westwardly: both empty into lake Aral, east of the Caspian. From this *cradle* the nations of the earth are *supposed* to have come forth, originally; and many are *known* to have come from this territory, within the time of historical record.

This geographical sketch will elucidate the Persian and Mahomedan history. It is not intended to describe *Persia*. Curiosity may be satisfied, in this respect, by the perusal of many works, easily found. Rollin's Ancient History (the most approved edition is by Samuel Walker, in 1827) shows what *ancient Persia* was; and the works of Sir Robert Ker Porter, and James Morier, Esq. contain the best account of *modern Persia*. To these may be added Malte Brun's excellent geography.

In 523 of our era, Cavades was succeeded on the Persian throne by Chosroes, or Nushirvan. The Roman emperor, Justinian, and Chosroes, were contemporaries about 40 years. Their adjoining boundaries were between the Caucassian mountains, (situate between the Black and Caspian Seas,) and thence south-east, through Armenia, and Mesopotamia, to the gulf of Persia. It was a continually varying boundary, according to the fortune of war, which was almost incessant, between these two monarchs.

The reign and the character of Justinian have already been noticed. Chosroes was the third son of Cavades, and to secure the throne to himself, he caused his two elder brothers, and their families, to be murdered. Yet he professed to be a just prince, and to be ever solicitous for the welfare of his subjects. He effected many salutary reforms, and promoted education and agriculture, by expending the money of his treasury. He assumed to be the patron of learning, and of the arts. The few of the Grecian philosophers (seven are mentioned by name) who remained in Justinian's dominions, were driven out by his intolerance. They visited Chosroes, but were soon disgusted with him, and his country. They found that he was vain, cruel, and ambitious; the Magi, (priests,) bigoted and intolerant; the nobles haughty; the courtiers, servile; the magistrates, unjust. They were shocked by the plurality of wives, the number of concubines, the incestuous marriages, and the custom of exposing the dead to dogs and vultures. They hastily returned, considering a residence within the empire, under any circumstances, preferable to any favors which the Persian monarch could bestow. He did them, however, that favor which they most desired, by making an agreement with Justin-

ian that they should live unmolested, within his dominions. They so lived and died, leaving no disciples. This was the end of the long list of Grecian sages, about the middle of the sixth century. The interpretation of Epictetus, by Semplicius, one of the seven, is found in libraries of the present time. [Gibbon, chap. xl.]

Notwithstanding the opinion which these Grecians entertained of Persia, Chosroes was entitled to the praise of having been munificent in obtaining the intellectual products of other countries, and in having translations made into Persian, and in having widely disseminated them. He sent the physican Peroses to India, to obtain the fables of Pilpay, the fame of which had reached him. This difficult enterprize was accomplished. These fables have come, through many versions, into some of the modern languages of Europe; but their original character no longer remains. The game of chess, invented in India, was introduced to his subjects, by this king. He founded a school of physic, near Susa, the capital, at this time, of Persia, which became a school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric.

Justinian lived to the year 565, and Chosroes to the year 569. During this time, they had alternate war and peace, with various success; but the Persian appears to have had the advantage in sagacity and in arms. The details of these conflicts, as they were void of permanent results, are uninteresting; or, if otherwise, there is no space for them. The seat of the war was between the Euphrates and the eastern part of Asia Minor, and eastwardly of the Mediterranean. In 550, Chosroes took and destroyed Antioch, and affected to weep over the misery he was obliged to occasion. Within the next twenty years he undertook the conquest of Arabia, and proceeded to the further end of the Red Sea. Within this time, also, new wars arose with the successor of Justinian. Chosroes closed his reign in 569, by dying of sorrow, leaving a fame which has induced historians to confer on him the title of Great; a title which he deserved more than any of his predecessors, Cyrus only, excepted.

After scenes of rebellion, violence, and murder, inseparable from Oriental despotism, Chosroes II. appeared on the Persian throne in 614. In this reign, the usual employment between Greeks and Persians was resumed. Jerusalem, at this time subject to the Greek emperor, was besieged and taken by assault. This warfare was instigated by the Magi, and twenty-five thousand Jews volunteered to serve therein. The churches, the tomb of the Saviour, and the cross, preserved there,

were peculiarly devoted to the conqueror's malice. The patriarch Zachariah, and the cross itself, were carried to Persia. Ninety thousand Christians, without respect for age or sex, were slaughtered. Egypt was subdued to the confines of Ethiopia; and the conquests were pushed westwardly, to the neighborhood of Carthage. In Asia Minor, Chosroes was master, even to the Bosphorus, for ten years.

No Persian king had more cause to be proud of his magnificence and glory, than Chosroes II. His abode was neither at Ctesiphon, nor at Susa, but at Artemita, about 60 miles north of the former, on the east side of the Tigris. The riches of which he had despoiled the vanquished, were lavished here, for the pleasure of the monarch. Lions and tigers were turned loose for the chase. Nine hundred and sixty elephants, 12,000 camels, 6,000 horses and mules, were part of his establishment. The daily guard of the palace was 6,000, the number of slaves 12,000, the number of selected females for the seraglio, 3,000. The Roman historian adds, "The voice of flattery, perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the 30,000 rich hangings that adorned the walls; the 40,000 columns of silver, or more probably, of marble, and plated wood, that supported the roof—the 1000 globes of gold suspended in the dome to imitate the motions of the planets, and the constellations of the Zodiac." While such was the condition of the exulting monarch of Persia, he received an invitation from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet, or Mohammed, as the apostle of God. The indignant monarch tore the epistle, and dismissed the bearer. It will be seen how easily the grandeur of Oriental despotism can vanish.

The efforts of the emperor Heraclius, to retrieve his fortunes, in conflict with his Persian enemy, have already been narrated. The disasters of Chosroes caused him to be deposed, by his own subjects. He witnessed the massacre of eighteen of his own sons, was thrown into a dungeon, and died in five days afterwards. These measures were conducted by his son Siroes, who assumed the crown. He reigned eight months, and gave place to an anarchy of 12 years, in which nine competitors were contending for the mastery. At the end of this period the followers of the obscure citizen of Mecca closed these tragical scenes, as will be shown in the history of this remarkable person, next to be reviewed.

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE MAHOMMEDAN RELIGION.

Arabia—Ancient Religion—Mahomet or Mohammed.

THIS religion began in Arabia. This extensive country is bounded, westwardly, by that part of Syria which lies eastwardly of Palestine; and passing around Palestine, south-westwardly, it comes to the eastern boundary of Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; then by the latter sea, south-westwardly, about 1400 miles. Then south-eastwardly, by the Arabian Sea, 1300 miles, to the gulf of Ormus; then north-eastwardly, by this gulf and the Persian gulf, 900 miles. Thence, bounded still north-eastwardly, along the skirt of the desert, 500 miles, nearly parallel to the Euphrates, and distant from that river about 50 miles, to the 34th degree of north latitude. The form of Arabia is an irregular triangle. The northern part of the great desert, which is the northern part of the triangle, lies between Syria and the Euphrates. Arabia contains nearly one half the number of square miles which are contained in the whole of the United States. The capital of South Carolina, Columbia, is nearly in the same latitude with the most northwardly part of Arabia. The whole of Arabia is, therefore, in the same latitude with the countries, islands, and seas, which lie between Columbia, in South Carolina, and the republic of Columbia, in South America.

In 1762, Carstens Niebuhr, a Hanoverian by birth, and father of the celebrated Roman historian, visited Arabia, as one of a scientific expedition, sent out by the Danish government. In the following year he published his travels. From his accounts it is known, that there are many tribes settled along the coast of the Red Sea, and the Arabian Sea; and some in the interior, among the mountains. But it also appears, from this traveller's account, as it does from others dating back in far more distant times, that the largest part of Arabia consists of deserts of burning, moving sands.

Caravans and whole armies have sometimes been buried alive in them. The northern part, next to Palestine, was once a country of numerous population, as is known from Jewish history. Here lived the Edomites, the Amalekites, and Cushites; and this is supposed to have been the country of Job; it

was, also, that in which the Israelites wandered. Before the Portuguese found the way to India around the Cape of Good Hope, a large portion of the commerce with eastern regions came up the Red Sea to Idumea, which was situate at the northwardly end of that sea. Hence, in Solomon's time, it was a very rich country. It is now mountainous, rocky and barren, inhabited only by pastoral tribes, who have the common name of Bedouins, (children of the desert.) That part of Arabia which is connected with our present purpose, lies between the north-east side of the Red Sea, and a range of mountains parallel to it, and of the average distance from it of about 150 miles. Passing from north to south, between these mountains and the sea, the first city to be mentioned is Medina, situated nearly in latitude 25, north. Two hundred and fifty miles further south, a branch from these mountains runs to the Red Sea, on the south side, and at the foot of this branch, is the city of Mecca, lat. 21, 22., forty miles from Jedda, which is the nearest port on this sea. Seven hundred miles further south is the south-west point of Arabia, having, on the west, the Red Sea, on the south, the Straits of Babelmandel. A part of this country, on both sides of the point, and extending back from it three or four hundred miles, is now called Yemen, within which was Arabia the Happy. This name was not obtained from its superiority over other parts of the globe, but to distinguish it from other parts called the Sandy, and the Stoney. Arabia Felix, or the Happy, was and still is, the land of frankincense, myrrh, spices, gums, and of some vegetable productions, used in medicine. Moka, situated near the point, is the port at which a superior kind of coffee is obtained.

There is a tradition, that the family which rules at a place called *Saba*, are the descendants of Balkis, the queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon. But there is a similar tradition on the other side of the Red Sea, as to a princely family there. If the one or the other be true, the lineage of Solomon and Balkis is the oldest known in the world. This celebrated queen approached Jerusalem from the south, but whether from Arabia, or Abyssinia, the curious must still remain in doubt.

Arabia is not, in the opinion of the German historian, Müller, the country originally of the horse. He thinks it was Kuku, a country somewhere west or south of Egypt. But the horse is no where a finer animal, or more valued or cherished. Pedigrees are alleged to be carefully preserved, extending back through centuries. This is the country of the camel, of which there are two kinds, one of which outstrips the fleetest horse.

The former has two humps on the back, and is the camel of burthen. The latter has one hump, and is, properly, the dromedary: this name comes from the addition of the word *dromos*, or runner, by the Greeks, to the word which expressed the name of camel. The camel of burthen is called the *living ship* of the Arab, in his ocean of sand. A learned writer says of this camel,—“While he bears double the burthen of the mule, he is more frugal than the ass; his flesh is not less esteemed as food, than that of the calf; the value of his hair rivals the finest fleece; his dung serves as fuel, and his urine yields sal-ammoniac. He often marches three or four hundred leagues without drinking more than once in eight or ten days, or eating any thing in the space of four-and-twenty hours, except a few thistles, or stalks of wormwood. He bears, for weeks, a load of 1300 pounds, without ever being lightened of his burthen.” Such an animal seems to have been providentially bestowed on such a country as Arabia.

This extraordinary abstinence of the camel is accounted for by the fact that he has a separate stomach, appropriated exclusively to the reception of water. The bewildered Arab is sometimes reduced to the hard necessity of deciding whether he will submit to perish himself, or prolong his chance of life by slaying his precious camel, to obtain the contents of his stomach.

The whole population of Arabia is computed, at the present day, at 10 or 12 millions. The most ancient race of Arabs derive their origin from Heber, four generations before Abraham. The second race, from Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, of whose posterity it was declared, “their hand shall be against every man, and every man’s hand against them.” The Arabians boast that their country has never been conquered, while their nation has conquered more than half of the Eastern world. They are to be credited, in some respects, in their boasting, for nature has made most of their country unassailable. Parts of it have been conquered. In the year 600 of the Christian era, Arabia was held by various native tribes of Arabs; some of whom were Nomads, or wanderers, with their flocks and herds; some were robbers, or plunderers of caravans; some were merchants; some cultivators of the earth; some mechanics; a few of them were inferior manufacturers.

The trade with the east was carried on through their country, the merchant ships, and the caravans, meeting in Arabia the Happy. Besides the Arabs, there were settlements of Jews and Christians, who had sought an asylum in this country from various persecutions. All the Arabians were idolaters

worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, and a multitude of gods of their own making. They entertained many absurd superstitions. They had two solitary virtues, those of charity and hospitality, but exercised only under peculiar circumstances. Their enmity was cruel and merciless. They were of middle stature, abstemious, brave, and hardy. Under an exterior of extreme gravity, they had violent passions, and an ardent imagination.

As further introduction to Mahommedanism, there is an enclosure at Mecca, a square surrounded with colonnades and adorned with minarets. In this square are six or eight chapels, and a square building of stone called the Kaaba, which is the sacred spot of this religion. The Kaaba dates from the time of Abraham, at whose solicitations the Arabians believe it to have been let down from heaven. Within this building, at the south-east corner, about four feet from the ground, is *the black stone*, fixed in that wall, and ever held sacred by Arabians, whether in the time of their idolatry or Mahommedanism: this veneration is founded on the belief, that the black stone represents the earth, the mother of all, around which the chaotic matter was originally distributed and reduced to order. (Müller's Universal History.) Among the fables transmitted is this: that the stone was sacred on earth before the deluge, and was preserved from the general desolation of that event, by being taken up into heaven, and afterwards restored to Abraham, who placed it in the Kaaba. This temple contained 360 images, intended, perhaps, to represent the days of the year, according to the Arabian calendar. On the top was a superior image, called the God Kobal, which may have represented the sun. [Malte Brun's Geography.]

Within the enclosure which surrounds the Kaaba, is the sacred well *Zem Zem*, whose waters (it is said) can wash away even moral pollution. Around the Kaaba, before Mahommedanism was established, the idolatrous Arabs performed their sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, not, however, in reference to its supposed founder, who had been long forgotten by them as an object of veneration. There were family distinctions among the Arabians, as there are among most of the nations of the earth. These were derived from the common sources, military renown, abundant riches, hereditary rights, or official dignity. There were princes, and there were noble families, whose various branches had a common appellation. This distinction of families was common in the east, and still exists among the Scottish clans.

Those who profess Mahomedanism are called *Musulmen*, or *Musslemen*, *Moslems*, or *Mahomedans*—names of the same signification, importing that one has given himself up entirely to the faith of that religion, which faith is expressed by the word *Islam*. Mahomedanism and Islamism are synonymous. The name *Arabia* means the land of the west; as it, in truth, is, relatively to the rest of Asia. When Mahomet's followers had conquered the east, and had turned their faces westward, they were called *Saracens*, which means a people from the east. This name was applied in common to them, and to *Turks*, who were from the east, and who first mingled with the *Arabians* and then overthrew them; and to *Tartars*, still further from the east, who overthrew the *Turks*, and mingled with them. The name of *Saracen* has disappeared in that of *Ottoman* of the present day, which is an odious compound of *Arabian*, *Turk*, and *Tartar*, whose bond of union is Mahomedanism.

Mahomet was of noble, if not princely origin. He was of the tribe of *Koreish*, and of the family of *Hashem*, one of the most illustrious of the *Arabs*, the princes of *Mecca*, and hereditary guardians of the *Kaaba*. The grandfather was *Abdol Motallet*, the son of *Hashem*. The father was *Abdallah*, the mother, *Amina*, and Mahomet, their only son, was born at *Mecca*, in the year 369. While he was in infancy, his parents, and his grandfather died. He had several uncles, who were rich and powerful, though his own inheritance was five camels, and one *Ethiopian* female slave. His uncle, *Abu Taleb*, was his guardian. At the age of twenty-one, he entered the service of *Cadijah*, a rich and noble widow of *Mecca*, whom he soon married, and was thus restored to the ancient rank of his family. Mahomet was distinguished by a manly beauty. In the words of *Gibbon*—"Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side, the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul; and his gestures that enforced every expression of the tongue. His memory was capacious and retentive; his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid and decisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action." Yet, *Gibbon* adds, after such commendation, that he was an "illiterate barbarian." In his youth he is said to have made but two journies beyond *Arabia*, one when he was thirteen years of age, and one when he had entered the service of *Cadijah*; the first, to *Bastra*, a city eastwardly of the *Jordan*, the other to

Damascus, as one of a caravan. He is not supposed to have derived his plans from these journies, nor had he the means of learning more of the countries which he saw, than the eye could impart, for he was ignorant of every language but his own. It is probable that his future celebrity was the work of his own genius.

Before his time, one month in the year, that of Ramadan, was devoted by the Arabs to fasting and prayer. This month Mahomet used to pass alone, in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca. Here he is supposed to have engendered, in fraud or enthusiasm, his plan of converting the world to a new, or rather to a reformed religion, comprehended in the expression which forms the faith of the Mahomedan to the present day: "*There is only one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God.*" "He rejected," says Gibbon, "the worship of idols and of men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set; that whatever is born must die; that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish." He assumed to be a prophet at the age of forty.

His first convert was Cadijah; the second, Varaca, his father-in-law; the third, his faithful servant Zeid; the fourth, Ali, the son of his uncle Abu Taleb; and next Ahubeker, whose wealth, influence and character were a great acquisition. In three years he had acquired only fourteen proselytes. He now felt sufficiently assured of success, to invite all the members of his family to a festival. To this assembly he said,—“Friends and kinsmen! I offer you, and I alone can offer the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world, and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my burthen? Who among you will be my companion, and my vizier?” Astonishment, doubt, and contempt pervaded the assembly, till Ali, then only fourteen years of age, arose and said, “O prophet! I am the man; whosoever rises against thee I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, and rip up his body. Oh prophet! I will be thy vizier.”

The progress of Mahomet was slow and difficult. He encountered the deep-rooted prejudices of his countrymen. They were offended by his audacity and presumption. He gained over, however, his uncle Hamza, and the fierce and inflexible Omar. He now ventured to appear in the Kaaba, and promulgated his doctrines to the crowds who periodically assembled there to perform their religious ceremonies. But the prophet was assailed by envy and malice, and with the charge

of attempting to subvert the ancient religion of his countrymen. In Mecca, especially, where he was best known, he had little credit as a prophet, and abundant reproach as a fanatic and impostor. His own tribe, the Koreish, were his bitterest enemies, and they included with him the whole family of Hashem. They decreed, and the decree was suspended in the Kaaba, that they would neither buy nor sell, marry nor give in marriage, with the family of Hashem, until the person of Mahomet was given up to the justice of the gods. While the prophet was thus menaced, he lost his faithful Cadijah. Abu Sophian, of the family of Ommiyah, succeeded to the principality of Mecca. This person was devoted to the ancient worship of idols, and was the implacable foe of the family of Hashem. The death of Mahomet was resolved on, and he had no resource but flight. In the dead of night, accompanied only by Abubeker, he escaped from his house. They concealed themselves three days in the cave of Thor, a league from Mecca. While here, they heard their pursuers, but the appearance of a spider's web over the entrance to the cave, and of a pigeon's nest near it, led them to suppose the place solitary, and they turned away to make further search. When Abubeker heard them, he said,—“We are only two.” “There is a third,” said the prophet, “it is God himself.”

From this cave, Mahomet and Abubeker directed their flight to Medina. They were overtaken by their pursuers, but escaped through prayers and promises. Gibbon remarks, that one thrust of a lance might now have changed the destiny of the world. From this flight of the prophet, (from Mecca to Medina,) Mahommedans compute their years, under the name of the Hegira, or flight. This is the era of the followers of Mahomet, and commences on the 16th of July, 622. It was not established till the time of Omar, the next but one of the prophet's successors, in the year 634. Mahomet was well received at Medina, as some of its noblest citizens had been converted during their visits to Mecca. He stopped at Koba, two miles from Medina, and there entered into a solemn contract with a deputation, which Gibbon considers to have been the first vital spark of the empire of the Saracena. On the sixteenth day of his flight, he entered the city in a sort of triumph. Here his disciples, who had been dispersed by the persecutions at Mecca, assembled around him, and among them Ali. Mahomet assumed the dignity of royalty, combined with that of the holy prophet. At the end of six years, he could number fifteen hundred Moslems or followers, well-

armed, and ready to shed their blood for him and his religion. Such was the veneration for the prophet, that a hair which fell from his head, and the water in which he had washed, were preserved, as though they contained some prophetic virtue.

Thus strengthened, Mahomet began to show his earthly ambition. He proclaimed peace and fraternity to all who embraced his religion—war and extermination to all who did not. The surrounding country first felt the force of the warlike prophet. He fought, in person, in ten battles or sieges, and accomplished fifty military enterprises himself, or by his lieutenants, in his first ten years. One fifth of all the spoils was preserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses; the residue was distributed among his armed followers. The caravans which passed along the shores of the Red Sea were subjected to the plunder of the Mahommedans. The commerce with Mecca was thus interrupted, and his former enemies, the Koreish, assembled a numerous force to proceed to Medina, and annihilate the prophet and his robbers. The opposing forces met a few miles south of Medina. Those of his enemies greatly outnumbered those of the prophet. Seated on a throne whence he overlooked the battle, he saw that his own troops were on the point of yielding, when, starting from his seat, he took up a handful of sand, and, casting it into the air, exclaimed, in a tremendous voice,—“Let their faces be covered with confusion.” The Koreish trembled and fled. This defeat only stimulated Abu Sophian, the prince of Mecca, to appear, in person, with a still greater force. The second battle was fought six miles from Medina. But here the prophet was vanquished, having been wounded in the face by a javelin, and having two of his teeth knocked out by a stone. Yet he rallied the faithful, and the prince of Mecca did not see fit to besiege Medina. In the following year, ten thousand men appeared before Medina, composed of various nations, and led by Abu Sophian. The prophet declined a battle, and, during the twenty days’ siege, he artfully fomented divisions among his enemies, and a tempest having overturned their tents, the allies of the Koreish deserted, and the siege was abandoned.

CHAPTER LXIX.

MAHOMET'S PROGRESS—DEATH—ABUBEKER—OMAR.

THE prophet next made war on the Jews, who were settled in Arabia. Towards that nation he entertained an implacable hatred. He took from them all they possessed, but their lives, and exiled them to Syria. He next ventured to approach Mecca. He was met within a day's journey of the city by his enemies, the Koreish, supported by numerous allies. He was adroit enough to waive his apostolic dignity, and to obtain a truce of ten years, stipulating, among other things, that he might enter the city as a devout pilgrim, and render his homage at the Kaaba. Within these ten years, he entered Mecca in triumph, and even the proud Abu Sophian, in surrendering the keys of the city, confessed (under the scimeter of Omar) that Mahomet was the Apostle of the true God. Between the years 629 and 632, the whole of Arabia had submitted to Mahomet. The ambition of the prophet was far from being satisfied with these conquests. He now turned his attention to Palestine and to Syria. While the emperor Heraclius was returning from the east to Constantinople, an embassy from Mahomet met him, and invited him and his empire to embrace the Mahommedan faith. This being refused, three thousand men were despatched to invade Palestine. A battle was fought at Muta, (supposed to be on the eastern side of Palestine,) where the faithful Zeid was slain. The names of Jaafar, Abdallah, and Caled, are celebrated in this battle. Jaafar bore the holy standard. When he lost his right hand, he held the standard with the left; when this was severed, he clasped the standard with his bleeding stumps. He fell with fifty wounds. Abdallah stepped into the vacant place and bore up the standard, till a Roman lance laid him on the earth. Caled, surnamed the Sword of God, rescued the standard. Nine swords were broken in his hand, but he succeeded in repelling the superior number of the Christians. Such was the valor and enthusiasm with which Mahomet had inspired the faithful. It will be seen how far this spirit has extended his name and his faith. Mahomet now undertook a more serious enterprise against the Roman empire, and embodied a large force which he led himself half way towards Palestine; but, excessive heat in traversing the desert, and the suffering

from the want of water, discouraged his army, and the enterprise was given up.

On his return to Mecca, the prophet's health was seen to be much impaired. He is said to have considered a slow poison, administered by a revengeful Jewess, to be the true cause of his decline. The immediate cause of his death was a fever of fourteen days. He was aware of his approaching dissolution, and it might have been expected that he would, in some way, have disclosed his own opinions of the reality of his mission. But he persevered to the end, and died consistently with the high dignity he had assumed, declaring that the angel of death had no power to take his soul until he had given his consent. This he affected to give, and expired on a carpet spread on the floor, his head resting on the lap of Ayesha, June 7, 632, at the age of sixty-three. Mahomet thus left to the speculation of future ages, whether he was a mere fanatic, sincerely believing in all that he professed to believe, or whether he was an ingenious and successful hypocrite. It is probable that he began in the disbelief of his divine mission, and equally probable that an ardent Arabian imagination might discipline itself into a conviction that he was divinely commissioned. Whether it was the one or the other, or a mixture of credulity and hypocrisy, it was necessary, to the honor of his fame, that he should die as the "Apostle of God."

The Koran was compiled with a full knowledge of the Old and of the New Testament; within six hundred miles of Jerusalem, and about half that distance from the land in which the book of Job is supposed to have been written. Whatever the Koran contains of reasonable, sublime, or beautiful, was borrowed from the Old Testament; all that deserves the name of good morals, was taken from the New Testament. The Koran is without method or order, and abounds in contradictions and repetitions. The author obtained from Gabriel successive chapters, to excuse or justify his own conduct, or enforce his new orders. The last communication from the angel repealed all former ones, if inconsistent with the last. Mahomet's mother was a well-informed Jewess, and he had a monk and a Jew in his own house. Such is the statement to account for the fabrication of the Koran. Mahomet declared that it was originally written by the hand of the Almighty, on the skin of the goat which Abraham sacrificed in place of his son, and that it was brought down and delivered to him by the angel Gabriel, in parcels, at various times. [American Encyclopædia—Koran.] This book is about the size of the

New Testament. Its parts were collected into a volume, after the prophet's death, in 634. Its contents are the supreme law, religious, social, civil, and military, for about one seventh part of the whole population of the earth.

The private life of Mahomet was subject to many infirmities and reproaches, nor is there a single instance of a redeeming virtue, unless it be true that he was *grateful*. He placed his wife Cadijah among the four perfect women, whom he considered to be, the sister of Moses, the mother of our Saviour, his daughter Fatima, and Cadijah. The most beloved of his eleven wives, Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, once said to Mahomet, (in the consciousness of youth and beauty,) when he spoke respectfully of Cadijah,—“Has not God given you a better one in her place?” “No,” he answered, “there never can be a better. She believed in me when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world.” The civil government of the prophet was salutary to his countrymen. He established order, and provided for the punishment of crimes. As a temporal prince, he may be entitled to commendations. He was grievously disappointed in not having an heir to his empire. His four sons by Cadijah died in infancy. His son by an Egyptian concubine died at the age of fifteen months. Ten of his wives were widows when he married them, neither of whom gave him any child; but he had four daughters by Cadijah, who were married among the most exalted of his disciples. His daughter Fatima, the child of Ayesha, shared largely in his affections. The Fatimites, who, at an after period, arose in Egypt, a denomination of Moslems, derive their name from this daughter. When the excessive irregularities of the prophet shocked his harem and the faithful, the angel Gabriel always helped him to an exculpatory page. The prohibition of wine, under the awful denunciations of the Koran, may have been from a wise policy, to prevent the contentions and infirmities which an inordinate use of it is apt to produce. The prohibition of swine's flesh was common among Egyptians and Jews, for ages before Mahomet appeared. The prohibition undoubtedly arose from the belief that such food brought on certain horrible diseases, which were of frequent occurrence in Egypt and southern Asia. This prohibition was severely enforced by the prophet.

Fatalism is, to the present day, a strict point in the creed of every true Mussulman. But this ingenious prophet was apprehensive that all his purposes might not be answered by the

gift of the persons and property of all the unbelievers on the earth, and by the assurance that no one could avoid dying in battle, to whom that death had been foreordained, nor so die, if it had not been. He promised the joys of heaven to all who fell in his cause, and made these joys exceedingly captivating to an Arabian imagination. A respectable historian gives this account of the prophet's heaven, as the reward of every true believer:—"Seventy most beautiful women; a tent of incomparable costliness; a prodigious number of servants; the choicest wines, free from intoxicating qualities, and presented in golden goblets; the most delicious food; the most sumptuous dresses, and renovated youth that would endure forever." But unbelievers he threatened with torments as enduring and as terrible as the joys of heaven were desirable.

To these may be added a short account of the present creed of Islamism, or Mahometan faith. Mahomet was the last of the prophets; his name is written on all the gates of paradise. The devil was cast out at his birth. He visited the seven heavens, and was superior to all men in genius and wisdom. He performed three thousand miracles, besides those in the Alcoran, which contains sixty thousand in itself, as every verse is a miracle. He cleft the moon. Fountains of pure waters have gushed from his fingers. God divides with him his blessings, and has ordered the universe to obey him. The earth belongs to him; and before him it was stained by Christians, idolators, and Jews. He purified it by his doctrine. Mahomet instituted prayer, the custom of washing hands after meats, of making a hollow on one side of the tomb, the fashion of wearing turbans, with streamers hanging from behind, a mark of distinction even among angels. Mahomet had the privilege of committing murder in all the sacred territory, even in Mecca; to judge according to his will; to receive presents; to parcel out lands even before he had possession of them. The best spoils were his. Celestial spirits obeyed him. The angel of death could not take his soul till he had first asked his permission.

True Moslems have a string of beads around the neck, and each bead, as counted over, is to remind the disciples of the various qualities of the founder of his religion, or of his miracles. The Catholics also have strings of beads. There is a natural similarity between the benedictions, privileges, and assurances dispensed by the popes to the crusaders, and those announced to his followers by the accomplished and successful *Napoleon of the Arabs*.

"The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and hell. A drop of blood spent in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; the loss of limbs shall be supplied with the wings of angels and of cherubim." His followers advanced fearlessly to battle. Where there is no chance there is no danger.

As the prophet had created the Mahometan throne by his own genius and valor, he had a much better right to dispose of it, by naming a successor, than despotic monarchs generally have had. This he did not do, and contentions arose among his chiefs. On the one part, the pretensions of Ali, the first of his avowed adherents, and the husband of his favorite child, Fatima, were strongly supported. On another part it was insisted upon, that the prophet intended to leave the successor to choice, or he would have chosen one to take his place. This latter opinion prevailed, and Abdallah Ebn Abu Koafas, surnamed Abubeker, was elected. This surname is differently understood by different writers. It has been said to signify the father of the virgin, as this person stood in that relation to Ayesha, who was the only one of the prophet's wives who had not been previously a wife when married to him. It has also been said to signify the first witness, and the faithful witness. He took the titular distinction of caliph, which is said to mean vice-general, or the substitute for the prophet. He was far advanced when elected. He ruled two years and four months, and assumed to name Omar as his successor. When Omar was informed of this, he went to the caliph and told him that he had no occasion for the place. That may be true, said the caliph, but the place has occasion for you.

In the reign of Abubeker, the first caliph, (632—634,) Caled, surnamed the Sword of God, led an army from Medina across the Desert, to the banks of the Euphrates, and thus invaded the Persian empire. "In his first year," says an Arabian historian, "Caled fought many signal battles; an immense number of the infidels was slaughtered, and spoils infinite and innumerable were acquired by the victorious Moslems." The Persian kingdom, convulsed by internal divisions, made a feeble effort to resist the Arabians. The house of Sassanides then reigned, but it was destined to fall, and, with it, the religion long cherished, of which Zoroaster was

the founder. The final struggle of Persian power was at the battle of Cadesia, sixty-one leagues south-westwardly from the present Bagdad, and, perhaps, a fourth part of that distance from Cufa. The contest has obtained the distinction, in history, of "obstinate and atrocious."

After the battle, in the year 636, the Arabians founded the city of Bosra, or Bassora, forty miles below the confluence of the Euphrates, on the Tigris, and forty miles above the northwardly end of the Gulf of Persia. Bassora is still a commercial city. Yezdeyard, the last king of the Sassanides family, fled north-eastwardly, to the hills of ancient Media, and his seat of empire, the city and palace of Ctesiphon, near the spot on which Bagdad stands, became the spoil of the Mahometans. Among the spoils was a magazine of camphor, which was used, with a mixture of wax, to light the palaces of the east. The extent of a hall in the palace of Ctesiphon is known by the carpet which covered the floor. It was a square of silk, one hundred and fifty feet on each side. It was richly wrought, with brilliant and golden colors, to represent a garden. It was sent entire to the venerable caliph at Medina. This royal residence, after the pillage of the Arabs, was permitted to fall into ruins, and travellers now dispute where it was. Before the year 752, and within twenty years after the decease of the prophet, his pious followers had subjected and converted the people of the vast territory between the Tigris and the Caspian Sea. They had done the like favor to all whom they had not slain, from the Tigris, north-eastwardly beyond the Caspian, to the river now called Sihon, by the Greeks of Alexander the Saporis, which is more than twelve hundred miles from Bagdad. South-eastwardly, they had carried the name and the religion of the prophet fifteen hundred miles, to the confines of India. These conquests are spread over many pages by historians, who narrate the thousands of mournful scenes which accompanied them. It was a rule with Mahometans, in every case, first to enrich themselves with whatsoever they desired, and then to put all to the sword, and to burn and demolish whenever they were resisted.

While these conquests were going on in the east, other Arabian forces were engaged in like terrible operations in Palestine and Syria, then part of the dominions of the Roman, or, properly, the Greek emperor, Heraclius. Caled, the Sword of God, had been transferred, at an early period of the Persian war, to command in the conquest of these countries. The whole history of the world does not exhibit a more daring,

brave, skilful, and victorious chief than Caled. His own nature, and his entire devotion to the prophet, had so nerved his arm, and steeled his heart, that no enterprise was too difficult for him, if there was even a hope of extending the knowledge of the koran, or of exterminating an unbeliever.

It will be recollected that the whole extent of the eastern end of the Mediterranean is about 400 miles from north to the south. The Jews never possessed more than 100 miles of the coast, from the river Egypt; which is at the south-east corner of this sea, up to the south end of the small territory which was anciently called Phœnicia, in which were the cities of Tyre and Sidon. Phœnicia was about 60 miles long, and, perhaps, 25 miles wide, bounding on the sea. Palestine extended up northwardly behind or east of the Phœnician territory, about as far up as that did. The breadth of Palestine nowhere exceeded 90 miles. North of Palestine and Phœnicia, quite up to the Black Sea was Syria, a length of 550 miles. All the territory east of Palestine, and between it and the desert of Arabia, which runs up further north than Palestine does, was either part of Syria, or part of Arabia, the latter being the most southwardly. In the year 632, there were many populous and wealthy cities in Syria, and some of them had been strongly fortified by the Romans. Among these cities is Damascus, and north-eastwardly of that was Palmyra, celebrated as the seat of empire of the renowned and unfortunate Zenobia, whose prime minister was the learned Longinus, author of a treatise on the sublime, now well known. He was a native of Syria, and fell with his noble queen into the power of the Romans, who put him to death, in the year 275. The river Orontes rises in the mountains near to Damascus, and takes a course nearly north-westwardly, through vallies once populous, cultivated, and beautiful, towards the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, and, passing by Antioch, 16 miles from the sea, it empties into that sea about 40 miles from its north-east corner. In these vallies there were rich cities, and among them Emessa, the birth place of Longinus.

The whole of that region of Palestine and Syria was made to feel the military strength, and unsparing fanaticism of the disciples of Mahomet. The invasion began in the same year that the prophet died, 632, while Abubeker was Caliph. Happy would it have been, compared with the experience of the eastern world, if the commands of Abubeker, to his generals, had been observed by them, and their successors: "Remem-

ber," said he, "that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and in the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves slike men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women and children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any cornfields. Cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons, who live in monasteries, and who propose to themselves to serve God in that way: let them alone, and neither kill them, nor destroy their monasteries. You will find another sort of people, that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns; be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, till they either turn Mahommedans, or pay tribute." By those of the shaven crown, the pious caliph intended, the monks of the catholic church.

The first object of attack was Bosra, a city of Syria, east of the mountains of Gilead. This was the ancient city of Bezer, one of the six cities of refuge, which Moses was commanded to appoint. It is mentioned as having been appointed in the book of Joshua, ch. xx. ver. 8. This conquest was easily made, partly by the military fervor of the Moslems, and partly by the treachery of the Roman governor. Damascus is four days' journey, about 80 miles north of Bosra. The forces of Calad were insufficient to subdue Damascus. He, therefore, concentrated around that city all the warriors of the prophet who had engaged in different expeditions, and the whole number which assembled was 45,000. In the mean time, Heraclius, the emperor, had assembled a force of 70,000, near Emessa, on the Orontes, 100 miles north of Damascus. On modern maps Emessa is called Hems.

The Arabs suspended the siege of Damascus to encounter this army, which they entirely defeated in a plain near Emessa. If one should recite the exploits of the Arabs, (acting under the belief of fatalism, or predestination, devotion to their faith, and the certainty of paradise,) in this, or any of their thousand battles, it would require extensive details, for which we have no space. These exploits always equalled, if they did not surpass, the best efforts of Greeks and Romans, under the stimulus of what they called patriotism; or those of the French ar-

mies, when in their revolution they carried liberty at the point of the bayonet, through Europe.

The Arabs returned to the siege of Damascus. At the end of 70 days, that beautiful city was submitted to the pillage of these fanatical barbarians. A portion of its men, women, and children, were permitted to depart down the Orontes, towards Antioch, in the hope of finding their way through Asia Minor to Constantinople. The causes of the pursuit, by the Arabs, of this party, and their total destruction, are narrated by Gibbon, in his chapter LL, with as much feeling as that celebrated historian has displayed any where throughout his melancholy details.

After several intermediate conflicts, the Arabs appeared before Jerusalem, in 637. At this time, Omar had succeeded to the caliphate. Caled, who had been highest in command, had given place to Abu Obeidah, in whose name Jerusalem was called on to surrender. His short epistle is worth transcribing. "Health and happiness to every one that follows in the right way. We require of you to testify that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his apostle. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Otherwise I shall bring men against you, who love death, better than you do the drinking of wine, or the eating of hog's flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, until I have destroyed those who fight for you, nor until I have made slaves of your children." After a siege of four months, during which there were sanguinary conflicts, almost daily, between the Arabs and the besieged, Jerusalem offered to capitulate. One condition was, that the contract should be signed by Omar in person. He was sent for and came, but not as the sovereign of Persia, and of Syria, might have been expected to come. He was mounted on a red camel, which carried himself a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a leather bag of water, and a wooden dish.

Omar remained only ten days at Jerusalem, and then returned to Medina, but he employed his time usefully. He reformed the errors of his Arabs in the quantity of wives which each had taken to himself; he forbade extortion and cruelty; he repressed luxury, by taking away the rich garments with which the conquerors had clothed themselves, and punished some of them by causing them to be dragged with their faces in the dirt. By his command, the ground floor of the temple of Solomon was prepared for a mosque. He regulated the future government of his Syrian conquests, and departed in the same humble manner in which he came.

The forces of the Arabs were then divided into two unequal parts; the inferior one remained in Palestine, under Amrou; the superior one departed, under Caled and Obeidah, to take Aleppo and Antioch. Aleppo is still known by the same name; it was called Beria by the Greeks. This city is in lat. 36, long. 37, and 70 miles east from the Mediterranean, the capital of Syria, and now the third town in the Ottoman empire. It has now a mixed population, computed at 200,000, but was a much more considerable city when attacked by the Arabs. Before the 1st of September, 638, both Aleppo and Antioch had been subdued, but the latter ransomed itself at the cost of a great sum of money. Heraclius, the emperor, had come into Syria, but he chose not to encounter the Arabs in person. He had seen the destruction of the last of his armies, and after the fall of Antioch he hastily withdrew to Constantinople. But the Arabians had so far diminished their numbers, by battle, disease, and hardships, that they contented themselves with their conquests thus far, in Syria. They had now extended their empire from the eastern shore of the Mediterranean to the Jaxartes, or Sihon, and to the Indus. In the ten years of Omar's reign, and within thirteen years of the prophet's death, 36,000 cities or castles, had been taken or reduced to submission; 4000 churches, or temples of unbelievers, had been destroyed, and 1400 mosques had been established, for worship according to the religion of Mahomet. Omar perished by poison, administered by a revengeful Jewish slave, not, improbably, in honor of fallen Jerusalem. This Caliph is the first who assumed the title of Emir el Moumenin, or prince of the faithful. His successor was Othman, who fell by assassins of his own country and faith, with the Koran on his knees. This event occurred in 655.

CHAPTER LXX.

Conquest of Egypt—Alexandrian Library—Conquests in Barbary—Mixture of Arabs and Moors.

It will be recollected that Egypt is comprised of the flat land called the Delta, so named from its resemblance in form to the Greek letter D, which is in the shape of a triangle; sec-

ondly, of a valley of an average width of 8 or 12 miles, between two ranges of mountains, extending southwardly, at least 600 miles from the south point of the Delta; thirdly, of these two ranges of mountains, and of the country beyond them. On the west side of the westwardly range, the country is a sandy desert. On the east side of the eastwardly range is a country extending to the Red Sea, mountainous, rocky, and little known in history. The river Nile runs through this valley, from south to north, emptying into the Mediterranean. The whole of the Delta has been formed by the deposit of matter floated down by the Nile, if the traveller and historian, Herodotus, should be credited. He says that when he was in Egypt, (about 450 B. C.,) it was apparent to him that the Mediterranean flowed, at some former time, at the foot of the mountains, now nearly 80 miles south of its southern shore. When the Nile comes to the southern point of the Delta, it divides into branches, the most westwardly one of which runs to Alexandria, in about 80 miles. The eastwardly branch runs to ancient Pelusium, about the same distance, both on the sea shore. The points at which these two branches respectively reach the sea, are distant about 70 miles from each other. A short distance (perhaps 20 or 30 miles) south of the place where the Nile divides, was Memphis, in which Pharaoh and Joseph dwelt. Its exact position is unknown, as travellers and antiquaries differ in opinion. It was, probably, near to the present capital of Egypt, Grand Cairo. (A more particular description of Egypt will be found in the preceding volume.) In the year 638 Egypt was a province of the Greek emperor, Heraclius. It had stood in the relation of a province to Rome, or Constantinople, ever since Octavius (afterwards Augustus) had overthrown the last of the Egyptian race of Ptolemy, in the person of Cleopatra, thirty years before our era. In 638 it was inhabited by the remnant of Egyptians, under the general name of Copts, by a great number of Jews, who had been driven, at various times, from Judea; and by the Greeks, who were divided, among themselves, into several Christian sects, and who were intolerant opponents of each other. But Egypt was still a rich country, possessing an important commerce. Alexandria was still a splendid city, and then the most commercial city of the world. The valley of the Nile, and the Delta preserved their ancient fame for fertility, and were the principal dependence of Constantinople, for wheat.

At this time, 638, Omar, at Medina, being the second caliph, or vice-regent of the prophet, permitted his brave general, Am-

rou, to attempt the conquest of Egypt. Between this time and 640, Amrou had been entirely successful in this enterprise. He was aided by the Copts, who were disgusted with their Christian masters, and even these Greeks bore an unwilling allegiance to the emperor. Although we avoid, as much as possible, all military details, as these are all much alike, and convey little of instruction, yet the proceedings of the enthusiastic Moslem, Amrou, in the conquest of Alexandria, require a short notice. He had first made himself master of Memphis, after a severe month's siege, during which he was much distressed by the annual overflowing of the Nile, an event of which he was ignorant, and for which he was unprepared. He then transferred his forces to the maritime city of Alexandria. The Greeks, who had been driven from Memphis, had concentrated near this city. Alexandria stood on land which separated the Mediterranean from the lake Mereotis. The distance of the sea, from the lake, was a mile and a quarter. The city was 6 or 8 miles long, and of the width of this land, $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile. The sea bathed the wall of the city on the north-west, and the waters of the lake, on the south-east. The ends of the city were protected by walls extending from the sea to the lake. A street of 2000 feet in width extended from the sea to the lake; and this street was crossed at right angles by one of equal width, from one end of the city to the other. The street across the city was decorated by magnificent houses, temples, and public buildings, and was the most superb street in the world. Nothing remains of this city but some of its ruins, which time has not been able to destroy. The modern city, of the same name, is not on the site of the ancient one. This city was planned and built by Alexander the Great, and his remains were deposited here in a golden coffin, in the year 323, before the Christian era. Amrou could not approach the city through the walls which protected it by the sea and the lake; and he directed his successive attacks, therefore, only against the walls at the ends of the city. These were returned by sallies of the besieged, in which the invaders were usually the victorious party. In one assault, Amrou entered the city, and he and a slave were severed from their associates, and taken prisoners. When conducted to the presence of the governor, or prefect of the city, his lofty demeanor, and resolute tone, had disclosed his dignity, and the battle-axe was raised to fell him to the floor, when Amrou's slave struck him on the face, and commanded him to be silent in the presence of his superiors. By this fortunate turn the prefect was deceived as to the rank of his pris-

oner, and dismissed him, on the assurance that he would endeavor that a suitable embassy should be sent by the Mahometans to treat of peace. No such embassy was sent. The siege continued, and at the end of fourteen months the prophet's flag was raised on the walls of Alexandria, Dec. 22, 640. [Gibbon, chap. li.]

Amrou's report to the caliph thus describes his conquest. "I have taken the great city of the west. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty. It contains 4000 palaces; 4000 baths; 400 theatres and places of amusement; 12,000 shops, for the sale of vegetable food; 40,000 tributary Jews." Although the city was taken without capitulation, and was at the mercy of Amrou, the pious chief saved it from pillage and destruction, and appropriated its treasures to the use of the caliph, and the propagation of the faith. The loss of Alexandria is said to have hastened the death of the declining Heraclius, who died seven weeks after its capture, of the dropsy. In the next four years two attempts were made by the Greeks to recover the city, but Amrou defeated them, and Alexandria and all Egypt was now severed, and forever, from the Greek empire.

It has been often repeated that the world suffered a great and irreparable loss in the destruction of the library, which the succession of kings, after the dismemberment of Alexander's empire, had gathered in Alexandria. Some of this race of kings, who were called the Ptolemies, were distinguished patrons of learning. Alexandria was the successor of Athens as the seat of science, and here many philosophers were assembled in the time of these kings. It is related that there were 700,000 volumes, (in writing, printing being then unknown,) in this city, of which 400,000 were kept in the temple of Jupiter Sarapis, and 300,000 in the royal palace. If this vast number was ever gathered at Alexandria, a portion is well known to have been burnt when Julius Cæsar was besieged there, 60 years before our era began. But, shortly after, Mark Antony presented the whole library of the town of Pergamus to Cleopatra, then queen of Egypt. Pergamus was near the western shore of Asia Minor. Its library consisted of 200,000 volumes, beautifully written on parchment, which was invented at this place. Esculapius practised medicine in this city. It was the birth-place of Galen. About 400 years afterwards, the library of Alexandria was again impaired, (to what extent is unknown,) when the fanatical Theodosius the Great, (in 381,) emperor of the Romans, ordered all heathen temples to be demolished

throughout his empire. Still, it is probable that the number of volumes remaining in the time of Amrou, was very great. The library was the only public property which was not appropriated to the caliph's use, and this was disregarded because Amrou thought it to be worthless. A distinguished philosopher, named Philopomus, asked of Amrou the gift of the library, and Amrou was disposed to assent, but concluded to consult the caliph Omar, who returned the often-quoted answer:—"If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, (the Koran,) they are useless, and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed."

It has been transmitted, as an historical fact, that these literary treasures were applied to heating the four thousand baths of Alexandria, and that it required six months to consume them. Gibbon appears to have made a critical examination of the evidence of this alleged fact, and he discredits the stated number of the volumes, and the value of the number, whatever it may have been; and thinks that the loss does not deserve the regret which has been so often expressed. But other writers are of opinion, that there must have been many highly important works there, which would have elucidated many doubtful facts in history, philosophy, the arts and sciences, though there may have been many on sectarian controversies, which are not to be regretted.

Omar having a desire to know what sort of a country it was, which Amrou had added to his empire, the latter sent him a description of it, as follows:—"Oh! commander of the faithful! Egypt is a compound of black earth and green plants, between a pulverised mountain and a red sand, (meaning the shore.) The distance from Syene (now commonly known as the first cataract of the Nile, about seven hundred miles) is a month's journey for a horseman. Along the valley descends a river, on which the blessing of the Most High reposes, both in the evening and the morning, and which rises and falls both with the revolutions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensations of Providence unlock the springs and fountains that nourish the earth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through the realm of Egypt; the fields are overspread by the salutary flood, and the villages communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilizing mud for the reception of the various seeds; the crowds of husbandmen who blacken the land, may be compared to a swarm of indus-

trious ants, and their native indolence is quickened by the lash of the taskmaster, and the flowers and fruits of a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit-trees, and the cattle, are unequally shared between those who labor and those who possess. According to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the face of the country is adorned with a silver wave, a verdant emerald, and the deep yellow of the golden harvest." If these were truly the expressions of the Arab Amrou, he is entitled to some consideration for poetical taste in his description. This was, doubtless, in substance, a just account of the Delta at that time. But the scene is far different now, as it is in every country which has been destined to submit to the despotic power and paralyzing religion of Mussulmen.

The details of Mahometan conquests from Egypt, westwardly, resisted by the feeble forces of the empire of the Greeks, would impart little instruction. The first attempt was made in 647, but it was not before 709 that the whole of the north-east coast of Africa had submitted to the arms and the religion of the Mahometans. A series of battles, disasters, and miseries, to both the invaders and the invaded, constitute the materials of history here, during these sixty-two years. The names of many renowned warriors occur; but all that needs to be known of any or all of them, is, that they were the instruments by which Islamism was carried and established, to the very shores of the Atlantic. The spirit in which all this was done, may be understood from the declaration of the general Akbah. Spurring his horse into the Atlantic, and raising his eyes to heaven, he exclaimed,—“Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the west, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee.” In their course along the Mediterranean Sea, these Arabs had passed over Carthage, which Virgil has immortalized—in which the unfortunate and gallant Hannibal was born—over which Scipio triumphed with mournful tears, and which Marius had visited both as a conqueror and a fugitive. They had passed over Utica also, where the despairing Cato fell by his own hand, and to whom Addison has raised a monument in his admired tragedy, presented to the world in 1713.

The most numerous and powerful enemies whom the Arabs encountered, were the inhabitants of the country westwardly

of Carthage, and extending through the modern Algerine territory. These were the descendants of the ancient people of Numidia and Mauritania, who were formidable enemies of the Roman republic. The most ancient people known in history, on the northern coast of Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic, were called Berbers, and, in modern times, Barbers, meaning Children of the Desert. Their language is a matter of curiosity to the learned, since it cannot be traced to any of the known parent stocks. The Berbers have acquired national names from the territories into which the northern coast of Africa is divided, and in these they are intermingled with people who have, from time to time, appeared as conquerors. Their own name of Berbers, or Barbers, has given to the coast the general name of Barbary. From the same source is the name of barbarian, which was the uncourteous appellation bestowed by Greeks and Romans on all nations but their own.

When the Arabians had penetrated to Mauritania, opposite the coast of Spain, their conflicts were of a ferocious character, and, on the part of the Arabians, so disastrous, that they were compelled to retreat the whole distance of fourteen hundred miles, to the confines of Egypt. But they returned, in sufficient strength, to make themselves masters of the whole coast and of the interior country. The native people of Mauritania acquired the name of Moors, from the name of their country. They had, in manners, habits, propensities, and in complexion, a strong resemblance to their conquerors, and readily adopted the religion which was offered to them. The Arabian name was here lost in that of Moors. When the invasion of Spain was undertaken, from Mauritania, in 711, by the mingled forces of Arabs and Moors, it was considered, in Spain, as the invasion of the Moors, and has been so treated of in history. It was, nevertheless, a continuation of the Mahometan warfare against the world, for the Moors had adopted the Koran, and had become as zealous in propagating the faith of Islamism as the Arabs themselves.

To continue the sketch of the African conquests, without intermission, it has been unavoidable to advance in time beyond the order of succession to the caliphate. We now return to the successor of Othman, who had been slain by assassins in 655. This successor was Ali, the fourth caliph, and the husband of the prophet's daughter, Fatima.

CHAPTER LXXI.

MAHOMETAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST—HOUSE OF OMMIADES.

ON the death of Othman, Ali, whom many considered the rightful successor of the prophet, in the first instance, became caliph. Rebellions against his authority arose. One was headed by the prophet's widow, Ayesha, who was ever the inveterate foe of Ali. The principal scene of action was now in Syria, and between Syria and the Euphrates. A battle was fought between the rebels and Ali, near Bassora, in which battle Ayesha was present, mounted on a camel, in a sort of cage. Though she was not hurt, seventy men were successively killed in the office of bridle-holder to her camel. Her party was defeated, and she was sent to Mecca to weep at the tomb of the prophet for the residue of her life, and nothing more is known of her. Ali had a much more formidable adversary in Mowiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, already mentioned as the early enemy of the prophet. This person had been appointed governor of Syria by Omar, and dwelt in Damascus. He raised a powerful force against his sovereign, whose place of abode was at Kufa, a city on a lake, fifty miles south of the ruins of Babylon, and two hundred and fifty miles north-west of Bassora. After ninety-six battles and skirmishes, which these enemies fought on the plains of Babylon, Ali was conquered, and Mowiyah became the fifth caliph, and founder of the line of caliphs called the Ommiades, from Omiyah, the name of his grandfather. His seat of government was Damascus, and Medina ceased to be the royal city. Ali was assassinated in a cruel manner, and all his supporters, from whom any resistance to the new caliph could arise, were exterminated. Mowiyah's reign began in the year 673, or in the fifty-fourth of the Hegira.

At the death of Ali, and the usurpation of Mowiyah, the schism which arose on the decease of the prophet, re-appeared with implacable bitterness, and has ever since continued. The one party are called Schiites, and the other Sonnates, or Sunnites. The former maintain that the rightful succession was in Ali, the other, in Mowiyah. The former are the heretics, the latter the orthodox. The name of the latter is from sonna, which means the oral traditions concerning the prophet and his doctrines. Both parties respect the sonna, the contents of

which enter materially into the Mahometan creed. The Persians and the Turks maintain an implacable hatred under these sectarian names; but the principal difference is the original one, the right of the succession. The Mahometans have had, from age to age, the most bitter and bloody contentions on the point, whether the Koran existed from all eternity or was created for Mahomet's use by the Almighty. Christians may think this a most absurd controversy. But, move a little to the west, to Constantinople and Rome, and see what Christians themselves were doing, and with like bitterness and thirst for blood, at the same time.

All that remains to be said of Mahometans may be compressed in three divisions:—First, events in the time of the Omniades, from the year 673 to the year 750. Secondly, the events which occurred while the princes, called the Abassides, were caliphs, before the foreign influence of the Turks interposed, and commenced the train of evils which closed by the subjection of the Arabian power to that of the Turks. This second period was from the year 750 to 936. Thirdly, the events while the Turks were absolute rulers in the Mahometan empire, though the caliphs still existed in name, but only as spiritual representatives of the prophet. In this condition, they were sometimes called Mahometan popes. This third division is comprised in the space between the years 936 and 1050. After this time, the Arabian power is entirely lost in the power of the Turks, though the Mahometan religion still continued in full vigor.

It will be useful to consider what the natural elements of history would be among such a people as the Mahometans, in the periods now to be considered.

In the time of the first of these divisions, they were illiterate and barbarous, having no books but the Koran and the volume of traditions. They were superstitiously devoted to their religion, and held all the world to be enemies who were not of their faith. Every Mahometan was allowed to have more wives than one, and the affluent were allowed to have as many as they could maintain. They were, however, excessively jealous as to their rights in female property, and women were, therefore, kept in seclusion. The numbers which made up society were distinguished into the great officers and dependants on the reigning prince—into subjects who were in various conditions as to wealth—into mechanics, cultivators of the earth, freedmen, slaves, and soldiers. There was excessive indulgence in sensual pleasures, among all classes, so far as

they had the means. The form of the government was the most absolute of despotisms, the whole power being vested in the caliph, and he having no rule but the Koran; yet, as he was not only the temporal prince, but the spiritual representative of the prophet, he could construe the Koran to suit his own purposes. The administration of justice was confided to subordinate officers, whose maladministration of their powers rarely reached the caliph's ear; and when it did, complaints were regarded as calumnious, or wholly disregarded. Plunder and commerce had created abundant riches; but these were only in the hands of a few, while the majority were poor, subservient, and depraved. Such was the picture which historians draw of Mahometan society. There cannot be a more odious one, unless it be that which might be drawn of Constantinople, in the same age.

This despotism extended over vast territories. These were divided into provincial governments, like those which existed among Romans and Persians. The governors in provinces were the lieutenants, or representatives of the caliphs. Appointments to these high offices were rewards for military services, or were dictated by interest, favoritism, or family partialities. These lieutenants, remote from the eye of the caliphs, often exercised their power to oppress their subjects, gratify their caprice, or to enrich themselves. Whenever these provincial chiefs thought themselves sufficiently powerful to resist their sovereign, and to establish an empire for themselves, revolt and rebellion ensued. Hence it will be found, that no small portion of Mahometan history is devoted to details, showing that a rebellious lieutenant attempted to dethrone the prince, and was successful, or that the prince had the pleasure of adorning his palace gate with the rebel's head.

In such governments, the succession to the throne, on the decease of a reigning prince, usually leads to bloody contentions. If the last ruler named a successor, in the expectation of his own decease, his nomination was liable to be disputed. A disappointed son, brother, nephew, or military chief, could easily raise a force to contest the succession. The prevailing party must, therefore, commence his reign with such punishments as would disable his adversaries, and secure the crown on his own head. This was done by murder of some kind, often the most cruel that could be invented, or by depriving the vanquished party of his eyes, his tongue, or his hands.

If the reigning prince had sons, and divided his empire among them, this was sowing the seeds of fraternal discord,

and the strongest and most fortunate of the number, would despoil the others of their inheritance, and make them, by death, mutilation, or imprisonment, incapable of disturbing his tranquillity. In the Asiatic regions, the same prince had often sons by different mothers, and each mother would naturally suppose her own son best entitled to the sceptre. Her intrigues, plots, and crimes, to place this emblem of authority in her favorite's hand, constitute materials in Mahometan, as well as in all Asiatic history. The multitude of persons who throng a despotic court, have deep interests in these contests for power. In proportion to their hopes and fears, their agency becomes conspicuous, and they display the usual course of cunning, perfidy, and crime, to accomplish their respective purposes.

Such governments are liable, also, to sudden invasion by any potentate who is disposed to show that he is strong enough to despoil the possessor of his power; and such disposition is rarely absent, when the ability to gratify it is believed to exist. These invasions, among Asiatics, have always been accompanied by bloody battles, cruel devastation, and by the slavery of the vanquished. The number of persons who fell in battle, or who perished from the miseries which follow in the train of war, and the number of cities captured, pillaged, and utterly destroyed in Asia, between the years 500 and 1500 of our era, would seem incredible, if fully stated. Such details are proper, and, perhaps, indispensable, if the object in view were limited to any one country, instead of extending to all countries. They will, therefore, be avoided, as far as can be done consistently with disclosing the series of events which have brought the world to its present condition.

As the sceptre was sometimes obtained by usurpers of superior talents, and as the chances of succession sometimes placed that emblem of power in the hand of able and well-disposed princes, an oasis now and then occurs in the tedious desert of Mahometan history. There is a still better relief in a single instance. It did so happen, that two or three caliphs were patrons of science and of learned men. While the whole of Italy, Germany, and France, were overshadowed by the barbarism which came on with the fall of the Roman empire of the west, and while the Greek empire was convulsed with factions and sectarian controversies, learning was assiduously cultivated in the courts of these caliphs. It was transferred, partially, to the south-west of Italy, and into Spain. They the first dawn of the revival of learning in the west, is

fairly attributable to Mahometans. This is the only good they have ever done. They soon sunk, themselves, into ignorance and barbarism, and there must ever remain, while they continue to venerate the prophet of Mecca.

Succession of Caliphs. Momiyah reigned till 676. The empire was extended, in his time, rather by able military chiefs, than by his own personal exertions. At one time his victorious banner could be seen in Asia Minor, from the walls of Constantinople. The general character of his government may be supposed from one incident. He commanded his natural brother, Ziyad, to clear the country of Bosra from robbers. Ziyad forbade any person to be seen in the streets after evening prayers, on pain of death. The first night two hundred were killed by the patrol; the second, five; the third, none. He then commanded every householder to leave his house open through the night, and no robbery occurred. A person, ignorant of this new order of things, had driven a flock of sheep into the city, for sale. It was already evening when he arrived. He was taken before Ziyad, and pleaded his ignorance. His plea was admitted. "But," said Ziyad, "the safety of this place depends on your death," and ordered his head to be taken off. Thus, despotism is seen to be the exercise of legislative, judicial, and executive power, by one, or the same persons.

At the end of the seventh century there had been several caliphs after Mowiyah, and several rebellions, and consequent crimes and sufferings. Yet the limits of the empire were extended, and included Armenia towards the north, and a part of India. The contentions for power around the throne, did not affect the success of military chiefs on the frontiers. The craving for plunder, and the glory of propagating the holy prophet's religion, were sufficient to insure victory wherever Mahometans appeared. But, it is to be remembered, that the two great empires, the Greek and the Persian, (the former beginning in Italy and reaching to Mesopotamia; and the latter beginning where the former ends, and reaching to Tartary and the Indus,) were tottering into ruin; while that of Mahomet was now fresh, vigorous, and qualified, by great physical strength and pervading enthusiasm, to subdue any adversaries it might encounter.

The true character of Mahometan government may be understood from some facts related by the French historian, Anquetel. In 705, Walid was caliph. Hejaj was governor of Irak, the country around the southern end and western side

of the Caspian Sea. Hejaj told his subjects, that if they would have him behave well, they must behave well themselves; that is, they must implicitly obey all his commands. "The sovereign and his lieutenant," said he, "are like a mirror, which reflects all objects placed before it. The prophet says, Obey God, as much as in your power. He says, also, Obey princes; but this command is absolute, and without reservation." This Hajaj, like other tyrants, was curious as to what was thought of him. Meeting with an Arab, to whom Hajaj was personally unknown,—“Who,” said he, “is this Hajaj, of whom they talk so much?” “A wicked man,” replied the Arab. “Do you know me?” said Hajaj. “No,” said the Arab. “I am that Hajaj, of whom you speak so rashly.” The Arab rejoined,—“Do you know me?” “No,” answered Hajaj. “Well, I belong to the family of Zobeir, whose descendants have a fit of insanity three days in the year, and this is one of them.” This ingenious turn saved the Arab’s life. Hajaj consulted an astrologer, who had the imprudence to foretell his death. “Since you are so skilful,” said Hajaj, “I may want your services in the other world, and you shall set off before me.” The astrologer’s head was immediately stricken off. Hajaj is said to have exterminated one hundred and twenty thousand people by the sword, and to have caused fifty thousand men and thirty thousand women to perish in prison, exclusive of the numbers slain in war, during the twenty years that he governed Irak. Yet this man, probably, supposed that he was serving God and the prophet, for he died peaceably himself, at the age of fifty-five.

Passing over several successors, in 744 Merwan is found on the throne, who was the last of the house of the Om-miades. In his time a powerful insurrection arose against his authority, in the Persian provinces of Irak and Khorasan, (which are east of the Caspian,) conducted by two brothers, Ibrahim and Abul Abbas, descendants of Ali. Merwan was compelled to fly into Egypt. Having entered a convent in his way, and having become suddenly enamored of a nun whom he found there, she invented the means of escaping him. She showed the caliph an ointment, which, she said, would make any part invulnerable to which it was applied; and, having applied it to her own neck, she invited the caliph to test the truth by a blow with his own scimeter. The caliph struck the blow, and her head fell at his feet. Though many similar stories are gravely related by the most accredited historians, one cannot help some incredulity, when it is perceived how

difficult it is to ascertain the truth of what is daily said and done, almost within the reach of one's own observation.

In this rebellion, both Merwan and Ibrahim fell by violence. Abul Abbas survived, and founded the illustrious house of the Abbassides. But Abbas had only obtained peace, and his own security on the throne, by the extermination of all competitors, when he died of the small-pox, at the age of thirty. One only of the house of the Ommiades escaped the sword of the new dynasty. This prince was fortunate enough to save himself by flight into Egypt, and along the northern coast of Africa. He appeared in Spain, and was received there as a sovereign by a revolted province. He was the founder of the illustrious caliphate of Cordova, which has been mentioned, in the notices of Spain. The final destruction of the Ommiades was an act of singular atrocity. When the whole family had submitted to their conquerors, eighty of them were gathered, by invitation, at a conciliatory banquet, in Damascus. The whole number were massacred at table. "The board was spread over their fallen bodies, and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans." No one who had any kindred to the proscribed race, was permitted to exist in the empire, and no one did exist but the young prince who saved himself by flying to Spain. Yet, all that is grateful in Mahometan history, to one who desires the intellectual improvement of the human race, as the source of its virtues and social utility, is to be found in the reign of the Abbassides. This is the second of the divisions, before mentioned, commencing in 750.

CHAPTER LXXII.

House of Abbassides—Splendor of the Caliphate—Decline and Fall of Arabian Power—Origin of Ottoman Empire.

THE early death of Abbas, whose name gave the princely distinction of his race, Abbassides, raised to the sovereignty Al Mansur, or Almansor, his brother. His proper name was Abu Jaafar; his surname Al Mansur, meaning the victorious. Before his time, the imperial seat had been removed from Damascus to the city of Aubar, the position of which is uncertain, but is supposed to have been between Damascus and the

Euphrates, and near the latter. The early part of this reign was disturbed by formidable rebellions, in which much Mahometan blood was shed. Events, not of importance enough to be stated, induced Almansor to build the celebrated city of Bagdad, and to make that the seat of empire. The word Bag, in the Persian tongue, is said to mean garden. The place chosen was on the east bank of the Tigris, fifteen miles to the north of the ancient city of Ctesiphon, in which was the palace of the Persian kings. It belonged to one named Dad, a Christian hermit, or was the garden of Dad. [See a note of Gibbon, chapter lii.] Soon after his removal to Bagdad, (in 768,) he was cured of a dangerous disease by a Christian physician. The grateful Almansor sent the physician a purse of money, and three beautiful Greek girls. The physician returned the girls, informing the caliph that his own religion forbade him to have more than one wife.

The caliphs had long forgotten the frugality and the simplicity of life practised by Mahomet and Omar. They had acquired immense riches, and lived in correspondent luxury. Such was the wealth and population of Bagdad, in Almansor's time, that "the funeral of a popular saint was attended by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women, of Bagdad and the adjacent villages." [Gibbon, chapter lii.] Notwithstanding the numerous wars and the costly building in which Almansor engaged, and his magnificent pilgrimages to Mecca, he had amassed, in the twenty years of his reign, and left at his death, thirty millions sterling in gold and silver. The character given of this caliph, in the second volume of *Modern Universal History*, pages 100—135, is a singular one. He is there represented to have been, in private, mild, conciliatory, inspiring affection and attachment; in public, inspiring terror by his aspect and demeanor. He was prudent, brave, engaging in discourse, versed in the science of government, studious in philosophy and astronomy, while he was covetous, perfidious, implacable, and cruel. The French historian, Anquetel, has collected some curious anecdotes of this person, but they are too many to be transcribed, if they deserve credit. He died at the age of sixty-three, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and was there buried. He is supposed to have given the first impulse to learning. He died in 774.

Mahadi, or Al Modhi, the son, was the next caliph. Among the remarkable incidents of this reign was the rebellion headed by the pretended prophet, Mokanna, who was one-eyed, and so hideously ugly, that he covered his face with a veil. The

adventures of Mokanna furnished to the inventive genius of Thomas Moore the ground-work of his beautiful and touching poem, entitled *Lalla Rookh*.

Mahadi governed his vast dominions with great ability, and with much success, though perplexed with wars and with many sectarian controversies. He lavished the treasures which his father had accumulated, in various modes. Among others, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca (one thousand miles) with such a retinue as to enable him to carry ice enough (brought to Bagdad from northern regions) to preserve to him, through the desert, his accustomed luxuries. His fruits and his liquors were daily served in the scorching sands, with the same coolness and freshness enjoyed in his splendid palace. Mahadi's brilliant reign closed by a murder intended for another, but which fell on him. It is worth relating, as it shows the moral character of the east. He had a multitude of wives, and, among them, a favorite, named Hasfana. One of the neglected and jealous, inserted a deadly poison in a beautiful pear, and presented it to Hasfana. She, intending to commend herself to the caliph, gave it to him. He ate it, and died.

Musa, the son of Mahadi, reigned but two years, and Harun, or Haroun, his uncle, succeeded him, in 786. This caliph was surnamed Al Rashid, or Al Raschid, the just. He is familiarly known as the hero of the *Arabian Nights'* Entertainments. These ingenious fictions are supposed to have originated in India, and to have passed into Persia, and thence to Bagdad, where they were transformed and adapted to Arabian taste. Haroun has a worthier celebrity, as the patron of learning and of learned men.

While his brother Mahadi ruled, Haroun was the leader of armies, repeatedly, into Asia Minor, against the Greeks, and he compelled the proud Irene and her feeble son, Constantine, who then reigned in Constantinople, to pay an annual tribute in gold. Whenever the tribute was delayed, Haroun always appeared in Asia Minor to enforce performance. Nicephorus having ascended the Greek throne, he ventured to send a letter of defiance to the caliph. "The queen," said the Greek emperor, in alluding to Irene, "considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous female consented to pay a tribute, the double of which she should have exacted from the barbarians. Restore, therefore, the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." The ambassadors, who brought the letter, cast a bundle of swords at

the foot of the throne. Haroun ordered these swords to be stuck in the ground, and with one blow severed them all without turning the edge of his scymetar. He returned for answer to the letter: "In the name of the most merciful God! Haroun Al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Necephorus, the Roman Dog. I have read thy letter, oh! thou son of an unbelieving mother! thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." Immediately, 130,000 paid soldiers, accompanied by a train of attendants, amounting, in all, to 170,000, appeared in the provinces of Asia Minor, under the black standard of the Abbassides. The whole of that territory was made to feel the terrible vengeance of Haroun. Necephorus was glad to retract his defiance and return to his submission. This fact is sufficient to show the military power of Caliphate, and the warlike character of Haroun.

If Haroun deserved the surname of the just, his conduct to the family of the Bermacides may show what injustice and oppression must have been in his time. This family was the most able and affluent of his empire, and equally respected and beloved. There were four brothers, one of whom was Haroun's vizier, and was affectionately regarded by him. Others were in places of high honor and confidence. Haroun had a sister named Abbas, whom Jaafar, the vizier, was permitted to see. A mutual passion arose between them. Though the honor of a marriage with so elevated a person as Abbas, with a subject, was inadmissible, yet, Haroun to manifest his affection for Jaafar, assented to their union, but under the injunction that they should be forever separate. The injunction was disobeyed, and two sons were born. Haroun caused Jaafar to be cruelly put to death, and ordered Abbas, and her sons, to be thrown into a well, and the well to be closed over them. Not contented with this act of justice, he directed that the whole family of the Bermacides should be exterminated, wherever they might be found. But that diligent student of authorities, Gibbon, suggests, that there may have been better motives, less odious than those commonly assigned, for this barbarous exercise of oriental despotism. He thinks it not improbable that the Bermacides may have been conspirators.

In another light, Haroun has rendered his name illustrious. Engaged as he was in wars—in pilgrimages to Mecca—in suppressing domestic factions, and heresies, he found time for cultivating learning, and for the introduction of learned men to his court. He laid the foundation for the superstructure which adorned the reign of his son Al Mamun, or Almamon. This

pious prince made eight pilgrimages to Mecca, and one of them on foot. When he could not go himself, he was represented by three hundred deputies. It is related of him that he invited a learned Mahometan teacher to come to the palace to instruct his sons. The teacher answered, that knowledge would not wait upon any person, but was itself to be waited upon. Haroun assented, and sent his son to be instructed at the common seminary. His court abounded with physicians, astrologers, philosophers, and poets. He selected a philosopher to counsel him, and take care of his conscience. The rules which he prescribed to this mentor, deserve to be mentioned as illustrative of the caliph's character: "Never instruct me in public, nor be in haste to give me advice in private. Wait till I question you; answer in a direct and precise manner. Do not attempt to prejudice me in favor of your sentiments; nor expect of me to pay too great a deference to your capacity. Use no prolixity in the histories or traditions which you relate to me. If you see me quitting the path of rectitude, gently lead me back to it, without any harsh expression. Assist me in the orations I must make in the mosque, or elsewhere; in fine, never address me in equivocal terms." Almost the last words of Haroun the Just, were to order the death of a subject. The brother of a rebel was brought into his presence when he was about to die. "If I had only strength," said Haroun, "to utter two words, they would be, kill him." He died of despondency, occasioned by ill-omened dreams, at the age of forty-seven, in the year 809.

The vast empire of Haroun was apportioned to his three sons, by himself. These sons were of very different character. War arose among them. Al Mamun, or Almamon, had the eastern division, including Persia. Amin, the central part, including Bagdad. While Almamon was besieging Bagdad, Amin was playing at chess, or fishing in the Tigris, with his freed man Kuthay. He submitted to his brother when he found that the people of Bagdad were not willing to have their city taken and pillaged for his sake.

The reign of Almamon is the most illustrious of any recorded of the Mahometans. Two things are to be noticed, his magnificence, and his patronage of learning. At his marriage "a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of his bride; and a lottery of lands and houses, displayed the capricious bounty of fortune." In a single gift he disposed of 2,400,000 gold denars, a sum exceeding four millions of dollars. During the time of the Ommiades, Musselmen

were limited to the koran, and to interpretations of its meaning, and to the poetry for which the Arabians were distinguished, even before the time of Mahomet. There were contests for honor in poetry as early as the year 500. Several poems are mentioned in Arabian literature, which had attained to the favor of being hung up in the Caaba; from which circumstance they had their name, "*hung up*." Almamon, improving on the impulse given by his grandfather Almansor, which was promoted by his father Haroun, ordered his ambassadors to collect the volumes of science. The works of the Greeks were gathered at Bagdad, from Constantinople, Armenia, Syria, and Egypt. These were translated into Arabic, and Almamon exhorted his subjects to the diligent study of them. He attended the assemblies of the learned, who were invited to his court from all countries. This example was imitated in Egypt, in Spain, and in all the provinces. In the first half of the ninth century, the natural enthusiasm of the Arabians was devoted to science and literature. A vizier founded a college at Bagdad by the gift of 200,000 purses of gold, equal to three and a half millions of dollars, and with an annual revenue of 26,600 dollars. Six thousand students were instructed, of every degree, from the noble to the mechanic. Every city had its collection of literary works. "A private doctor," says Gibbon, "refused the invitation of the sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required 400 camels." In Egypt, the royal library comprised 100,000 volumes, accessible gratuitously, by every student. That of Spain comprised 600,000, besides others in many cities in that country. Numerous authors arose in different parts of the empire. The age of Arabian learning declined until about the middle of the thirteenth century, when the invasion of the Tartars overspread anew, the barbarism which prevailed throughout this time, in Italy, France and Germany.

Notwithstanding the improved condition of the Arabians, from intellectual attainments, yet rebellions, civil wars, and the contentions of religious sects continued; but the splendor of the caliphate also continued. The second caliph after Almamon, named Motasem, acquired the historical name of Octonary. This person is related to have had 130,000 horses in his stables. He loaded each one with a pack of earth, and thus earth enough was carried 50 miles, to raise a mountain in Arabian Irak, whereon a palace was erected called Samara. This event seems to be proper for the Arabian Nights, rather than for history; as do some other facts stated of this caliph. He

had eight sons, eight daughters, reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days; was born the eighth month of the year; was the eighth caliph of the Abbassides; fought eight battles; possessed eight thousand slaves; left eight millions of gold coin, and died at forty-eight years of age. He was the first who employed Turkish soldiers in his armies. He died in 841. The moral depravity of the Mahometans was now, and continued to be, excessive. Their annals are stained with rebellions, schisms, bloody contentions, and every species of crime from the lowest to the highest, not excepting parricide.

When Motawakkel was caliph, in 846, he ordered Honain, a Christian physician, to prepare a poison so subtle as to make death inevitable, yet so natural as to lead no one to suspect the cause. Honain refused. "What can inspire you with such resolution," said the caliph, "when you have death before your eyes?" "My religion, and my profession," said Honain. "The first teaches me to do good to my enemies, and no hurt to my friends. The second has been established for the advantage of the human race. When I embraced it, I took a solemn oath, never to be concerned in any preparation of a mortal or hurtful nature." The caliph imprisoned him for a year, then released him, and bestowed on him his full confidence.

One would be wholly incredulous of the magnificence of the caliphate in the reign of Moctader, if the cautious Gibbon had not given it his confirmation. This magnificence was displayed on the occasion of receiving an ambassador from the court of Constantinople. The army of horse and foot were under arms, amounting to one hundred and sixty thousand men. His state officers and favorite slaves stood near him, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near these, 4000 white eunuchs, and 3000 black ones. The porters and door-keepers were 700. The Tigris was covered with gorgeous boats and barges. In the palace were hung 38,000 pieces of tapestry; 12,500 of which were of silk embroidered with gold. One hundred lions were brought out. A tree of gold and silver was exhibited, spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds, made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. The leaves waved in the wind, and the birds warbled their natural harmony. [See Gibbon, chap. lii.] If all this is to be credited, one may be rather astonished at the mechanical attainments of the Mahometans, than at the use which they made of them, since no mechanism, of subsequent days, bears any comparison with such ingenuity.

But the glory of Mahometan power was rapidly approaching its close. This grand army of Mochtader was principally composed of 'Turks. They had entered by thousands into the service of the caliphs. They professed to be Mahometans, but they were still Turks. They gradually acquired the absolute control. In the year 936, it had become absolute. They appointed, deposed, imprisoned, and murdered caliphs at their pleasure. They could, and would have assumed the sole authority, if their conversion to islamism had not made it indispensable to continue a nominal caliph, as the spiritual representative of the prophet. The dominion of these representatives was soon reduced to the city of Bagdad. Here they had no temporal authority, but were limited to the duties of the mosque. While actually in office, they were treated with great solemnity, but whenever it suited the 'Turks, they were thrust from their elevation, and substitutes appointed. Several, who had been caliphs, became beggars. In 1253, the Tartars poured in from the east, and all the temporal and spiritual authority of the caliphs was extinguished; and the name itself gave place to sultan. But still, unhappily for the world, the fame of the prophet, and his desolating religion, survived.

The origin of the Turkish, or Ottoman Empire, can be only briefly noticed. To this subject, and to the origin and conquests of the Mogals, (or Monguls,) Gibbon has devoted his chapters LVII., LXIV., LXV. The 'Turks come first into view in the regions of the Altai mountains, north-east of the Caspian. After subjecting the Arabians, they founded a vast empire, under the name of the Seljooks, or Seljoukians, so called from the name of Seljook, the first distinguished chief of this people. Among his immediate successors, the names of Togrul Beg, of Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah, are conspicuous. The 'Turks are of the original Tartar race. This Seljook empire extended, westwardly, into Asia Minor; and included Syria, and Palestine. These are the people with whom the crusaders first contended, in the eleventh century.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Mongul empire had arisen, on the northern Chinese frontier, eastwardly of the Tartar or Turkish dominions, under Ghensis Khan. Under him and his successors, the Turkish empire in the east, and in the west, was overthrown. A remnant of the Seljooks had found refuge in the mountains, at the eastern part of Asia Minor. One of this remnant, named Osman, gathered a force which increased, under able and fortunate leaders, from the commencement of the fourteenth century, and they founded the

Ottoman empire, from the name of Osman. This division of the original Seljookian Tartars or Turks, with an accession of adventurers, and Christian captives, established a dominion in Asia Minor, and fixed their seat of empire at Bursa, on the south side of an arm of the sea of Marmora, which penetrates some distance into Asia Minor. Bursa is about 75 miles south by east from Constantinople. From this Osman, descended the race of sultans which was in continual conflict with the Greek emperors of Constantinople, until Mahommed, or Mahomet II., in 1453, terminated this conflict by the conquest of that city. It was characteristic of the Turks to preserve their original barbarism, and never to adopt the improvements, physical, moral, or intellectual, of those, whom they subdued, and with whom they intermingled. The only recorded exception is, that they received the Mahometan religion; and, consequently, the koran, as their book of civil and religious law.

The name of *The Sublime Porte* is, perhaps, taken from the name of one of the gates of the Ottoman palace: perhaps it is an oriental metaphor, signifying the king's gate. [Dearborn, Cm. of Black Sea, ch. 1. p. 150.]

CHAPTER LXXIII.

CENTRAL ASIA.

"The Cradle of Nations"—Zoroaster—His Religion.

THE great territory east of the Caspian Sea, called the Cradle of Nations, has been defined in chapter LXVIII. It is so far beyond the range of civilized life, in modern times, that it hardly belongs to our globe. Rollin, Robertson, Sir William Jones, professor Heeren, and many other like eminent men, consider this territory to be the source of nations. Hence, from age to age, have issued the founders of the states and empires which have existed, and which still exist in the world. Sir William Jones (5th anniversary discourse, Feb. 1788) remarks, that this space of earth has been denominated "the great hive of northern swarms"—"the nursery of irresistible legions"—"the foundary of the human race"—"the cradle of our species." These comprehensive terms may have included

territories eastwardly of that which has been described; that is, beyond the Beloor mountains, where are now the provinces of the Chinese empire, extending through the vast mongul countries to the Pacific Ocean. They may have included, also, regions north of the Altai mountains, now Siberia, part of the Russian dominions. Gibbon considers the Turks (42d chap.) to have begun their career in the sixth century, from the Altai mountains, near the sources of the Yrtish, which are northwardly of the territory before described.

The five great nations, (according to Sir William Jones,) which divided Asia among them, were the Indians, the Chinese, the Tartars, the Arabs, and the Persians. All of them can be traced to this territory. The barbarous nations who overthrew the Roman empire, and founded the states and empires of modern Europe, came from the same regions. Those also, who destroyed the Mahometan caliphate; and, finally, those who put an end to the Greek empire, and established themselves in Constantinople, in 1453.

From the elevation of the mountains, and the depth of the vallies, and the vast plains, which are found on the mountain ranges, there is every variety of climate, and every variety of country, from the barren summits, covered with eternal snows, to the most luxuriant and enchanting vallies. A portion of the territory through which the Oxus flows was once the most delightful portion of the earth.

All that is known of this part of Central Asia, in the earliest ages of the world, is founded on conjectures, sustained with various degrees of probability. The scriptures afford no information on this subject. Herodotus, when he visited Babylon, about 450 years before Christ, collected such facts as were accessible to him. Xenophon, gives some traditions, which he had heard of, about 50 years later. The accounts commonly relied on are those which have been transmitted by Arrian, who is supposed to have copied the journals of Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and Nearchus. These persons accompanied Alexander, in his way to India, who established a Grecian kingdom in Bactriana, which existed 130 years. It was overwhelmed by a horde of Tartars, which came from the east, or mongul regions, about 200 years before our era. Of this kingdom there are no records. From this time till the followers of Mahomet entered this country, in the seventh century, there are no historical accounts.

In this cradle of nations, there was, in the beginning, according to Jones, who concurs with Sir Isaac Newton, in this, "a

firm belief, that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence—a pious fear, love, and adoration of him—a due reverence for parents, and aged persons—a fraternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation.” There was, also, one language in the beginning, from which all others were successively derived. The confusion of languages, as stated in the scriptures, may be taken historically, or as an allegory, after the lapse of so many ages. The Zend language of the Persians, the Sanscrit of the Indians, the Chaldaic, known in Babylon, the Hebrew and the Arabic, may have been original languages, consequent on the confusion; or they may have been kindred languages in some unknown time, derived from that spoken by the family of Noah. Though no reliance can be placed on the similarity of words, or of grammatical construction in different languages, to prove a common origin, the Greek, the Latin, the Teutonic, or German, and even the language of the Icelanders, have some words, which are said to have affinity to the Sanscrit, and the Zend. It is to be remembered that there are a thousand years, at least, after the deluge, in which there are no historical records; probably, not even traditions, except among the Israelites, which stand on different ground from common history. What changes among nations, and in language, religion, intelligence, and manners, may have occurred in this long lapse of time, can only be conjectured. We know what has occurred on our own part of the earth, in a space which three lives, of no great duration, would cover.

From the time when Alexander penetrated into this “cradle of nations,” about 330 years before our era, in his way to India, down to the end of the tenth century, there are no events which arrest our progress. It is sufficient, for the present object, to know that it was a country sufficiently populous to put forth the legions which subdued Europe; and that whatever learning or refinement antiquarians may ascribe to inhabitants there, in ancient days, they were barbarous hordes when they first appeared in authentic history.

As to all that portion of the globe which lies north and east of the “cradle of nations,” no events are known to have occurred there, material to the present purpose, before the end of the tenth century, except such as are intermingled with Indian and Chinese history.

Next east of the Beloor mountains is Bucharria, and eastwardly of this is the grand sandy desert of Cobi, 1000 miles

long and 600 wide, which was anciently resorted to in search of gold and precious stones. Next east of this is the vast mongul country, inhabited by numerous nations, now subject to the Chinese, though, in ancient days, the natives of these regions subjugated them, their wall, of 1500 miles in length, notwithstanding. But further remarks on this subject may be reserved to notices of China.

Zoroaster. There is a difference of opinion among French, German, and English writers, on this remarkable person and his religion. Professor Heeren, of Gottingen, in his elaborate work on the politics and commerce of ancient nations, assigns an earlier time to Zoroaster than any writer, and places him in unrecorded ages, long before the most ancient Persian monarchy. According to Heeren, Zoroaster was born on the western side of the Caspian sea, near the river Araxis;* and went thence to Bactra, in Bactriana, on the western branch of the Oxus or Gihon. Heeren places Bactra, in his map, near north lat. 32, and 600 miles east of the south-east corner of the Caspian, and near the modern city of Balk. This, Heeren considers to have been the original empire of the Medes, anterior to that of the Persians. The Zenda-Vesta (Zoroaster's bible) enumerates medio-Bactrian provinces, which are not known as Persian, in later times. The Taurus range of mountains (here called the Paropamissus) separated Bactriana from modern Kaboul, in which are the sources of the Indus. The Bactrians may have been the Medes, afterwards known on the Tigris; if so, their empire was mingled in the Persian, which arose next; but the religion of Zoroaster was adopted by the Persians, and continued until supplanted by Mahometanism.

If Zoroaster was a reformer of a corrupted religion, it must indeed have been corrupt. He founded his system on two antagonist principles—the one *good*, the other *evil*, engaged in unceasing hostility. Ormuzd, the good, reigned in an empire of *light*. Around his throne were seven princes, (Amschaspan,) below whom was a descending series of genii, (Izeds.) Ahri-man the evil reigned in an empire of *darkness*, surrounded by his princes, (devs,) with a similar organization of inferiors. These agents, on the one side and the other, were the authors of all human blessings and miseries. At an appointed time, Ormuzd was to vanquish Ahri-man. He was then to depart, with all the virtuous dead, and dwell with them forever, in a

* The same place where Heraclius extinguished the sacred fire, about 620.

world of his own. Ahriman was to depart to a world of his own, taking with him all the wicked. This system was obviously an invention to subject the multitude to religious and political slavery. It strongly resembles the Catholic Roman Church of the middle ages. Ormuzd was to be worshipped with gifts and sacrifices. Ahreman was to be propitiated in like manner. Whether it was the one or the other, the priesthood were the *receivers*. [Heeren, vol. i. p. 480. Walker's edition of Rollin, vol. i. p. 210.]

This system was *political*, as well as religious. The zendavista seems to have been addressed to the reigning monarch. He is likened to Ormuzd; and his subjects are socially and politically classed, and enjoined to be obedient, on the terrible penalties denounced in the sacred volume. First, (as in Egypt,) the priesthood; second, the warriors; third, the agriculturalists; fourth, the industrious, (various arts.) The same classification is found in India to the present day. When this system was afterwards adopted by the Persians, it assumed a more idolatrous form. The sun, as the source of *light*, became an object of adoration. Thence arose the worship of *fire*, and the sacred flame was preserved, by the priesthood, in temples, from age to age. When the Arabs invaded Persia, some of its inhabitants escaped to India, and settled on the western coast, near Bombay. There the sacred flame is still preserved.

The Bactrians voluntarily moved to the westward, it is supposed, or were impelled thither by tribes who came from the east. They were, probably, the Medes; and, as before mentioned, were mingled with the Persians, who came into view in Jewish history.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

INDIA.

Population—Religion—Ancient Temples—Singular Opinions.

INDIA, according to Sir William Jones, (third discourse, February, 1786,) comprehended, on the north, anciently, Thibet, the valley of Cashmir, the domains of the ancient Indo-Scythians, and all south of these countries to the seas. In

modern geography, India, or Hindostan, is bounded north-westwardly by the most northwardly branch of the Indus, so that this great river, and all its tributary streams, are in Hindostan. It includes, also, on the right bank, Upper and Lower Sinde, a long and narrow range of country. Cashmir, near the sources of the Indus, is now part of Afgahnisthan. Malte Brun is of opinion that the modern kingdom of Afgahnisthan (which lies on the west side of the Indus, and extends eastwardly across its sources, and among the mountains) contains some of the descendants of the lost tribes of the Jews. This opinion rests on personal appearance and on national habits. This is not inconsistent with the opinion of Rennell, (in his Geography of Herodotus,) who thinks these ten tribes were distributed through the extensive regions east of the Euphrates, and were gradually intermingled with other nations. Thibet is separated, on the north, from Cashmir, by high mountains. The same mountains, extending south-eastwardly, are the Himelehs, the highest on the globe, and form the north-east boundary of Hindostan, separating it from Thibet, which was the Indo-Scythian country mentioned by Jones. On the north-east side of the Himelehs, the Brahmapootra rises, and, flowing eastwardly into the Burman empire, (which separates Hindostan from China,) it turns to the west, and then to the south, and enters the Bay of Bengal. The Ganges and its many tributary streams rise in the Himeleh mountains and near its base; and, flowing first southwardly, gather in a south-eastwardly course into one of the grandest of rivers; it empties, by many mouths, like the Nile, into the same bay, and very near the other river. The Indian Sea bounds this country on the south-west and south-east, so that a line drawn from the mouths of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, nearly east and west, would form, with the two maritime shores, a triangle, usually called the hither, or western peninsula. This line would divide India nearly midway of its length. The number of square miles in Hindostan is one million; the number in the United States is about two million, while the population of the former is about thirteen times greater than that of the latter. Its latitude being from eight to thirty-four degrees north, the whole of it is south of the United States.

It would take greater space than can be devoted, to give a description of this country. It is represented to be one of the most favored regions for fertility and variety of productions, taken as a whole. It has, however, its mountains, sandy deserts, and salt plains. The ancient and stupendous ruins of

this country, which have survived all history and tradition, have exercised the curiosity of historians. These are the stone temples at the Isle of Elephanta, five miles from the city of Bombay, on the west coast of Hindostan, and similar structures at the Isle of Salsette, within a mile of Bombay. The structures at Elora, longitude $75^{\circ} 23'$ east, latitude $19^{\circ} 38'$ north, two hundred and fifty miles north-east of Bombay, are still more astonishing. There are also pagodas of wonderful grandeur, especially those called the seven pagodas. These are situated nearly in latitude twelve, longitude ninety-seven, towards the south end of the peninsula, and directly north from the north end of the island of Ceylon. These there will be occasion to notice, in connexion with the religious institutions of India.

These sketches of India will comprise—The Origin of its Population, Religion, Civil Institutions, Literature, Science, and Commerce. These general divisions will require several subdivisions.

Origin of Population. It may be considered as settled, that at some unknown time, within the 1000 years that followed the deluge, India was peopled from the cradle of nations east of the Caspian Sea. An impenetrable obscurity veils these 1000 years, and thus forms an age to which the vanity and pretensions of different nations have resorted, to deduce their origin from deities. It is very doubtful whether Europeans had any knowledge of India before Alexander's invasion, in the year 328 before our era. It is suggested that Darius Hytaspes had conquered a part of this country earlier. Robertson, in his disquisition on India, regards this fact as resting on no satisfactory evidence. He remarks that Alexander's object was not less conquest, than a design to establish an immense empire, and to connect its widely diversified domains by an enriching commerce. In his time India had attained to a refinement and wealth, which could only have been acquired by a succession of ages. This military chief entered India from the north, that is, from Bactria, within the territory where all nations began. He may have taken the same path which the first inhabitants of India explored. He penetrated no further than the Penjab, which is that country, in which the tributary streams are tending to a confluence, to form the Indus. Several learned men and journalists accompanied him. Their works, except those of Nearchus, (who conducted the fleet down the Indus, through the Erythrean, or Indian Sea, and up the Gulf of Persia,) are lost. But they are supposed to have existed when Strabo wrote.

This celebrated traveller and geographer was born early in the first century of our era, at Amacia in Cappadocia, (Asia Minor.) He published seventeen books, which are considered as invaluable. These journals are also supposed to have existed when Arrian wrote. He lived in the second century, and was appointed Prefect of Cappadocia, by Adrian. His seven books on the expedition of Alexander are among the few of his works which remain. To show the dense population and advancement of India at this time, Porus, with whom Alexander had a battle, reigned over a kingdom, which contained seven distinct nations, and comprised not less than 2000 towns. The King of Prasij, further east on the Ganges, was prepared to encounter the Greeks with an army of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2000 armed chariots, and a great number of elephants. But here Alexander's army refused to follow him further: he retraced his steps, about 200 miles, to the Hydaspes, which is a tributary of the Indus, and despatched his fleet. He divided his army into two parts, one each side of the river, and accompanied his fleet to the mouth of the Indus, and then proceeded along the coast, and through the south-western part of Persia, to Babylon. The Greeks saw but a small portion of India; but it is very certain that the whole of it was equally populous and rich at that time.

The state of India before Alexander's time, and for anterior ages, is left to conjecture and inference. The researches made in India have not yet brought to light any historical works. Most civilized nations have had eras, by which they computed the lapse of time; as, by Olympiads, among the Greeks; from the time of building the city among the Romans. The Indians computed by generations of royal families, than which there can not be a more uncertain mode. This people, the Egyptians, and the Chinese, (who were probably of the same original stock,) so compute as to ascend to thousands of years, which all other intelligent nations reject. The investigators of this difficult subject are of opinion, that they can ascend to about 1200 years before our era, in which India appears to have been much in the same condition, in which it was, when first known to commercial nations in Europe, within the three last centuries. These 1200 years would carry us back to the infancy of the Greeks, and near to the siege of Troy.

The religion of the Indians or Hindoos, is an important element in their civil and social condition. It has been before remarked that the Zenda-vesta of Zoroaster, divided society into four great classes—the Priesthood, the warriors, the cultivators

of the earth, and the industrious, or "the servile." The last class includes many subdivisions, not less, it is said than eighty, in India. Whether this distribution was imitated or original, among the Hindoos, is beyond the most diligent research. It is enjoined by the sacred books, called the Vedas, (or Hindoo bible,) and has ever been adhered to with the utmost fidelity. The priests are a sacred and a privileged order, even superior to the kings, who are always of the warrior caste. The Roman Church does not exhibit, in any period of its history, so absolute a despotism over the human mind, and over all civil institutions, as has at all times been exercised by the Hindostan priesthood.

From the works of Sir William Jones, Robertson's disquisition on India, Professor Heeren's inquiry into the policy and commerce of ancient people, and from Col. James Tod's work on the north-western provinces of India, the Hindoo religion may be made known. The latter gentleman was employed in military and civil capacities, eighteen years, in Northern India, and has published a work which shows a sound head, a good heart, and the tact of a scholar.

The domination of the priesthood produced its natural consequences, and among these the maintenance of one entire class of men, in idleness and luxury, by exactions from ignorance and superstition. These stupendous temples were formed for the residence of Brahmins, as well as for worship. Every inducement which ingenuity and fraud could suggest, has been in continual operation to cause annual pilgrimages to these places, and to accumulate riches in the form of gifts and sacrifices. Some of the numerous apartments were appropriated to uses which would hardly appear credible, if it were decent to disclose them. As late as when Tod was in India, a female was known to have presented a bill of exchange, as a gift, of 70,000 rupees, equivalent to about 40,000 dollars. The rajahs (kings) are accustomed to weigh themselves against gold, silver and precious cloths, all of which are perquisites of the priests. Around the pagoda of Juggernaut, which is south-west of Calcutta, on the coast, and distant therefrom about 300 miles, the ground is white, for miles, with the bones of pilgrims. The belief is, that if one can reach the holy ground, when death is expected from disease or old age, the dreadful liability to be born again in the shape of a hog, or some other animal, or in the humbler condition of a reptile, may be escaped. It is at this place, that once in every year the figure of Vischnou, or of some other god, is brought forth with great solemnities, and pompous ceremonies; the figure is then placed on a column 60 feet high, moveable on

wheels. The assembled penitents draw this column by ropes, and many of the number cast themselves before the wheels, and are happy to be crushed to death. A merchant of Calcutta lately gave £16,000 to make a better road from Calcutta to this temple. Heeren says, that 2,500,000 persons are annually assembled on the banks of the Ganges, to bathe and wash away their sins in its sacred waters. All of them bear gifts to the priesthood. About fifteen years ago, John B. Seely, an English gentleman in the military service, was at Elora. From his volume, it seems that this city of temples is declining, in consequence of political causes, and changes in population, in the number of pilgrim visitors. But he found there the accustomed tenants, idle, lazy, and ignorant Brahmins. Here, as in all other places of worship, "the Brahmins live in a subordination which knows no resistance, and slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no wants."

It is supposed that one-fifth part of all the rents of lands, and of personal industry and capital, go, directly or indirectly, to the maintenance of religion, and the priesthood. Whether this proportion be more or less than the fact, it gives a solution to the problem, by what labor and by what means were the wonderful temples of India formed? The enthusiasm of a whole people, in any cause, good or bad, can effect any thing. It is not surprising that the human mind should be intensely engaged in the phenomena of existence, and should exhibit the result of its labors in poetical systems of theogony. All these, of which almost all nations had some, are taken from the action of nature on man and society. The Greeks, the Egyptians, the Celtæ, are known to have been thus busy, no less than the Indians. Some persons ascribe to Hesiod an antiquity equal to that of Homer. His confused and extravagant theory of gods, is of the same stamp with the mythology, which, before his time, had established its empire in India. We may thus account, by a natural and obvious course of action, for many things, which at first are wonderful to the improved intelligence of the present age. Whence came the Parthenon, (at Athens,) containing the astonishing statue of Minerva? and the temple of Jupiter Olympus at Elia, containing a statue of that god, which all Grecians thought it better not to have lived, than to have died without beholding? Homer, (or whoever wrote the Iliad,) gave the impulse, from which these admirable exhibitions of combined art and science arose. Phidias did no more than to present to the eyes of the Greeks, what Homer had presented to their imagination. So the Ramayan or the Mahabharat, or some

other work of poetical genius, and religious enthusiasm, may have described these Indian wonders, before they existed. If this were not so, the empire of the priesthood was strong enough to extract the gifts, and put the hands in motion, necessary to have produced these astonishing results. The enthusiasm inspired by the popes, and which poured the riches and the strength of Europe into Asia for two centuries, is much more wonderful than any which must have existed among the Hindoos. The muscular action and the treasure expended in the crusades, would have constructed an hundred Eloras.

The wonders of Egypt, the Pyramids, Thebes, Meroe, and those of Persia, Persepolis by what labor, and by what means, did they arise? There are no poems, no records to answer. It is nearly 2,200 years since every thing traced by human hands, except those on monuments themselves, have been swept away. Some sort of despotism over the human mind, rejoicing in its shackles, raised these proud proofs of its empire. It is very probable that commerce gave its helping hand, and paid its rich tribute to religion and to kings, descended from gods.

It is held to be infamous to lose one's caste. This infamy can befall the members of either caste. Infidelity to the established religion, marriages which tend to confound the castes, marrying with one who is not of the Indian religion, (as a Christian, or Mahometan,) are among the causes. The effect of this loss is precisely that which followed excommunication by the church of Rome, while Europe was so ignorant and debased as not to perceive its absurdity. This loss is not, in modern times, irremediable. Expiations will restore. These depend on the circumstances of the case. Proper sacrifices to the insulted majesty of the gods, are included in all expiations, which is another name for gifts, to the priesthood.

Among the warrior caste, females are held in high respect. They are secluded from the public gaze rather out of veneration to them, than from usual oriental distrust and jealousy, which established the Persian, the Mahomedan and the Turkish harems. Instances are mentioned by Tod, of distinguished and able government by women, not as queens, but as regents, during the minority of a successor. This accomplished and interesting writer describes an interview, more properly a meeting, which he had with a lady who held this relation to her son. The occasion was one of business. The conversation was conducted, while the parties were on opposite sides of an impervious veil. He mentions Hindoo females of the warrior caste, with great respect; and is eloquent in praise of their beauty,

accomplishments, and virtues. Yet the birth of a daughter is regarded as a misfortune, while that of a son is cause of great rejoicing. A misfortune—because the parent must marry the daughter conformably to her rank, and with a suitable dowry, or not at all. But the birth of a son is connected with highly important religious consequences. If a father have not a son to perform the required obsequies, and make donations, his soul is liable to descend to *puttra*, (the Indian purgatory,) there to remain till some one of his race is able and willing to make the gifts and sacrifices which will ensure its liberation. The fear of encountering such an evil, has led to the custom of adopting sons. Adoption admits of twelve different description of sons. Their rights in the succession to the parental estate, is one of the causes of litigation in the Indo-British courts. The disposal of one's estate by will, is unknown in India.—[Sir T. Strange, Hindu-Law.]

The English government in India are said to have abolished Satiism (usually called the Suttee, or self-immolation of widows) in December, 1829. It is believed that this abolition does not apply to the whole of India, but to those parts only of which the English have, as yet, acquired absolute dominion. Tod says, that Menu has not ordered this sacrifice, though he makes widows severe ascetics, and dooms them to single life. This shocking practice, in common with all others of less revolting character, is taken from the Hindoo mythology. The poets are, no doubt, the authors of this singular custom.

• The precedent is found in the example of Sati, "who, to avenge an insult to Iswara, in her own father's omission to ask her lord to an entertainment, consumed herself in the presence of the assembled gods." By this act, she secured her own regeneration and reunion to her husband. "The chief characteristic of Satiism is its expiating quality. By this act, the widow makes atonement for the sins of her husband, secures the remission of her own, and has the joyful assurance of reunion to the object whose beatitude she procures." [Tod, vol. i. p. 634.] While such are the sentiments which prompt this sacrifice, there is little reason to believe that the humanity of any strangers to Indian religion can effect its abolition, unless by force.

Infanticide (effected by means of opium, soon after birth) is very common in India. This is not a crime. The practice does not arise from poverty, redundant population, nor from the common source of Indian errors, religious duty or superstition. It is to escape the inconvenience or burthen of having

to provide for females, in marriage, consistently with the pride of family, or caste, as before mentioned.

The laws of Menu, obviously framed by the Brahmin caste, disclose the sources of that extraordinary submission (in this age of the world) to signs, omens, auguries, and ceremonies, which one cannot read of without compassion and contempt. This pervades the whole tenor of life, in all things, whether serious, amusing, or frivolous. The prince ties the little tutelary deity of his household to his saddle-bow, when he goes to war. He eats, sleeps, rises, sacrifices, works, amuses himself, and even visits his harem, by rule. The periodical festivals, which are very numerous, have each their appropriate emblems and ceremonies. The Brahmin must be consulted on all occasions, by the lower orders, in all things, not merely indifferent, before an act can be done. The kindling of a fire by the friction of pieces of wood, and pouring clarified butter on the flame, (always by Brahmins,) are essential acts in all serious ceremonies. But, while one is compassionating the subdued and ignorant Hindoos, he should remember how it was among the wise Greeks and valiant Romans; and that, within the present century, it was essential to a legal coronation, in a Christian country, to anoint the sovereign with holy oil. In the commercial character of the Hindoos, and in their manufacture and arts, they appear in a very different light. In all other respects their mythology had an influence, especially in agriculture, because this was associated with the phenomena of the seasons, a rich department for the operation of deities. In the sacrifices and ceremonies recurring with the seasons, the Hindoos are particularly mystical and devout. The lotus, a sort of water-plant, is an emblem in these services, and is rarely absent in any. Most nations had such emblems. The Celtæ of Europe had their sacred mistletoe, (a parasitical plant,) when found on the oak. The Irish have their shamrock, and France has its lily. But in commerce the Brahmins seem to have interposed but little, since their interest was promoted by whatever tended to accumulate wealth. The natural Hindoo character is, therefore, more favorably developed by their commerce, than in any other light in which they can be viewed.

CHAPTER LXXV.

INDIA.

Commerce—Political Revolutions—Conquests by Europeans.

THE diligent researches of the English have not brought to light books of history, geography, or science.* All that is known, of more ancient times, has been laboriously attained through questionable traditions, and through the mists of poetry and fiction. It will be sufficient to mention the important changes in political power. In the century before the Christian era began, there was a celebrated monarch called Vicramaditya, whose death is fixed in the year 56 B. C. His court was brilliant in Oriental grandeur, and renowned for the "nine poets," among whom was Calidas, the supposed author of *Sacntola*. In 710, the Mahometans established an empire in North India, as far as the Ganges, and maintained it for some time after the caliphate had become insignificant. In 1155, the Persians, who had freed themselves from the caliphate, between the Indus and the head of the Gulf of Persia, subdued the Mahometans in India. In 1221, Gengis Khan added all India to his vast empire, whence the northern provinces acquired, and long held the name of the Mogul empire. Between this time and 1739, there were several other invasions from "the cradle of nations;" and, among others, one by the terrible Timur, or Tamerlane. In the last mentioned year, the celebrated Persian, Nadir Shah, conquered Northern India, but restored the Mogul emperor to his throne. That dominion long continued, but gradually diminishing in importance, so that only Delhi and a small territory around it remained. This remnant yielded to the British in 1803. These invasions have caused some mixture of population, and there may be ten or twelve millions of Mahometans. But the Indians persecute no one for difference of religious opinion; maintaining

* If this be otherwise, it has escaped notice. No such work, by any *Hindoo* hand, has been referred to. *Ayen Acbaree*, (or *Ayeen Akbery*,) or Institutes of the emperor Akbar, is not an exception. It was written by the very able minister (Abul Fazil) of the Mogul emperor, Akbar, in the Persian language, about the year 1600; it is referred to, as a valuable work on India, by Rennell, Heeren, and many others. It is said that it has been translated into English, lately, at Bengal.

that all may worship the Great Being in whatever manner they think right. The British power in India is about one century in duration. Its origin will be noticed. It is a strong proof of the devotion of the Indians to their ancient laws, opinions, ceremonies and customs, that they are wholly unchanged throughout the vicissitudes of three thousand years.

India seems, from the earliest knowledge of it, to have been tenanted, like Greece and ancient Italy, by many distinct and independent nations, having different customs and languages. Chief Justice Strange says, that the languages of some of them are as dissimilar as those of Germany and Spain. But the general national resemblance has been preserved, by one and the same religion, through all interior revolutions and foreign invasions. This resemblance may have justified the use of the word Hindoo, or Hindu, when speaking of the inhabitants of India, though, properly, Hindostan is a part of India, and lies south-east of the Indus, south-west of the Jumna, and enters but little into the peninsula. Tod's work arose from residence in this part of India, which is the most proper region for the study of Indian character.

From the earliest accounts of India, it has been a country peculiarly adapted to an enriching commerce. It has a productive soil, great rivers, and many small ones, which the Indians have ever known how to use advantageously, in forming reservoirs to be resorted to for irrigation. Agricultural products are rich and abundant. Among them may be mentioned all the varieties of tropical fruits, rice, and other grains, and many vegetables; spices, cotton, silk, sugar, and indigo. There are many articles used in dying, but they are all of vegetable growth, as the Indians do not use minerals for this purpose. They have iron, lead, copper, silver, precious stones, ivory; and gold is found in rivers. Their coasts are rich in pearls, especially near the island of Ceylon. But the wealth of the Indians is less in the productive power of their country than in their own skill and industry. Though navigators themselves, in their ancient and unchanged manner, they have not sought foreign intercourse, but have willingly exchanged their productions with those who sought them. Hence it has been, that gold and silver has been gathering in India, from the earliest traces of commerce.

There is no doubt that the Phœnicians had merchandise from India at a very early age. This may have been in three modes—by Caravanseras, by the Gulf of Persia, and by the Red Sea. Tyre was destroyed by the Assyrian Nebuchad-

nezzar, 573 B. C. This, Josephus says, was seventeen hundred years after its foundation. But it appears to have been renewed, as it was taken by Alexander, and, on the partition of his empire, fell into the Syrian division, and lost its importance. Whether the Tyrians went by sea to India, or obtained Indian products from Arabs, in Arabia Felix, is doubtful. When Solomon engaged in commerce, and went into partnership with Hiram, king of Tyre, their ships were sent down the Red Sea to Ophir, the position of which is not known. His commercial enterprise induced Solomon to build Tadmor in the Wilderness, which the Greeks called Palmyra, as a resting-place for caravans. It is one hundred miles from the Euphrates, and two hundred from the Mediterranean. The grandeur of Egypt, and perhaps its structures, were derived from commerce undoubtedly connected with India across the Eurythrean, or Indian Sea. The merchandise was brought to Berenice, a port near Babelmandel, the south end of the Red Sea, thence through Abyssinia to Moroe, and down the Nile. All this course of traffic appears to have been well understood by Alexander, and, to secure its profits, he built Alexandria.*

The earliest authentic knowledge of Indian commerce is derived from Alexander's invasion. It was then divided into rich and powerful kingdoms, which could only have been from long-continued commerce. The Indians were then, as of the present day, a people of slender form, dark complexion, black uncurled hair, clad in cotton, living on vegetable food. When Egypt was subdued by the Romans, 30 B. C., they had learned the utility and the luxuries of commerce. They gave a powerful patronage to that which was carried on with India through Egypt, as well as to that which was conducted through the Gulf of Persia, and thence by caravans. When the regularity of the monsoons was discovered by Heppalus, voyages were greatly accelerated. Rome now enjoyed, and eagerly sought, the spices, the aromatics, the precious gems, the pearls, cotton and silk, which India produced, and gave, in exchange, the gold of which she had rifled all the world. In the reign of Aurelian, A. D. 275, a pound of India silk was worth a pound of gold in Rome. To the articles already mentioned, may be added all those which are familiarly known as Indian products of the present day, showing that the skill and manip-

* All the detail of this ancient commerce is thoroughly investigated by Professor Heeren, but there is no space to examine it here.

ulation of this people must be referred to great antiquity, and must have been of their own invention.

After the conquest of the Roman empire of the west, by the barbarians, in 475, nothing is heard of commerce with India by the way of Egypt. The church was then inserting its deep and lasting roots into society, its branches extending on all sides from Rome, while the seat of barbarian empire was at Ravenna. The eastern empire, seated at Constantinople, had but a precarious supply of Indian merchandise, since it was rarely at peace with the Persians. In Justinian's reign, about the middle of the sixth century, two missionaries, who had found their way to China, returned with the eggs of the silk-worm in the hollow of their canes, which were hatched, by artificial heat, at Constantinople, and thus introduced the silk-worm into Greece. The modern name, Morea, the ancient Peloponnesus, is derived from *morus*, the Latin name for the mulberry, which may be connected with this fact. It is probable that the culture of silk in the Morea, supplied, in some degree, the privation of that article from India. Before the middle of the seventh century, the Mahometans had become masters of Egypt, and of all the country eastward, to India, and have been mentioned as entering India as conquerors, in 710.

The Arabs, having established themselves on the Tigris, engaged as zealously in commerce as they had done in propagating the religion of their prophet. The caliph Omar built Bassora (in 635) with a special view to the trade with India. We need not stop to show the splendor of the Arabian power here, where the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar, the Seleucia of Selucus, the Ctesiphon of the Parthians, and then of the Persians, had flourished, and where their own Bagdad followed in their train.* The Arabs engrossed the commerce of India, and the supply of Europe was wholly dependent on them. As they were almost incessantly at war with the tottering Greek empire, and as all the rest of Europe was then semi-barbarian, the products of India rarely passed to the west of the Arabs.

When the Turks, about the year 1253, had entirely prostrated the Arabian empire, the commerce with India ceased, as these new sovereigns knew nothing of its value. If the Hindoos had been accustomed to make and preserve historical

* The present Bagdad of the Turks, is just below that of the Arabs, on the Tigris.

records, it would be known from them what effect the revolutions in the countries around the eastern end of the Mediterranean had on their prosperity. No information of this nature has been disclosed by the diligent examiners of their fortunes.

The crusades had given a new impulse to eastern Europe. Italy now appears in the commercial world with extraordinary splendor. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines, are seen to elevate their cities to the dignity of empires. The Genoese were able to renew the commerce with India, through Egypt, by permissive treaties with the Mamalukes, who had now become the masters of Egypt. This was the time,—the beginning of the fifteenth century,—when the merchant princes of Florence enlightened and adorned the world.

Meanwhile a plan was engendering, in the brain of Columbus, which was destined, by its example, to prostrate the commercial grandeur of Italy. This adventurous man had opened a new world to Europe, and had inspired the hope that India could be found by passing around Africa. To Vasco de Gama, of Lisbon, belongs the honor of having shown to the ship-owners of Europe the way to India. His first successful attempt was made in 1498. The commercial intercourse of Europe with the east, from this time, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, is foreign to the present purpose. The effect on India is otherwise.

Whatever benefits Europe may have derived from opening a maritime intercourse with India, the consequences to the original people of the east have been mournful. China, only, by a relentless policy, has hitherto maintained its independence, without losing the benefits of commerce. The policy pursued towards the natives may have been forced on the Europeans; if not, it was often mutually disastrous, unwise, perhaps treacherous and cruel, especially on the part of the Portuguese. Force soon became necessary, and all that was acquired may be said to have been yielded at the point of the sword. If there were true and faithful historical records of eastern experience, they would probably disclose a deplorable picture of the joint operation of bigotry, avarice, and ambition.

Gama established himself, about 1500, at Goa, on the western (Malabar) coast of the peninsula, latitude sixteen degrees north, longitude seventy-four degrees east, and this became the seat of Portuguese empire in India.

Almeida was the first viceroy of India, in 1505. He did nothing to conciliate his new subjects. On the other hand,

he is represented to have been a fierce and unsparing warrior. His son Lorenzo, under Almeida's orders, established the Portuguese power in Ceylon. Almeida was succeeded by the celebrated Alphonso de Albuquerque, who effected a settlement at Ormus, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. The king of Persia sent his ambassadors to demand the accustomed tribute. The viceroy laid before them a bullet and a sword: "These," said he, "are the coin in which Portugal pays her tribute." He acquired dominion over the whole of the Malabar coast—extended the power of the Portuguese in the island of Ceylon—acquired a large portion of the peninsula of Malacca, and conquered the Sunda Isles. He was by far the worthiest of the Portuguese who, in that day, appeared in the east. He is mentioned as having been "active, cautious, wise, just, and humane." It is not known, historically, what the Indians thought and said of him. It is much in his praise, if it be true, that the Indians made pilgrimages to his tomb, to beseech him to protect them from the tyranny of his successors.

The grandeur of the Portuguese was not of long duration. If it be allowed a whole century, that may cover the extent of it, though its power continued, in a declining state, till it was wholly lost, (except as to the first possession, Goa,) when Portugal came under the dominion of Spain, in 1580.

In 1602, the Dutch appeared in the east. They assumed to aid the people of Ceylon against the oppression of the Portuguese, and succeeded in gaining a footing on the island. They soon expelled the Portuguese. If the Dutch are fairly dealt with in history, they were very uncomfortable friends to the poor people of Ceylon, who were driven on to the highlands in the interior, while the Dutch possessed the fertile lowlands which border all around on the coast. Ceylon abounds in rich merchandise. Cinnamon, pearls, and elephants are said to be of superior worth on this island. After various attempts, both by the French and English, to dispossess the Dutch, they held the island, with one interruption, till 1795, when it was added to the vast territories of the English in the east. It now belongs to the crown, not to the East India Company.

The Dutch gradually drove the Portuguese out of most of their possessions. Having no room for details, it appears that in 1621 the Dutch gained the Moluccas; in 1633, Japan; in 1641, Malacca; in 1660, the Celebes Isles; and, by 1663, the places held on the Malabar coast, except Goa, and a small

territory around it. The Dutch had established themselves at Java, which the English took from them, and afterwards restored by treaty, and which they still hold as a colony.

The French turned their attention to India about the year 1665, and first established themselves at Pondicherry, on the south-eastern (or Coromandel) coast of the Peninsula, (lat. 12, N. long. 80, east) then an inconsiderable place. The French were the first to gain a settlement on a branch of the Ganges. This occurred at Chandernagore, on the Hoogly, (a little north of Calcutta) about the middle of the last century. They had several places of deposit in the Peninsula, in the next fifty years, which they successively lost in the wars between their country and England. The means are not at hand to ascertain precisely their possessions, but they are believed to be very inconsiderable. Pondicherry, and its territory of about 85 square miles, is the principal one. It has been repeatedly taken by the English, and restored by treaty, the last time at the peace of 1814.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

INDIA.

British Conquests and Possessions in India:

THE British possessions in India present a most extraordinary feature in the history of nations. A sovereignty, held by a company of merchants, over a territory of 513,000 square miles, and over a population of 90 millions, is a phenomenon. The English were late in the field, but they have carried it, over all competitors, and over all adversaries. The first East India Company arose from a grant of the crown, in 1599. Cromwell annulled the grant, which had proved to be neither of public nor private utility; but he renewed it again. In the time of the commonwealth, the English possessed themselves of factories at Bombay and Madras. Grants, or charters, by the crown to the East India Companies, had been repeatedly renewed, and the course of affairs show a peculiar connexion between the company and the government of England. Sometimes the government was borrower, and the company lender; and sometimes the case was reversed. The details and the for-

tunes of the company are not interesting, until about the beginning of the last century.

In 1708, an act of parliament established the present East India Company, by the name of The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies. About the same time, (as near as the date is ascertained,) an embassy had been sent to the Mogul emperor, by the British merchants at Surat, (a large and ancient city, 150 miles north of Bombay,) in the hope of obtaining a firman, or grant of territorial jurisdiction. The emperor, (by a course of events for which there is no space here,) was about to marry a Hindoo princess; the nuptials were prevented by a malady of the emperor. An English gentleman, named Hamilton, was consulted, and effected a cure. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp. In oriental style, "the illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars." The grateful monarch requested Hamilton to name his reward, who satisfied himself with obtaining the object of the mission. This is said to be the first instance of British sovereignty in India. [Tod, ch. 1, p. 401.]

It was not, however, till 1748, that the company began to assume political power. Hitherto the military power had been used only in defence of the forts and factories. They had not a force adequate to offensive operations. The French had set an example in taking natives into their service, of which the English have profited. The native soldier is called seapoy, sepoy, or sipoy, (from *sip*, bow, or arrow,) and was employed because European troops could not be had. Thus, in the east, as in the west, natives have opposed each other to make the conquest of their own country inevitable.

The last public statement which has been met with, estimates the British exports from India at 14 millions annually—and the imports at about the same sum. Annual duties paid in England 4 millions. Annual contributions to government in England, 11 millions. The company have 200,000 men under arms, and nearly 16,000 civil officers.

Several views may be taken of this state of the ancient, rich, and beautiful India. If the human race were created for no better purpose than to show how the ingenious, educated, and strong can subdue and make profitable to them any and all who are inferior in these qualities, then British India is a glorious example of the exercise of talents. The conquest of India, regarded as a commercial enterprise, is magnificent, and far beyond anything that men have done. The conquests, colonies, and maritime force of the political power of Venice,

Genoa, and Florence, are Lilliputian efforts in comparison with those of the East India Company. Among the consequences are, that London, from which all proceed, and to which all return, is, (from this and other contributory sources, at home and abroad,) the grandest commercial city of any country, and of any age. Its population is computed at 1,750,000. It is the greatest city now standing on the globe, unless Pekin is greater, of which there may be doubt. It is very difficult to ascertain Chinese population. In the time of Augustus, just before our era, and when Rome was the capital of the world, it was said to contain four millions. But Gibbon enters into a careful analysis to show that no more than 1,200,000 ought to be regarded as the highest extent. If we take the whole number of people of the island of Great Britain, and divide the whole property owned by them, by that number, the dividend would be far greater to each one, than a similar experiment would show as to an equal number of persons of any other country, of any time, present or past. The national debt has nothing to do with this case, because it is due from the inhabitants of England to themselves. England is, and long has been the greatest maritime power of any age, and has achieved the greatest victories of any nation, on the ocean. On the land, her arms have again and again settled the destinies of Europe. All this grandeur springs from the head and from the hand, applied to internal industry, and commerce, as well that which her own subjects carry on with each other, as that which is had with other nations. This is the *worldly* view of the matter.

This grandeur, like that of Rome, has been costly. Nations have no *hereafter*. If they do wrong the punishment must come upon the generation in whose time it is done, or on their descendants—otherwise it comes not at all. It may be a very different case with the individuals, by whose voluntary act the wrong is done. In this mode of judging of human actions, it is probable that there are some sins to be answered for. As the Carthaginians left no history of their three great wars with Rome, we have only such history as Romans gave; the voice of India is not loud enough to be heard around half the globe. The only sources of information are British records; they tell of valorous deeds done in India; of the glittering grandeur of Hindoo armies that have disappeared, by death or flight, before a tenth part of their number. Vast territories ceded, immense sums secured by capitulations, the enriching tributes yielded on treaties of peace, and, finally, the power of unlimited and irresponsible taxation, over half a million of square miles, in

one of the richest countries of the earth, bearing one person for every square mile and an half. [The United States have not one person for every 14 square miles.] The company take no reproaches to themselves for these results; they are rather glories which illustrate the British name. If the company were asked how they justify themselves, they would probably veil the right of the strongest, which has ever been the law of rational man towards his fellow, by necessity. Was it not lawful to attack and conquer those who would have expelled us from the country? What answer would the saints and sages, who repose on Plymouth Hill, make to that plea? And what would the ghost of the noble king Philip have to say on this matter? The astonishing power of the British in India grew up, just as the power of the British in America grew up, at an earlier date. On both sides of the globe the British and the French met, and took part adversely to each other with the natives. In 1751, the Nabob of Arcot was contending with a native enemy, whom the French were aiding. The English aided the Nabob in like manner. In 1756, the Mogul emperor, or Subah, called Ali-Verdi Khan, died. Just before his death he said to his successor, in relation to the Europeans who had entered India,—“The power of English is great; reduce them first; the others will give you little trouble. Suffer them not to have forts, or soldiers, if you do, the country is not yours.” In attempting to give effect to this advice, the successor, Son Rajah Dowla, was defeated, and a successor appointed by the English, who paid a large sum in money, and ceded the sovereignty of a considerable territory near Calcutta. It was in this conflict (1756) that the horrible tragedy occurred which is familiarly known by the name of the “The Black Hole, at Calcutta.” In the course of the warfare, Son Rajah Dowla had beaten the English, at this place: he took 146 Englishmen, and confined them in a “hole” about eighteen feet square, from which the air was excluded, except through two windows barred with iron. The door was closed on them at 8 in the evening, and not opened until 6 the next morning, when all were dead but 23, and most of these in a high state of putrid fever. The detail of this night's torments may be left to the imagination; it cannot transcend the reality.

It fell to the lot of a gentleman, who was afterward Lord Clive, to take vengeance for this act. He was, in fact, the founder of the military empire of the Company. His career in India was what some military men call glorious. He was there from 1747 to 1761, deducting an absence to England. When

he finally returned, he was immensely rich, and was created a Lord by the title of Baron of Plassey, the name of a place in which he gained a signal victory. A severe attack was made on him in the House of Commons, but it ended in a vote of approbation. Though apparently possessed of all means of earthly happiness, he fell into a state of gloom and despondency, and ended his life, in 1774 at the age of 50.

After him, Warring Hastings appeared as the great man of the New Eastern empire. He held the office of Governor General of India, from 1773 to 1785, something may be made known of his administration from perusal of the most splendid judicial pageant that ever occurred, and in which illustrious actors are seen. On his return to England, the House of Commons presented articles of impeachment against him to the House of Lords. The articles were carried up in May, 1787, and the trial went on with no other intermission than that which was inevitable from the remoteness of the country whence witnesses and evidence were to come. It closed in April, 1795, by an acquittal of the charges, but in a sentence to pay costs, which exceeded the sum of 315,000 dollars. He had, besides, his own costs to pay. The cost to the Crown exceeded 440,000 dollars. The Company, however, indemnified Mr. Hastings. After Warren Hastings, the present Duke of Wellington figured in India; but it is not recollected that his conduct was reproached. It is not the present purpose to express opinions on the moral or political conduct of Englishmen in India. Any attempt to do this might provoke recrimination, and the question might be, whether the English in the East, or the descendants of the English in the West, have the heaviest burthen of moral wrong. There is nothing new or wonderful in either case. Men have always exercised the right of the strongest, whether the strength resided in the head, or in the hand, or in both. They have always excused and commonly justified all such exercise of power as self-defensive, as necessary chastisement, or as public good. However these things may be, it is amusing to see with what complacency so sensible and candid a man as Col. Tod exults in the grandeur and friendly influence which the English exercise over the fallen tribes of Hindostan, and with what amiable and benignant temper they command peace in the conflicts of their Hindoo chiefs.

It was intended to have made some geographical sketches of India, and of that plain of 1350 miles in length, through which the waters of the noble and enriching Ganges flow; (one should rather say *sacred* waters, because the Hindoos believe that they

issue from Vishnou's foot,) but our limits do not permit a further notice.*

To end, then—here is an astonishing empire in India, another rapidly increasing in New Holland, comprising three millions of square miles, (United States about two millions)—and here in the west, one vast continent inhabited, with little exception, by people whose language is English. One hazards nothing in assuming, that within a century, one half of all the people of the earth will speak, as a mother tongue, or by adoption the language of one part of the little isle of Britain.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

CHIN-INDIA.

EASTWARDLY from India, and between it and China, is an extensive country, commonly called Further India, or the Further Peninsula. Malte Brun, for reasons which appear to be sufficient, proposes to call this country *Chin-India*; by that name it will, probably, be known in future. Neither its commercial nor historical relations require much notice.

Chin-India is bounded on the west by India, south-west by the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca; south-east by the Chinese Sea; north-east by China; northwardly by the mountains which separate it from Thibet. These mountains are a continuation of the Himmeleh range. From the north boundary to the end of the peninsula of Malacca, the line is nearly two thousand miles. From India across to China, the broadest part is about thirteen hundred miles. Latitude from one to twenty-seven north; longitude ninety to one hundred and nine east. It contains not far from the same number of square miles as are contained in the United States. Its natural products are many and valuable, consisting of timber-trees, spice-trees, various plants and fruits, and it is rich in mines and precious stones. Science, art, and industry have done very little to give a commercial value to these products. In the north-western part of Chin-India, between Bengal Bay and the northern mountains, the British East India Company has added large territories to their possessions, and is gradually

* Lately, the monopoly of the East India Company has been abolished, and the commerce thrown open to all British subjects.

extending its dominion south-eastwardly along the coast. Eastwardly of these possessions is the Birman empire, with which the British have been sometimes at war. South-east of the British and the Birmans, are the kingdom of Siam and the empire of Annam; and on the long peninsula of Malacca (five hundred and fifty miles by about seventy) are several native independent states. The interior of this country, not before mentioned, is held by similar states. Neither commercial enterprise, nor the desire to add to the stores of useful knowledge, nor the desire to propagate Christianity, have induced Europeans to adventure much into this country. Little is known beyond the shores, and that little is not important.

The population is thought to have been derived from the north, from India, and from China, at an early period. Personal resemblance, the religion of Budha, and the languages, (of which there are at least five different ones,) affected as all these are by the lapse of ages, leave no doubt of this origin. The Portuguese introduced the Catholic religion, of which there are some professors. The religion of Fo, from China, is found here, and the rude tribes are of that low order of idolaters who are called Fetechists, or worshippers of stones, arms, vessels, plants, and other inanimate objects.

There are some historical details of this country, but they consist of nothing more than the common course of violence and crime, incident to all human society, when government is mere despotism. If this country should ever be blessed with intelligence and refinement, it is capable of becoming rich and powerful. Some of its products, and the mechanical ingenuity of some of its inhabitants, afford the assurance that it might sustain a very valuable commerce. The industrious and capable Malte Brun has collected and arranged,—in the fifty-first and fifty-second books of his Geography,—all that is known of Chin-India.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

CHINA.

Geography of China—Origin of Chinese—Great Wall—Elements of History—Tartar Dynasty of 1664—Characteristics—Government—Foreigners—Language—Religion—Present Condition.

CHINA is the end of continental Asia in the east. The policy of the Chinese, long persevered in,—the exclusion of strangers,—may have preserved them from a destiny similar to that of the Hindoos; but it has prevented them from changing their condition for the better. They are the only people of the earth who are proud of having learned nothing, forgotten nothing, changed in nothing, through thousands of years. They are fixed in the opinion that they are eminently the superiors of all nations. As no earthly name can express their grandeur, they call themselves the *Celestial Empire*. Their pretensions will be tested by considering the facts disclosed by some of the few persons who have gained admission to this country.

Chinese territories are geographically divided into those which are south, and those which are north of the great wall. China Proper is south of the wall. Mr. Barrow, secretary to Lord Macartney in his embassy to the Chinese emperor in 1792, says, that a Mandarin, whom the ambassador interrogated, stated the population at three hundred and thirty-three millions, according to a census of the preceding year. Barrow does not credit this statement. Malte Brun says that some persons estimate the population of China Proper at one hundred and fifty millions, and the square miles at 537,000. Gutzlaff, the most recent historian, (in 1834,) says the whole of China comprises 3,010,400 square miles, of which China Proper, south of the wall, has 1,298,000, and that the whole amount of Chinese subjects is three hundred and sixty-seven millions. If this is right, China has less than one half, but more than one third of the whole population of the earth. Malte Brun estimates the Chinese dominions at about one tenth of the habitable globe. China and its provinces extend from twenty to fifty-five north latitude; from ninety to one hundred and thirty-eight east longitude; and, if its eastern appendages be included, to one hundred and forty-three.

The climates of China and its provinces are exceedingly varied, including tropical heat and excessive cold. South of the great wall, its products are similar to those of India, with the addition of yellow cotton and tea. The latter, within one hundred and fifty years only, has become an article of immense traffic, and is used from the palace down to the cottage, in most of the civilized world. Robertson, in his *Disquisition on India*, note fifty-seven, says,—“Its highest praise is, that it is innoxious.” This is a praise which it does not always deserve. The first knowledge of the silk-worm dates from China. The patient ingenuity of this people, in various manufactures, has excited wonder.

On the north, the Chinese provinces (Mongul territory) adjoin Russian Siberia. Westwardly, they extend to the Beloor mountains, and include Thibet. Here is the seat of that singular religion called *Lamaism*, professed by Thibetians, Monguls, and Calmucs. By this faith, Shigemooni is the Supreme God. The Dalai Lama, or great Lama, is the representative of this god on earth, and is, himself, a divinity. He is immortal, because his soul passes from its last tenement, when that decays, into a new body, and the new tenement is discovered by the skilful. This is not unlike the papal succession, and the Great Lama has attributes strongly resembling those of the popes. He is surrounded by priests, and maintains over these an absolute despotism, as to body and mind. He knows all things. He can read the living heart. The laying of his sacred hand on the head of any one, is the pardon of all earthly transgression and sin. His subjects have monasteries and idols, and celibacy is enjoined on his priests. He is a temporal despot as well as a spiritual ruler. These facts show that Lamaism is only one form of the corruptions of the Roman church, introduced among the ignorant and superstitious of the east by the Nestorian monks, who wandered thither in the sixth century. Prestor John, in the middle ages, was supposed to be a Christian prince, somewhere in the interior of Asia. It is now supposed that this prince was none other than the early predecessor of the Grand Lama.

The origin of the Chinese is not certainly known. One writer (Heeren) gives reasons for thinking that they came from a military emigration from India; while other writers give satisfactory reasons for believing that they are of Tartar origin, and came from the north. Among these reasons are the physical formation, and especially the form of the eyes, which are not found in a straight line drawn across the bridge

of the nose, as in the Caucasian or white race, but placed obliquely to that line. And also that the interior ends of the eyes are rounded, and the exterior angular, which are Tartar formations. The Chinese are, probably, from causes common to all nations, invasion, conquest, and emigration, a mixed people. Physical form and historical facts afford as little solution of the problem of origin, in regard to the Chinese, as to any people on the globe.

This remarkable nation claim, like the Hindoos, an inadmissible antiquity. They date back many millions of years, which the best-informed nations utterly exclude, from all computations of time. The realities admitted, as to the Chinese, (in a condensed form,) are the following:—

The oldest historical book is said to be called Shu-King. It is considered unworthy of credit. Like other nations, the Chinese begin with the reign of imaginary deities. It would be a waste of time to state these fabrications of fancy, which go back far beyond the history of Moses. When we come down to a later time, there is some probability in Chinese history, because it is consistent with those natural occurrences which are known among other nations. Thus, about two hundred and fifty years before our era, China is represented to have been divided into small, independent principalities. At this time, one of their princes, called Chi-hoang-ti, was sufficiently powerful to unite them all in one monarchy, and to have founded the royal race of Ting, or Tsin. This person may have been an Alexander, Bajazet, Tamerlane, Ghengis Khan, or Napoleon. To his time is referred the building of the Great Wall of China, the most extraordinary of all human works. Its object was to fence out the Tartars. It is within the parallels of thirty-seven and forty-one degrees of north latitude, extending from the extreme west of the province of Shenshee, longitude ninety-eight, to the Gulf of Petcheli, fifteen hundred miles. The exterior is, generally, brick and stone, filled in with earth, twelve feet wide, thirty feet high, and fortified with intervening towers. Its course is over valleys, morasses, and mountains. Mr. Barrow calculated that the dwelling-houses of England and Scotland, taken at one million eight hundred thousand, are barely equal to the bulk of solid materials of the wall, exclusive of towers. The latter he equals to the masonry and brick-work of London. Yet, this wall is said to have been built in five years. Whatever its ancient utility may have been, a Tartar dynasty has occupied the Chinese throne since 1664. Some writers doubt the

antiquity of this wall. The commonly received opinion is, that it was built more than two thousand years ago. It is little thought of by the Chinese, themselves, and is permitted to decay.

After an attentive study of Chinese history, from the time of this emperor, Chi-hoang-ti, down to the year 1664, nothing is therein found but the same scenes which have been common in all the rest of Asia and in Europe, in early ages of the world. The difference is little more than the names of agents, and the particular part of the earth's surface on which the scenes occurred. A few sentences will comprise the political history of China in this long lapse of time. A powerful military chief, like the emperor last named, connected the whole country under his dominion. His successors were able to maintain that dominion, a longer or shorter time, against domestic factions, rebellion of one or more provincial governors, and foreign invasion. Then a new partition arose of the whole country into distinct sovereignties. Wars, treachery, and barbarous cruelties marked their intercourse until a new chief arose, capable of establishing, anew, a universal dominion. This is but the history of Europe and of all nations; the elements are ever the same, variously compounded. It is the contest among a few, for the power to exercise despotism over the many. It concerns the multitude but little by whom that despotism is wielded—their fate is ever the same.

In 1664, the present Tartar dynasty established itself in China. The Tartars found their way as conquerors, the great wall notwithstanding. The Chinese call it the dynasty of Tsim, or Tsing. In 1792, Lord Macartney went through China, in the character of ambassador from England, and passed some days at the seat of empire, the city of Peking, in the north. In 1816, a similar embassy was sent, at the head of which was Lord Amherst. The object, on both occasions, was to establish a commercial intercourse, secured by treaties. This object proved to be unattainable. It is remarkable, that, in the changes and dissensions among the Chinese, they have never departed from the policy of excluding foreigners from their cities and territories, excepting in the single port of Canton, for commerce. Here, all foreigners are restricted to a particular suburb, between the city and the river; and, on no account, permitted to pass the gates of the city. They regard all foreigners with contempt, and consider all nations, of whom they have any knowledge, as the dependent vassals of their sovereign. It is worth inquiry, how these millions of persons

are occupied, and how the common propensities of our nature are directed among them. As in all other nations, they have families, industry, objects of desire and aversion, duties, delinquences, pains and pleasures, and something called religion. To these subjects a few moments are due; but it will be found that the people of the Celestial Empire, who hold themselves superior to all mankind, are singularly ignorant, subdued, and servile.

The most obvious peculiarities of the Chinese are found in their relative position on the globe—their form of government—their exclusion of foreigners—their very singular language—their agricultural productions—their mechanical skill—their veneration of themselves, and their contempt for all other nations. These causes, combined, have made them incapable of any social melioration, and have qualified them to be a nation of slaves.

All nations, civilized or savage, must have government; that is, there must be power capable of commanding obedience to the law, whether the law be established and permanent, or depending on the will of rulers. The Chinese government is a singularly modified despotism, resembling the ancient patriarchal government. The emperor is the father of the nation. All the grades of officers under him, exercise a parental authority over the mass of people; so that all who have no other relation to the civil power, but that of obedience, are, civilly, *children*, and the whole nation may be comprised in the names of parents and children. The emperor demands and receives the reverence which is due to an austere and severe father. He can be approached only in the form of the humblest submission; and is regarded rather as a deity, than as a man. He is presumed to know every thing, and to order every thing throughout his vast empire. This he does, so far as is practicable, through the multitude of agents, or various grades of officers. They are his representatives as governors of the provinces, and of numerous cities and villages.

He is assisted by two councils; the one, composed of his six ministers of state; the other, composed of princes of the blood. There are, also, six boards or departments. 1. The court of appointments, which consists of the six ministers, and certain learned men, who are to judge of the qualifications of candidates. 2. The court to whom is confided the management of the revenue, and the public expenditures. 3. The court of ceremonies, who preside over the ancient customs, and who regulate the forms of all intercourse. 4. The court established to regulate

military affairs. 5. The tribunal of justice. 6. The board which superintends the public works. These several courts, or boards, report to the emperor on their respective duties; and he consults his six ministers, or the board of princes, as he thinks proper. He adopts or rejects the opinions offered, or substitutes his own will, as he pleases.

Besides these councils, there are nine classes of mandarins, who are the nobles; and who are employed in the various provinces and cities, as executive, financial, and military officers; and who report to the several courts, or boards, who are at the head of these inferior departments. These public officers hold the rank called noble in other countries; but the rank is official, not hereditary. The power is shown to be parental in this: all these mandarins may order the corporal punishment of the bamboo, whenever they think it proper; and even the emperor's ministers are subjected to the same punishment, by his order. That this is parental, is shown by the fact, that no disgrace follows the punishment; the person punished returns his thanks to his superiors for his useful chastisement; and for this kindness of making him sensible of his errors.

The military power of the Chinese is composed of a great multitude, who are disposed of throughout the empire, not less, it is said, than 800,000 men, who are mostly employed in public service of various descriptions, as laborers, and as police officers. It is only on the northern and western frontiers, that they have military establishments, as garrisons and encampments.

In the administration of justice, so material a part of government in all civilized nations, the parental government is again apparent. There is no such class as learned men in the law. There are laws and ordinances, the application of which, to the particular case, is confided to the mandarins, who hear and determine, in a summary manner. Their punishments are not sanguinary. They consist of taking life, in certain cases; but the number put to death is said not to exceed 200 a year, a small number compared to the immense population. Personal suffering, of various descriptions, are the common modes of punishment, and sometimes the dreadful one of banishment. Controversies concerning property, or law-suits, are very rare, as custom and usage, through the lapse of ages, have left but little space for litigation.

The moral state of China is shown in the administration of government, in all its departments. Power exercised over so widely extended an empire, by emissaries, who derive their authority from the remote seat of government, is liable to great

abuse. Oppression and tyranny are common, and the remedy, being only by complaint to the supreme head, is rarely practicable. Here, then, as in so many other countries, the many are subjected to the power of a few, and the wrongs which the many suffer, have the poor consolation that they are not as grievous as they might be.

Chinese government is not a beneficent institution, designed and adapted to secure to each member of the community the enjoyment of life, by promoting industry, knowledge, security, justice; but is a tyranny, which begins with the emperor and descends, through various classes of officers, upon the subjected and helpless multitude. All these public agents, from highest to lowest, besides the customary salaries, practise an oppressive exaction, so that the sentiment of a Chinese towards his government is not that of pride in its excellence, and thankfulness for its benefits, but is a feeling of slavish dependence and dread.

If there were no other causes of Chinese degradation, the form of government would sufficiently account for it. The patriarchal form extends to domestic life. Persons who are of the same blood, in all the generations which are living at the same time, have a common home, in which the power of government resides in the male parents. Females are raised but little above the rank of menial slaves, and are not allowed the pleasures of social intercourse. The life of a Chinese is, therefore, in his domestic relations, sober and joyless. So far as his time is not necessarily given to acquiring subsistence, it must be disposed of in satisfying the demand for excitement. Like the indolent Turk, he smokes, consoles himself with opium, or, like a savage, engages in some game of chance. In the higher orders of society, the demand for excitement naturally takes, as among other nations, the pleasures and the pains of comparison in the modes of life, and in manners and ceremonies. No people are more formal and ceremonious, and life is wasted in learning and observing modes of action in relation to each other, which are contemptible in the view of the free and civilized. Such are the effects of political government, aided by other causes to be mentioned.

Position on the globe. The Chinese are separated from civilized and refined nations of Europe by so great a distance, that they are rarely visited by any of these, except for the purposes of commerce. On the north and west they have no neighbors who could teach them to better their condition, if they were disposed to be taught. On the east and south they

are bounded by seas. These seas are traversed by foreigners only, to approach one Chinese port, where they are restricted to a very limited intercourse, for commercial purposes only.

The exclusion of foreigners. Whence this policy arose is not known. It may have been suggested by the success of Europeans in acquiring establishments in India and the islands which are south and east of China. This policy has not always prevailed, because, in the year 1682, the then reigning emperor, Kang-hi, was a patron of learning and learned men. At this time, that class of men so well known under the name of Jesuits, in the Roman church, were attempting to propagate Christianity in China. In 1692 the Jesuits were protected and encouraged by a public decree of this emperor. A number of them were employed by him to survey the empire, in which service they were engaged ten years. But, whether they had excited distrust and jealousy, or whether the success of the Europeans in India suggested the necessity of a different policy, the same emperor reversed this decree in 1716. He annulled all the privileges he had granted to Christians, and revived and enforced certain ancient prohibitory laws as to them. From that time foreigners have been restricted to the suburbs of Canton for commercial dealings, and to a residence on the island of Macow, at the mouth of the river, seventy miles below Canton. No European female is permitted to approach Canton nearer than Macow.

A contempt and aversion as to all foreigners, is the settled policy of the government. It has been instilled into all subjects of the empire, by teaching them to regard all other nations much as the Greeks and Romans, respectively, regarded all others, that is, as an inferior order of beings. The Chinese are taught to believe that all other nations acknowledge their superiority, and that it would derogate from their dignity to learn any thing from others, or to have any intercourse with them. It appears from the accounts given of Lord Macartney's embassy, and his passage through China, that these opinions are not those of the rulers of China, as matter of policy, but are universal. The English, on this occasion, were never permitted to gratify the curiosity of travellers, but were, at all times, held under an inconvenient and irksome restraint. While this non-intercourse prevails, the genius and industry of the Chinese can derive no aid from the progress of other nations; and under such government and such exclusion, they present the singular fact of a nation who seem destined neither to advance nor to decline.

Chinese Language. Another insuperable difficulty in the diffusion of knowledge is the language of this people. No other than their own is known among them, except at Canton, where there are interpreters, for the mere purpose of traffic. These are persons who have knowledge enough, by the ear, of the English language, to buy and sell, and minister to the wants of visitors. There are Europeans who have mastered this difficult language, for the purposes of commerce, and some who have acquired a knowledge sufficient to read their literary works.

The language of this country is the best evidence that all languages are human inventions. It is easily traced to signs intended to represent natural objects, and these are combined in such manner as to represent intellectual objects and abstract ideas. It is a language of monosyllables, each monosyllable representing some known object. These originals (monosyllables) are said to amount to three hundred and fifty, and the flexible organs of the Chinese can pronounce, at most, about fifteen hundred sounds. But there are said to be eighty thousand combinations of these originals, in the form of letters, which are made by putting, into one letter, signs which express these syllables; some few letters comprise not less than seventy distinct marks or signs. There is often, therefore, a language for the eye only; that is, the combination is such, that no sounds will express what is intended. In such case, if a person would express that for which there is no sound, but which may be expressed by letters, he describes these letters by his finger, or his fan, in the air, as deaf and dumb persons converse. The acquisition of such a language is extremely difficult, for the student has to learn how to make all these various combinations; to which is to be added the far more difficult task of learning their signification when made.

It is not surprising that a language, so formed and so expressed, should have undergone no improvement, from age to age, as all other spoken and written languages are known to have done. The oldest Chinese writings are the same, in appearance, with those which are most modern, and the sounds given to words have probably undergone no change. Scholarship, or a claim to be considered learned, consists of a knowledge of the combination of Chinese characters, and the most diligent student, up to the age of manhood, can hardly accomplish more. There are dialects of the Chinese. In some of the provinces different words are used to express the same object.

Knowledge, Science. If the Chinese were as able, naturally, as Europeans are, to avail themselves of inventions and discoveries, and to construct sciences from established principles, they ought to be better informed and more scientific than any other people. They ought to be so, because they have had the art of writing, and have made books as long, if not longer, than any others. But (as is known from the history of the two embassies) they are children in all the sciences. Necessity has forced on them agriculture and mechanical skill. They know nothing of astronomy; nothing of medicine, surgery, anatomy, or of cause and effect, in the natural world. With them, usage and tradition hold the place of science. Intellectual attainments must be of little worth among a people whose annual almanacs are consulted to know the lucky days on which enterprises may be undertaken, and even to know when the most trivial acts, in the common course of life, should be done. A people who substitute the result of chances for the use of understanding, have small claim to be regarded as the superiors of all others.

Religion among the Chinese is one cause of their degradation. There is greater difficulty in bringing the Chinese to a knowledge of Christianity than any other eastern people, because their language is (by themselves) acquired with much labor, and because they are reluctant to acquire any other. If the government oppose no obstacles, the progress would be more embarrassed than elsewhere in Asia. The natural desire of the human mind to account for the phenomena and changes of human existence,—the curiosity to know what becomes of the dead,—and the conviction which reaches every human mind, however darkened by ignorance, that there is some supreme and invisible power, whether good or evil, that governs the action of the visible creation, as well as human destiny, is the source of natural religion. These phenomena have been accounted for in various modes by those who assumed to be the most learned or intelligent in different nations; and the professors of this learning and intelligence have become, every where, the ministers and guides of the submissive ignorant. Thus, among all people, who have not been blessed with direct revelation of the will of the Deity, there is found some kind of religious sentiment, belief and practice, sanctioned by the veneration due to the customs and habits of successive generations, and some description of teachers, however ignorant, deluded, or fraudulent.

There has been occasion to remark, before, that the earliest

religion which was professed, that is, by the immediate descendants of Noah, is believed to have been the worship of the Almighty. This worship, though deformed at an early period by idolatry, and finally lost in that absurdity, was carried by the migrating tribes, with different degrees of purity, into different parts of Asia. But the reverence due to the Creator seems to have been soon transferred to the visible creation, and thence to have descended into all the varieties of superstitious and depraved customs, now known among those who have not been enlightened by Divine revelation.

The Chinese have among them five divisions of religion:—
1. That which has arisen out of the original worship of the Supreme Being. This religion is contained or taught in certain ancient books, which are called U-king, and which are supposed to have been written or compiled two thousand years before the Christian era. Du Halde says, (vol. i. p. 394,) “Nothing is more respected by the Chinese than the five books which they call the U-king, or so much revered by them for their antiquity and for the excellence of the doctrine which (they say) they contain. These are, to them, sacred writings.” From the accounts given of these books, they strongly resemble those which are held sacred among the Hindoos, and are, probably, of like antiquity. There is no doubt that when these books were written, the inhabitants of China worshipped a Supreme Being as the governor of the universe, called Shang-ti, or Tyen. To him prayers and supplications were addressed, and to him sacrifices were offered. The emperors, like the kings of the Israelites, held the office of high priest. To the present day, the emperor, on great occasions, performs the duties of this office.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Lecomte, a missionary, published his new memoirs on the present state of China. He therein says,—“The Chinese had adored the true God for two thousand years; that, among the nations, they were the first who had sacrificed to their Creator, and taught a true morality.” [Villiers’ Prize Essay on the Reformation, p. 191.] This writer should rather have said, that the Chinese were the people who had longest retained the original religion and the morality which it enjoined. The praise bestowed by Lecomte was due to a very small portion of the Chinese in his time, and is, probably, due to no part of them now.

This original religion, like many others, had become debased and idolatrous in the course of fifteen centuries, at the

end of which period *Confucius* appeared, who is still venerated among the best informed of this nation. He was born in the kingdom of Lu, (according to Du Halde,) now called the province of Shan-tung, 551 years B. C.; consequently, two years before the death of Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and was contemporary with Pythagoras and with Solon. He was, like the distinguished Grecians, a teacher of philosophy, and, like them, had numerous disciples. He appeared at a time when China was under the dominion of an unworthy race of princes. He had made himself master of the sacred books, before mentioned, and being deeply impressed by the depravity of the times, he attempted a reformation. He "was not solicitous to search into the impenetrable secrets of nature, but confined himself to speak concerning the principle of all being—to inspire reverence, fear, and gratitude for him—to inculcate that nothing, even the most secret thought, escapes his notice—that he never leaves virtue without reward, nor vice without punishment, whatever the present condition may be. These are the maxims scattered throughout his works. Upon these principles he governed himself, and endeavored a reformation of manners." He divided his disciples into four classes:—1. Those who were to cultivate their minds by meditation, and to purify their hearts by virtue. 2. Those who were taught to reason justly, and compose persuasive and elegant discourses. 3. Those who studied the rules of good government, and who qualified themselves to teach the mandarins how to acquit themselves worthily in public offices. 4. Those who taught, in a concise and elegant style, the principles of morality. Du Halde says,—“His actions never contradicted his maxims; and by his gravity, modesty, mildness, and frugality, his contempt of earthly enjoyments, and his continual watchfulness over his conduct, he was, himself, an example of the precepts he taught in his writings and discourses.” Confucius will bear a very honorable comparison with any of the moral philosophers of the Grecian schools, who flourished about the same time, of whom he was entirely ignorant, as they were of him.

According to a tradition universally received among the Chinese, (Du Halde, vol. i. p. 417,) Confucius was frequently heard to repeat these words:—*Si fang yew shing jin*, importing that *in the west, the true secret was to be found*. About five hundred years after the time of Confucius, this saying was remembered, and the emperor Ming-ti having had a dream, in which the image of a man, as coming from the

west, appeared, he sent two grandees to search out this person. These messengers proceeded no further than India, where they became acquainted with the doctrines of Budha, and the image of a man who was said to have taught them; and these messengers, taking these doctrines to be the object sought, introduced them to their own countrymen, and thus constituted another religion, or the worship of Fo, presently to be mentioned.

Among the works of Confucius is one entitled *Chong Yong*, or the *immutable medium*, which contains a doctrine not surpassed, in good sense, by any of the philosophical schools of any time:—"The law of Heaven is engraven even in the nature of man; the conduct of this nature, or rather the sacred light that directs his reason, is the right path which he ought to follow in his actions, and becomes the rule of a wise and virtuous life; he must never stray from this path, for which cause a wise man ought incessantly to watch over the motions of his heart and his passions; so that these passions keep the middle, and incline neither to the right nor the left when they are calm: if we know how to curb them when they rise, they are then agreeable to right reason: by this conformity, man keeps in that right way, that *medium*, which is the source and principle of virtuous actions."

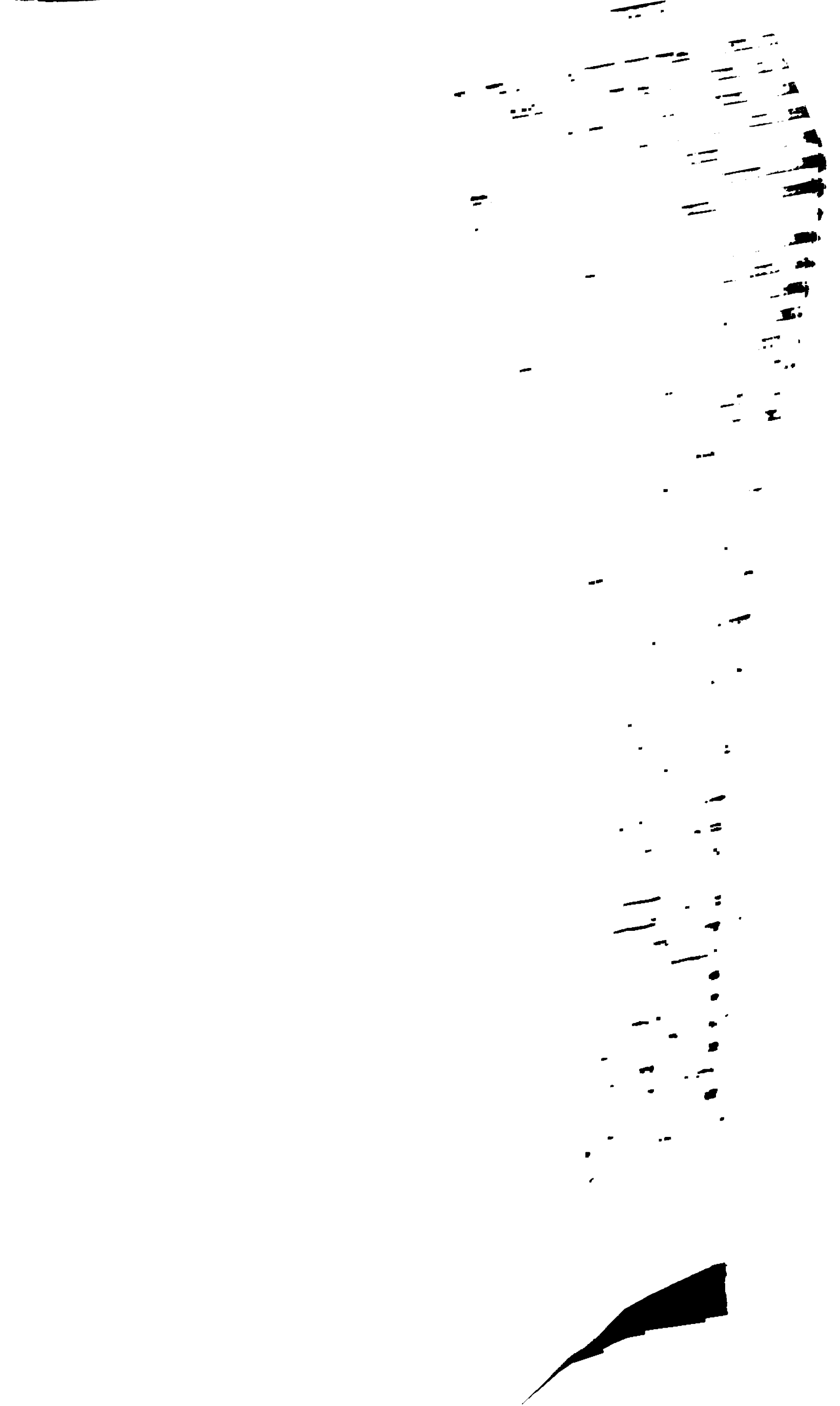
The theory of parental government, which, to the present day, is the leading principle of the Chinese, whether in civil policy or in domestic life, was either first taught by this sage, or strongly enforced by him. But he was not the author of that policy of exclusion of all foreigners, and all learning and inventions of other nations, which is now so obstinately adhered to by this nation. In the twentieth article of the *Chong Yong*, he enumerates the virtues of princes. He prescribes to the prince that he must regulate his whole life and conduct—must honor wise men in a particular manner—must love his parents tenderly—must treat the prime ministers of his empire with distinction—must treat mandarins, and those who aspire to office, as he is treated himself—must take care of his subjects as his own children—he *must draw into his own dominions such as excel in any useful art or profession*, and must give a kind reception to *strangers*, and the ambassadors of other princes. But these, and many other precepts of Confucius, have long ceased to be justly valued by prince and people. They have been perverted to establish an absolute despotism among rulers, and a severe tyranny in domestic life. The great original *principle of all being* is forgotten in the

adoration of the visible creation, and the adoration of objects made by their own hands.

There is less to commend in the teachings of this wise man on the subject of *ceremonies*, than in any thing else that came from him, or which was enforced by him. He intended, probably, by prescribing a severe and exact form of deportment, in all the actions of life, from serious to insignificant, to establish guards for virtue. This theory is rational where virtue exists; but where it does not, these forms are only the cloak of deceit and selfishness. The most rigorous exactions of these ceremonies continues among the Chinese. But they have less pretension to the respectful sentiments which these ceremonies imply, than any people on earth. The most recent writer on the Chinese character, (the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, in 1834,) confirms previous historians in regarding the people and their rulers, from highest to lowest, as destitute of honor and integrity, and as being governed by a mean and slavish fear. This writer is of opinion, that the Chinese, under the influences of a different government, and of Christian doctrines, might exhibit human nature in a respectable and amiable form, but that they are now a nation of liars and cheats.

2. The *second* order of religion, in China, is that which arose from the teachings of a philosopher who appeared about 600 years B. C., whose name was Lau Kyun. This sect were afterwards called Tau-T'se. To its teachers may be traced the worship of idols, the belief in spirits, and the worship of them. They believe in a spirit of darkness, as the author of the evils which afflict human life, and who may be propitiated by sacrifices. A hog, a fish, or a fowl, are supposed to be the most acceptable offerings. This sect accompany their worship with horrible noises of the human voice, and by the din of drums. They believe that future events are disclosed by various contrivances of chance, as the drawing of one or more sticks out of a bundle. There are, therefore, multitudes of fortune-tellers, in whom the vulgar place confidence. They exercise all the various arts which are adapted to astonish and delude the ignorant, in which class a majority of the Chinese are included. Thus it is seen, that unenlightened human nature is every where the same; for, these practices of the Chinese are only another form of satisfying human curiosity, from the oracles of Greece down to the sorceries of American savages, or the still more ignorant tribes that dwell in Africa.

3. The sect of Fo. This sect is supposed to be derived from the Budhaism of the Indians, or Hindostans, and to have



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The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1900, in the several precincts of the County of Los Angeles, California:

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been introduced (according to Du Halde's History of China,) about sixty-five years after the birth of Christ. To this sect belong the Bonzas, or priests, who resemble the same class of persons described in India. They have monasteries and temples. The Bonzas are also to be likened to the mendicants or beggars of the Roman church, before the reformation. They teach a future life, by the transmigration of the soul into other animals. They have strings of beads, like the Catholics, and, while turning them in their fingers, they pronounce certain words, which they do not understand, or which have no meaning to them. These priests subject themselves to cruel bodily sufferings, which they say they do to save the souls of others, and thus excite compassion, and obtain gifts. It would be an unprofitable labor to enumerate the multitude of absurd, senseless customs of this sect, observed for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, who can influence or order the events of human life.

4. At what time some form of Christianity first reached China, is unknown. The Nestorian order of monks penetrated far into Asia in the sixth century, and the Lamaism of Thibet is undoubtedly the corrupt remains of their corruptions of revelation. There is a tradition that St. Thomas found his way into India and China. Some of the itinerant monks of the Roman church appeared in China about the year 1300. They made but little impression. After the way to the east around the Cape of Good Hope was opened, about the year 1500, many missionaries of the Roman church were established in China, and made some converts. There are still some persons who call themselves Christians, among the Chinese, after the most corrupted forms of this Roman discipline. Gutzlaff says there are six hundred thousand. After the present dynasty of Tartars came to the throne, in 1664, the policy of excluding foreigners arose, or was then more strictly enforced. Before the end of that century it became the settled policy to exclude them. The Chinese, therefore, exclude Christian missionaries, not because they are such, but because they are barbarians, in common with all foreigners, and unworthy to enter the Celestial Empire.

5. Mahometans. Of this description there are some persons in China, whose faith arose, originally, from the Arabian invasions. The number is inconsiderable, and they are unmolested. It does not appear to enter into Chinese policy to regulate either faith or practice, in religion. Obedience to the civil authority is required severely, and this does not

enjoin religious ceremonies. Yet, as connected with the civil policy, there have been persecutions of the Christians. This may have been caused by the intrigues of the Jesuits, who were the Catholic missionaries; but it does not appear that the followers of Mahomet have been molested.

In the present degraded state of the Chinese, there are many observances, in the great events of life, as birth, marriage, death, and in the reverence of ancestors, which show an uncommon ignorance and superstition. They make paper houses, and put into them various utensils, constructed of paper, and all the furniture and ornaments in common use, with a store of *gilt* paper. This preparation is for the use of the departed, in another world, and is transmitted by reducing the whole to ashes. This paper contrivance appears, in proper form and substance, in that other world, for use; and the gilt paper is, by this process, not only transmitted thither, but in the form of *real gold*. One is reminded, by this folly, of the customs which came, with the barbarians of the east, into Europe. They sacrificed, or buried with the dead, apparel, treasure, favorite horses, arms, and sometimes family friends, or relatives, as these would be needed to make a becoming appearance in the halls of the gods. The hope is exceedingly small, that the Chinese, wedded as they are by long-continued custom, to their absurd practices, separated from the rest of the world, shackled by a language which imposes almost insurmountable difficulties to intercourse, and ruled by an unrelenting despotism, for which only they are fit, are ever to become a civilized, intelligent, and rational nation. But they are likely to be an important member of the family of nations, so long as they and their country only, produce the article of *Tea*, and so long as other nations believe that water, stained therewith, is necessary as food, or desirable as a luxury.

AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA.

Eastwardly and southwardly of China are numerous islands—some of them very large. All of these were found peopled when Europeans first visited them, about three centuries ago. This population seems to be of Tartar and Chinese origin, variously intermixed. Some of these islands, and portions of others, are possessed by European nations. It may be necessary to mention these possessions, in connexion with European history, at some future place. Little is known,

historically, of these original inhabitants, disconnected from European history. Whatever is known, is rather matter of speculation than important information, in the present object. One of these islands was first known under the name of New Holland, a continent rather than an island, and now included, with many others, under Australia, constituting, more properly, a fifth division of the globe, than a part of one of the four. A large portion of it is possessed by the British government. New Holland was first used as a place of banishment for convicts, but has recently become a very thriving and important colony to the British. The numerous islands of the Pacific have obtained the geographical name of Oceania. They have caused much inquiry among the learned, in respect to origin, languages, customs, and traditions. These inquiries have been pursued to aid in solving the problem of the origin of the people who were found on the American continent when first visited by Europeans. Assuming that the continents, islands, and seas have ever been the same since the deluge, then there are two theories:—1. America was peopled from Asia, by migration from the north-eastern extremity of Asia, across Bhering's Straits. 2. It was peopled by crossing the Pacific Ocean from the eastern coasts of Asia. Perhaps in both ways. But who can tell what changes have occurred in the long lapse of ages, in the Pacific Ocean; and what islands there may have been which have disappeared, and which may have facilitated the migration across that ocean, if it was in that way that population first came?

The sketches of Asia have been brought down to the present time, to make those of Europe and America the only objects in the intended volume, comprising the lapse of time between the commencement of the Reformation and some period within the current century.

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